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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXLVIII.

JULY, 1902.

THE STORAGE BATTERY AND THE MOTOR CAR.

BY THOMAS A. EDISON.

THE final perfection of the storage battery, which I believe has been accomplished, will in my opinion bring about a multitude of changes and improvements in our business and social economy. No one of these will interest the public more just now than the doing away with the chauffeur, the irresponsible instrument, in the public eye at least, of so many recent accidents with automobiles.

Of the new storage battery, which was admirably described in *Harper's Weekly* last December, and about which a great many erroneous and unauthorized statements have since been made, I can now say that it has sustained and overcome the four thorough tests applied to it, and it is now, at this writing, undergoing the fifth, and last, with every prospect of the same result.

These four tests, which I will describe briefly, and this fifth now in progress, point to the new nickel-iron battery as being in fact the only real storage battery known. The attempts to compare its performance with those of the lead storage batteries, so called, now in use in automobiles and elsewhere for lack of something better, make it not improper to declare the facts. A real storage battery must be reversible, like a dynamo, which converts power into electricity and *vice versa*.

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A storage battery, to deserve the name, should be a perfectly reversible instrument, receiving and giving out power like a dynamo motor, without any deterioration of the mechanism of conversion. The present lead storage battery in an automobile does not meet this condition. It gradually becomes less and less efficient and in a few months wholly inoperative. The acid environment prevents a proper mechanical construction, its chemical reactions are of the most capricious character; it must be watched and treated with great care—so great care, indeed, as to make it impracticable for general use. It can be made, as far as mere weight is concerned, of sufficient lightness to meet all the wants of commerce and pleasure; but, if made light, it rapidly becomes useless.

On the other hand, the nickel-iron storage cell has an ideal environment. Being in an alkaline solution, none of the ingredients is attacked by the solution in any degree. The chemical reactions are also of the most simple and stable character. The conditions permit of a perfect mechanical construction, and, finally, it remains uninjured under any condition which one could imagine, when in the hands of an inexpert. The weight can be made to meet every exigency of commercial vehicle traction, and up to the present time there are no signs of chemical deterioration, even in a battery which has been charged and discharged over 700 times.

I have been working for a number of years on the problem of a true storage battery. The experiments have been continuous for the past three years. The above may be considered the first stage.

Tests on the battery have been going on for over a year and a half; this was the second stage.

The construction of chemical works and a manufacturing plant for the cells was the third stage.

The manufacture of standard cells from the tools is the fourth stage.

Twenty-one cells made in the factories, weighing 332 pounds, were placed in a Baker automobile, the total weight with two men in the vehicle being 1,075 pounds. The vehicle made a run, on one charge, of sixty-two miles over country roads, containing many grades, some as steep as twelve feet in a hundred. At the end of this run the vehicle was making eighty-three per cent. of the original speed. The average speed over the entire distance

was 11.2 miles per hour. On a comparatively level country road a little heavy from a recent rain, the same vehicle on one charge came to a stop at the eighty-fifth mile.

In spite of assertions to the contrary, I think the storage battery carriage, by the aid of the new battery, will come ultimately within the reach of the man of moderate means. Driving through the many miles of streets in the suburbs of New York, I have been impressed with the fact that something like eighty per cent. of the residences have no carriage houses. The storage battery carriage, with the new battery, should enable the owners of forty per cent. of these residences to have a serviceable pleasure vehicle at their beck and call, without hiring a coachman to keep it clean and run it, with no horses to eat their heads off and no oats and hay to buy. With an initial outlay of from $700 and upwards, the storage battery automobile can be used once a week at the cost of a fifty-cent charge, or twice for a dollar, and so on, the cost of use being met as it is incurred and so ceasing to be the bugbear that fixed charges must always be to the householder of moderate income.

For safe and successful use, the automobile must, in my opinion, be made with heavier running gear, on the lines of the later French automobiles. Especially should stability be secured in the wheels and frame; the superstructure may be made gauzy. It seems likely that two general types of electric carriage will be developed, a light buggy type and a heavier touring carriage, the battery varying accordingly.

The French types of electric carriages come nearer to my ideas in strength and stability than any other models. This result has been attained, of course, only by experience. At first I was inclined to the opinion that the French machines were abnormally heavy; but when I study out the concussions and strains to which they are subjected, my inclination is to make the touring carriage even heavier still. It is surprising to me that American builders have not more closely followed these French models, since experiments costing millions must have been made to reach the present stage.

We hear of fewer automobile accidents in France and in Europe generally than in our own country, and they are fewer in spite of heavy types of carriages. One reason for this is that in Europe there are wider roads and less traffic; another is that the public

have been educated up to the situation. The electric carriage of the future, and of the near future, will in my opinion not only supersede other types of automobiles, but it will be built and run on such practical lines that accidents will soon become things of the past. Horse owners and drivers will educate their animals, as in old times they had to be educated up to the steam engine and later to the trolley car. The electric carriage will be practically noiseless and easily stopped in an emergency. Above all, it will need no irresponsible chauffeur.

The fifth endurance test of the nickel-iron battery, which is demonstrating that the storage battery is indeed an accomplished fact, is now being made with five different models of automobiles, in each of which the new cells have been installed. They are of various weights and construction, and each of them is being run 5,000 miles over country roads, at an average distance of 100 miles per day.

If these tests shall show no loss of capacity and no mechanical defect in the battery, and that it is in all respects exactly the same at the end as at the commencement, we can be reasonably assured that at last we have a real storage battery.

THOMAS A. EDISON.

THE STEAMSHIP MERGER AND AMERICAN SHIPBUILDING.

BY CHARLES H. CRAMP.

ALMOST every mail brings to me from all sorts of sources—individuals, financial institutions, newspapers, etc.—the question, in sundry forms: "What effect is the so-called Steamship Merger likely to have upon the future of shipbuilding in this country?" It is impracticable to answer all these inquiries separately; and therefore it has occurred to me that the best way would be to reply to them in bulk, through an article accessible to everybody.

I am not familiar with the detailed plans of the new organization of steamship lines, and my views of it are necessarily based, therefore, upon such information as has been already to a great extent laid before the reading public. I assume, however, that generally or in outline the impressions which the public has derived from what has been printed, either by authority or otherwise, are correct; and I see in the situation no cause for alarm either to the American ship-builder or ship-owner or to the people in this country who rely upon transatlantic steamship lines to transport their products abroad, provided our Government will take adequate measures to meet the policy already operating in Germany and Great Britain.

I am sure that it is not the intention of those who control or are to control the merged lines to raise materially the prices of ocean freights either way. Their object is rather to maintain a uniform rate or schedule of rates, and to add to their profits by the general reduction of operating expenses; also to prevent the ruinous rate wars which have occurred under the old régime. If they can establish and maintain a uniform schedule of rates upon which shippers may confidently rely for a long time in advance, they will confer a substantial benefit upon the commercial public.

Coming now to consider its effect upon shipbuilding in this country, I may say that it is commonly reported and generally believed that part of the arrangement under which the merger has been formed is an agreement that all of the new vessels to be built abroad from time to time for the combination shall be constructed at the great Belfast ship-yard of Harland & Wolff, now under the management of the famous British architect, Mr. Pirrie. Such an agreement or understanding is a proper thing in such premises. The Belfast ship-yard is among the first of the best foreign yards, and vessels built in a single yard and under the same management must be more nearly homogeneous in design and structure, and better in all respects, than they would be if constructed promiscuously in all sorts of ship-yards and by people of varied capabilities. The Belfast concern, however, extensive as it may be in plant and organization, would hardly be able to keep up, at the highest standard of efficiency, the number of ships that the great new merger will need. The agreement with the Belfast concern, therefore, will by no means prevent the management of the merger from building some of their ships in the United States, if a section of the management is to be, as it ought to be, American, and if our Government will enact legislation which will enable any American to build and operate ships under the American flag as favorably as under foreign flags.

But, even apart from this consideration, it can easily be shown, or must logically appear, that it would be of the greatest importance to the success of the new company to stimulate energy and ingenuity abroad by building American ships, whose performance and quality would be put in competition or in comparison with those built abroad. I have no doubt that some sort of an American section, or department, or subordinate company, will be maintained in the organization of the merger. This is a natural supposition, because the American traveller is a most important factor in the patronage of steamship lines, and many, if not most, Americans prefer, all other things being equal, to patronize vessels of their own nationality rather than those built abroad.

The question involved is, from one important point of view, historical; that is to say, it cannot be clearly understood nor can the causes which brought it about be distinctly measured without reverting to certain incidents in the history of transatlantic construction and navigation which may be said to mark eras.

The supremacy in the ocean-carrying trade which Great Britain had begun to attain at the outbreak of our Civil War, and which was made overwhelming during that war and for eight or ten years afterwards, was really the result of the stimulus given to her energies and her apprehensions by the organization of the American Collins Line. This line, some years before the outbreak of the Civil War, revolutionized the ocean steam-transit of that day. It was the result of a policy of assistance or subvention by our Government. The English had already adopted that policy and had applied it principally, so far as American trade was concerned, to the line founded by the late Samuel Cunard.

When the Collins Line was put on, the British were thoroughly alarmed and, it might be said, stampeded. Their Government increased the subsidy of the Cunard Line to an extent which enabled Mr. Cunard to add to his fleet of four ships already built at the rate of another and a better ship each year. Our Congress, on the contrary, in a freak of partisan politics, got into a quarrel over the subsidy question which resulted in the withdrawal of its assistance from the Collins Line, and in consequence that line collapsed, leaving not even a vestige of its existence. The British, however, continued to build new ships and establish new companies, although little, if any, advance was made in the type of ships they built or in their performance. However, as they had no competition on the part of the Americans, and as the Continental steamship lines were either not extant or in very feeble embryo at that time, the British were not compelled to improve upon the quality or performance of their ships; but they went on making their own freight and passenger rates and, in general, commanding all the trade and all its benefits, including the extremely important one of controlling the markets which they supplied.

Things remained in this condition until 1870-1871, when the announcement was made that an American Company had been formed with the intention of building four ships, which were to be superior to any that the British then had. These ships were built by the Cramps and were known as the *"Pennsylvania," "Ohio," "Indiana" and "Illinois."*

The prime requirement of these vessels was that they were to beat the British *"City of Brussels,"* then the crack Atlantic greyhound in the British fleet. This was the beginning of the second era, and we had precipitated another panic upon our British

friends. Every one of the principal British companies then existing started at least two new ships, each of larger dimensions, of greater passenger accommodations and of higher speed than the four American ships. They also re-cast their subsidy system, so as to make it much more effective than it had been before.

Among their expedients in this direction was the Naval Reserve Subvention, the operation of which is well known.

In the mean time our Government did nothing for the new American line. Its ships, however, struggled along; they were extremely popular, notwithstanding the efforts of the British to outdo and supersede them. They made eight-day passages and, for their day, they were exceedingly comfortable, stanch and safe seaboats. Part of their economy of performance was due to the use of compound-engines, which had been recently introduced at that time. This type of machinery was adopted also by the White Star Company in its first ship, the old "*Oceanic*," and in the National Line steamer "*Italy*." But while our Government neglected the American Line, the British Government continued to promote and foster its lines until the company that had built the four American ships was forced to the wall. The four ships were sold to the Red Star Line, a new American Company that had been started after having received a subsidy from the Belgian Government. These Red Star ships were sailing under the Belgian flag but their ownership was American.

The substantial aid given this Company by the Belgian Government gave it a start and enabled it to add some American ships to its line—and its owners were willing to struggle along with them and take chances for assistance from our Government in the future that might enable them to overcome the disabilities that their American ships would be subjected to by reason of greater continuous operating cost due to higher wages, more costly supplies, etc. No further building was done here, and the American ships were so far outclassed in size and speed by the subsidized British ships that they ceased to be a menace to British supremacy, and the characteristic self-complacency of the English once more re-asserted itself.

It might be worth while to speculate what the result would have been if our Government had emulated, in respect to the Collins Line, what the British Government did for Cunard. If the United States Government had aided the Collins Company to an extent

that would have enabled it to build a new ship each year, does any one suppose that, under such circumstances, the Collins Line would have gone to pieces, or that the Cunard or the other British lines that speedily followed would have so easily gained the unquestioned supremacy they did gain? Or would it be unprofitable to speculate what the American Line of 1872 might have done if our Government had emulated the policy towards it that the British Government immediately inaugurated towards its own steamship lines in order to enable them to crush their American rival? I will not attempt to answer these questions; but they ought to be food for reflection.

Fruitless as these experiments turned out to be, so far as the development of the American merchant marine was concerned, their operations and the policy which they forced the British Government to adopt and pursue left an indelible impress upon the management of the ocean merchant marine of Great Britain. From the time that the American Line of 1871-2 passed out of the lists of serious competition, the British monopoly grew year by year until its unquestioned supremacy was fully recognized. This brings us down to the latter part of the seventies—say, about 1877.

At this time, the competition of the French and German lines was not sufficient to disturb the British monopoly. The English went on from that time increasing the size and speed of their transatlantic passenger ships, and turning out immense numbers of the cheapest kind of freight ships, called "tramps"; but the improvements they made in ocean liners were not commensurate with the rapidly increasing demands of the travelling public. As for the freight ships, no improvement was attempted in them at all during this period. On the contrary, as has been wittily said of the tramp ships in those days: "The English built them by the mile and cut them off in lengths to suit."

As I have often said elsewhere, it is a rule in human affairs that neither a man nor a nation can stand still; if they do not go ahead they must retrograde; and, with exceptions not worth mentioning here, the British stopped and stood still in the matter of steamship development several years ago. To discuss the causes of this supineness in detail would take too much space; but it may be said that the first great palpable evidence of the decline of British supremacy in the ocean-carrying trade appeared when they

took up such an immense quantity of tonnage for transport service at the beginning of their extravagant and disastrous South-African War. Under the stress of this emergency the decline became more obvious than it had seemed under normal conditions; but, while the British were standing still and therefore retrograding, the Germans went ahead with giant strides.

Up to about 1887, while the two great German lines had from time to time increased their fleets to some extent, they had bought all their first-class ships in England or had had them built in English yards, and they had made little or no effort to develop a shipbuilding industry of their own on a large scale. As early as 1887, however, they had laid down two first-class ships in their own yards, these vessels being simply imitations of the British models they already possessed.

The real development of German shipbuilding on a great modern scale began with the accession of the present Emperor in 1888. That enterprising monarch from his earliest manhood had evinced a strong predilection for commercial and business pursuits, and his special ambition was directed to the extension of Germany's foreign commerce. He at once saw that no nation which does not build its own ships can permanently hold first rank in the ocean-carrying trade; and, from that moment until the present time, he has bent all the energies of his nature and all the power of his exalted position to the promotion of German shipbuilding and of the foreign commerce of his Empire. The result of this strong and well defined policy was soon apparent. The Germans not only began to build their own ships, but also began to build better ships than they could buy in Great Britain.

I have heard an interesting anecdote in connection with this branch of the subject. In the Fall of 1887, an American gentleman connected with the shipbuilding industry here was a homeward-bound passenger on the "*Trave*" of the North German Lloyd Line. Among his fellow-passengers was the eminent English architect, Mr. William John, the designer of our ship of war, the "*Texas*," and he was on his way to this country to aid in developing his plans, which had been purchased by Secretary Whitney.

At the "Captain's dinner," the American was called on for a little speech; and he chose for his subject the comfort and other good qualities of the German Line. In the course of his remarks,

he made some comparisons between the management of the British and German lines, not altogether favorable to the former. To this Mr. William John in his turn responded. Among other things, he said that Germany had a respectable merchant marine, while the United States had none at all or none worth speaking of. The cause of it was that the German Government permitted its citizens to buy their ships where they could get them built most economically, but that the American Government would not permit its citizens to place a foreign-built ship under their own flag. He then proceeded to say that in this the Germans displayed sound business sense. Realizing that they could never excel in shipbuilding or that Germany could never become a great shipbuilding nation, they adopted the next best expedient and supplied their lines with British-built ships. To this, the Captain of the "*Trave*" took immediate exception. He said that, while it was true that the Germans had previously bought all their first-class ships in England, of which the good ship then under their feet was an example, they had prepared and would soon launch forth a great scheme of home-shipbuilding. "I venture to prophesy," said the Captain of the "*Trave*," "that, within ten or twelve years from this time, you will see in the service of the North German Lloyd Company a passenger steamship or ocean greyhound that will excel in size, comfort, safety, speed and all other desirable qualities, any ship ever built in Great Britain or to be built there." The English naval architect smiled at this; but, of course, politeness restrained him from further comment. This was in the Fall of 1887. Ten years from that time, the North German Lloyd Company put on its line the "*Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse*," a ship which the English have not thus far succeeded in equalling, much less in excelling.

This British supineness and this German progress have continued until the present time. Their effects were very greatly accentuated when the English withdrew such a large amount of tonnage for the uses of the South-African War, and the Germans made haste to take up in all directions the traffic that the British had in that manner wholly or partly abandoned. The result is that Germany has practically taken the first place in the ocean-carrying trade, and Great Britain has been relegated to the second place. Of course, there is a great deal more British tonnage than German tonnage, but the German ships are nearly all of modern

types, many of them new and in the total average superior in capacity and performance to the total average of British tonnage in the ratio of more than two to one.

This marked the third great era in the history of the British merchant marine.

Something had to be done; but the British did not seem capable of developing any scheme or enterprise that might avail to restore their waning fortunes.

At this moment, certain American steamship men, perceiving the desperate condition of the British merchant marine, and not having obtained assistance to American shipping from our own Government, saw that there was an opportunity for heroic treatment, and they secured the assistance of Mr. Morgan in a scheme to Americanize in fact, if not in name, a very large amount of hitherto foreign ocean steam-tonnage. This, however, was only the beginning of what has since occurred. The so-called merger as it stands, though not of British conception or British origin, may prove the salvation of the British merchant marine. The English were helpless in the matter, because they apparently had no mind or personality of their own capable of organizing it. But it has aroused the British public from the lethargy of years' duration and has turned their normal self-complacency into an almost feverish realization of the actual conditions which confront them. This was the reason why certain English steamship lines so readily and so gladly fell in with the plans of Mr. Morgan and his associates in the merger.

The British newspapers and other organs of public expression took great alarm, and professed to see in this merger the beginning of their downfall. The greatest British newspaper coined the term "Morganeering" as a descriptive epithet.

Still, the common-sense left in England even on this most delicate of subjects, has been strongly and ably voiced by Lord Brassey at the annual meeting of the London Chamber of Commerce, of which he is President. This meeting occurred on May 28th last, and it was so numerously attended that the room in which the annual meeting has been held from time immemorial could not accommodate the crowd, so that it had to be adjourned to a more spacious place. In the course of his presidential address, Lord Brassey said that it was idle for the British to expect or claim a monopoly of the North Atlantic; it

was certain that, sooner or later, some movement similar to that initiated by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan would be brought about by the United States. He then proceeded as follows:

"Let us not lose our national dignity in unavailing and groundless alarms. Our position as a maritime nation is assured, and we shall hold our position against all comers because we build ships more cheaply and, with or without foreign crews, sail them more cheaply than any of our rivals."

Lord Brassey admitted, however, that the British shipbuilders must look to their laurels in the construction of ocean steamships of the type of the Hamburg-American line steamer "*Deutschland,*" and he urged more liberal subsidies for mail-carrying.

In a session of the House of Commons the same night, the shipping question was again brought up on the motion for the reappointment of the Committee on Ships' Subsidies, and discussion of this motion elicited expressions of opinion from all parts of the House that it was desirable to enlarge the scope of the Committee, so as to enable it to report upon the latest developments in the ocean-carrying trade, and there was general assent to a proposition that an important increase of subsidies for mail-carrying and for other purposes was imperative.

That the English have been thoroughly roused from their lethargy, and that their traditional self-complacency has given place to an almost morbid anxiety, is attested by information which reached this country on the 5th of June. This information is to the effect, that the Cunard Line will not only not come into the American merger, but that powerful interests in Great Britain have determined to use it with the Elder-Dempster, the Canadian Pacific Steamship connections and other lines, as a basis of what may, and probably will, result in a great English merger, organized on lines somewhat similar to the one already effected. If this determination is carried out, it will be to the general advantage of the commercial and shipping world at large, because it will have the effect of preventing a universal merger of all the great lines.

Whether such a universal merger was contemplated, as the probable or even possible outcome of Mr. Morgan's plans, there are no means of knowing. It would have been extremely difficult to bring all the great steamship lines under several different flags into a great and all-embracing combine. There would have been

financial difficulties, though these might not have been so nearly insuperable as the difficulty of evolving a harmonious universal management. From this point of view, it is to be hoped that the English will carry into effect their evident purpose to use the Cunard Line as the basis of a great merger that shall be purely British in finance and in management. It is really the only expedient now left open to them, if they are to retain, not the absolute supremacy they once had, but at best a share of it more or less relatively important. Manifestly, the power and resources of the Morgan American merger can be adequately met only by a combination equal in financial strength and material equipment. It could not be met by isolated companies, operating separately. But it must be borne in mind that this great British merger will be backed by all the resources of the British Government, and therefore it must become a menace to our shipping interests in the absence of action on the part of our Government to meet it.

Having thus shown the conditions which existed in ship-owning and the effect which the merger is likely to have upon these conditions, we may now briefly consider its probable effect upon shipbuilding.

In the first place, it is bound to stimulate or, a better phrase would be, to compel a very marked advance in the type and character of British-built ships, and it must also, for reasons which I suggested early in this paper, beneficially affect American shipbuilding, particularly in ship-yards which represent a high state of modern development in plant, appliances, methods and organization.

At this time American rivalry is a subject that has awakened the interest of the British more than at any other period in history.

The reason why first-class American shipbuilders and their capacities should be considered by the merger is, that it must stimulate all parties to the development of vessels of greater speed, greater comfort and greater relative economy in fuel consumption and in other elements of operating cost.

The sudden augmentation in the size of merchant ships has revolutionized all the methods of work and of manipulating the various materials of construction. Man-handling of the materials that enter into the make-up of the mammoth ships now in vogue is out of the question, and the introduction of powerful and newly

designed machinery, together with increased yard-space, is imperatively demanded to handle, fashion and work into place the elements of these immense structures.

At this point in order to illustrate my meaning by a practical object lesson it becomes necessary for me to refer briefly to the establishment under my own control. Radical and sweeping changes have been made, amounting to a complete revolution of plant, methods and working organism. These changes are now complete; but they have been made so quietly and with so little self-advertisement that the importance and significance of the progress achieved has but just begun to be suspected, and is hardly yet realized by the trade at large, or even by those who should be interested in it above all others.

The ship-yard with its miles of railroad tracks of standard gauge, and with its locomotives, travelling locomotive cranes, and freight cars able to load and unload at every point necessary for receiving plates, etc., and for their trans-shipment to the localities where they are worked, may be viewed as one section of the great work in the New Departure; the electric overhead travelling cranes and their appliances for giving the highest effectiveness to its power, plant, etc., as a second section; and as a third section, the great air-power plant with its riveting, drilling, chipping and caulking appliances, making Cramp's the foremost ship-yard on the planet in its preparations for the New Departure.

Difficulties experienced by the builders of large ships abroad have compelled their appreciation of the gravity of the situation there, and they have just discovered the great strides that the Cramp Company has made in providing for the future. The present result is that that company is in continuous correspondence with the foremost shipbuilders in Great Britain (some of whom have already visited the works), who have recently organized a committee of their most prominent men to visit the company's yard for the purpose of personally investigating the design, construction and operations of the new system. As an instance of this attentiveness we may quote briefly from "*Engineering*" of London, in its issue of March 28th, 1902:

"We refer to the use of pneumatic tools in the construction of the hulls of ships. The wonderful adaptability of these tools to the many and varying operations necessary in the construction of the steel framing and plating of vessels, whether it be for drilling, riveting, caulking,

or chipping, cannot long be overlooked. Let us see what others are doing in the matter. The Americans, who so often seem to look ahead of us, appear to have done so again with regard to this question, and have in consequence gained experience in the use of pneumatic tools for shipwork which we have yet to acquire.

"Take, for instance, the works of Messrs. Cramp, of Philadelphia, where these tools have been adopted throughout the shipbuilding yards, and are employed on the very heaviest work. During last year, a part of the work carried out there was the construction of two steamers for the American Line. The length of these steamers is 560 ft., and the registered tonnage is 14,000 tons. The number of rivets per ship is approximately 647,000, and their dimensions are as follows; In the shear strake, 1⅛ in. in diameter; in bottom strake, 1 in. in diameter; and in the general work ⅞ in. in diameter. . . . . Practically, the whole of the riveting on the above ships was done by pneumatic tools. . . . . The actual cost of the riveting, as compared to handwork, was 40 per cent. less. . . . . The aggregate capacity of the air compressors in the above works is 15,000 cubic feet of free air per minute, compressed to 100 lb. per square inch. . . . . At present, the pneumatic riveters at work at Southampton Dock are being operated by men who have come over from Messrs. Cramp and Co.'s works, until the English workmen get accustomed to their use."

The foreman and the men referred to as being at Southampton have recently returned to this country, having perfected successfully the work they were sent over to do. Their presence in Southampton was a notable event in the shipbuilding world of Europe, and visitors from ship-yards thronged the dock-yard while they were at work. These visitors came not only from British yards but also from the Continent.

A newspaper cable despatch of a few days ago announcing the intention of the Chief Constructor of the German Navy to visit Cramp's ship-yard for the purpose of examining into the new system, indicates the widespread influence that Cramp's New Departure has had upon the shipbuilding art in the world at large.

CHAS. H. CRAMP.

THE THREE FRANCESCAS.

BY EDITH WHARTON.

THE almost simultaneous production of three plays on the subject of Francesca da Rimini, by play-wrights of three different nationalities, illustrates in an interesting manner that impulse of the creative fancy which so often leads one imaginative writer to take up a theme already dealt with by another. The greatest geniuses have been swayed by such currents of suggestion: there are moments when certain subjects are in the air and present themselves irresistibly to imaginations of the most different order. This is perhaps especially the case when the situation or the story dealt with is one already familiar to the world, when it has grown to be an integral part of human culture, as in the case of the tragedy of Rimini. The Elizabethan dramatists repeatedly exemplified this tendency of the creative mind to remint the currency of fiction, to individualize stock types in its own image. An inexhaustible suggestiveness is the property of certain great stories dealing with universal passions and instincts, and there will probably never come a time when Romeo and Juliet, Lear and Othello do not furnish material for re-embodiment.

Where—as in the plays just cited—a dramatic situation has taken definitive form in the hands of genius, the later comer is of course debarred from deliberate use of the fable; but what is "*Le Père Goriot*" but another telling of "Lear," and in how many later tales of thwarted love or death-dealing jealousy are the germs of "Romeo and Juliet" and of "Othello" wholly absent? With the story of Francesca the case is different. Here the episode was simply hinted at by Dante, and perhaps even those to whom his lines are familiar will be surprised, on turning to them again, to see how little of the story he tells: so closely

has it come to be associated, in every incident, with his evocation of the two who go forever on the accursèd air. Dante gave but the central fact of the great love against which the gates of hell could not prevail; but his contemporaries knew how to fill up this outline with the familiar details of a tragedy still recent when he wrote.

Of the authors now under consideration, Mr. Phillips was earliest attracted by the dramatic possibilities of the tale. His play was written some four years ago; and in a discussion of the three dramas it should therefore come first. Before examining the plays separately, however, it is necessary to find some basis of comparison; since they are too different to be compared at all points. In form, for instance, Mr. Phillips has chosen blank verse, Signor d'Annunzio *vers libres,* rhymed and unrhymed, and Mr. Crawford (for special reasons) a prose simple to the verge of baldness. These vehicles of expression cannot be profitably compared, and one must seek elsewhere for an attribute common to the three versions. This is found in the fact that all three were written for the stage; and from this stand-point they must be considered.

In dealing with so well-known a theme, the dramatist's task is complicated by the fact that he must discount the suspense of his audience. From the first line they are in the secret with him: every spectator knows that Francesca and Paolo love each other, and that in the end their love will be found out and punished. The author, therefore, cannot play on the conjectures of his audience; and suspense being avowedly one of the most important factors in dramatic presentment, he must make up for this deficiency by keeping his characters in the dark and letting his audience become absorbed in their gropings through the labyrinth of fate. From the outset, the spectator knows the doom suspended over the house of Malatesta; and the chief interest in the play must lie in watching "the gods creep on with feet of wool" upon their unsuspecting victims. How, then, has Mr. Phillips fulfilled this condition?

The recorded facts of Francesca's story need amplification to fit them for dramatic purposes, and Mr. Phillips has broken with tradition in making a jealous woman sow the first seeds of suspicion in Malatesta's mind. His cousin Lucrezia, a childless widow who for years has been deep in his counsels, is embittered

by his marriage to the young and beautiful Francesca, and seizes the first chance to hint at the likelihood of his having a rival in his brother. Lucrezia is the most life-like and forcible character in the drama—the only man in it, one might say—but her intervention so early in the play removes the important element of suspense, and makes of the remaining acts a merely episodical progress toward an anticipated catastrophe. Herein lies the weakness of the play. From the middle of the second act the audience knows that Giovanni is aware of his brother's love for Francesca. He is still ignorant, indeed, if that love be returned, or, if returned, how far feeling has been curbed by duty; but these minor considerations, though used with ingenuity, fail to arrest the interest of the spectator, who feels that, since *he* knows, and Giovanni knows, and Lucrezia knows, it is idle to keep up the mystery.

If Mr. Phillips has thus sacrificed one element of dramatic effectiveness, he has missed another by his neglect of local color, both in the atmosphere and in the psychology of the play. Local color of the external sort is, on the whole, an overrated pigment; but there is a subtle way of suggesting the atmosphere of a period and country, of indicating, allusively, the racial point of view and the natural environment; and this Mr. Phillips has failed to do. In a general—a very general—sense, it may be said that such primary passions as love and jealousy are the same in all races and ages; but this generalization will not stand the test of specific application. If the exponents of these passions are to have any more individuality than the vices and virtues of an old Morality, they must be given a local habitation. It is still broadly true that *la morale est purement géographique,* and that, in an Italian and an Anglo-Saxon temperament, love and jealousy do not operate in the same way or with the same results. More especially is this the case when the Italian is a thirteenth-century tyrant, the Anglo-Saxon his modern interpreter. It is safe to say that Giovanni Malatesta (quaintly described in the *Ottimo Commento* as "an open-hearted man, warlike and cruel") would not have behaved like a gentlemanly Englishman with a tendency to introspection and melancholia. He certainly would not have made such a to-do about killing his wife and brother. It was thus that such matters were settled in mediæval Italy. To a lord of the *haute justice* it was as natural, as obligatory, one might say, to kill

an unfaithful wife with his own hands, as it would be for a modern Englishman to apply for a divorce.

The moral susceptibilities of the other characters are equally tender. Francesca's innocence verges on *niaiserie,* and Paolo is a Werther with a dash of University Settlement. From the first he shuns Francesca's perilous nearness, and when love prevails, and he finds himself powerless to flee, he buys poison and resolves to die at her feet. Giovanni, overhearing the avowal of his love (an avowal which Paolo forces somewhat needlessly on the reluctant apothecary who sells him the drug), is so moved by his brother's suicidal intentions that he exclaims: "I cannot have thee die, my Paolo!" In thirteenth-century Rimini, the chances are that, before Paolo had time to swallow the potion, he would have had his brother's knife in his back; but Mr. Phillips's characters have read "The Data of Ethics" and cultivated the other-regarding virtues. Even the virago Lucrezia, who, at the outset, seems disposed to take somewhat illogical revenge on the world in general for the fact of her childlessness, melts suddenly at an affectionate word of Francesca's, and tries to check the machinery of murder that she has set in motion. If, as Mr. Phillips obscurely hints, Lucrezia's hatred of Francesca is based on a not always unreciprocated passion for Giovanni, it seems unlikely that the young wife's advances should have such a softening effect, especially as Francesca's appeal reveals her love for Paolo; but Mr. Phillips, who refuses to let any of his characters *savourer* their vengeance in good Italian fashion, appears to believe in "changes of heart" as rapid and complete as revivalist conversions.

Lucrezia, then, having been asked by Francesca to "think of her as a little child," is so touched by this request that she dashes out in pursuit of Giovanni, to whom she had previously suggested the classic expedient of a feigned departure, in order that he should return and surprise the lovers. Her repentance naturally comes too late. Paolo and Francesca have to be killed, and the audience knows that, while Lucrezia rushes out by one door, Giovanni will come in by another. In a moment he does come in. He has found and killed the lovers, and he says to Francesca's frightened waiting-woman:

> "Is it not time you dressed her all in white,
> And combed out her long hair as for a sleep?"

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Dramatically, this scene is the finest in the play. Malatesta for the moment ceases to be a modern altruist, and becomes a mediæval Italian drunk with revenge. "And now," he exclaims,

> "And now their love that was so secret close
> Shall be proclaimed. Tullio, Carlo, Biagi!
> They shall be married before all men. Nita!
> Rouse up the house and bring in lights, lights, lights!
> There shall be music, feasting and dancing.
> Wine shall be drunk. Candles, I say! More lights!
> More marriage lights! Where tarry they the while,
> The nuptial tapers? Rouse up all the house!"

This is not only fine poetry but good psychology. For the first time since the opening of the play one feels one's self in Italy—at least in the Elizabethan Italy of "The White Devil" and "The Duchess of Malfy"; for, as Vernon Lee has pointed out in "Euphorion," the real meridional went about his bloody business in much more prosaic and instinctive fashion than his northern interpreter could even then conceive possible. Still, such minor differences do not spoil the illusion, for the Elizabethan Italy has long since become a recognized fief of the imagination. But the key soon changes. Malatesta begins to talk of the curse of Cain, and the scene closes, nobly indeed, as regards poetry, but on a note of sentimental fatalism unworthy of the opening. Since we have it on Dante's authority that Paolo and Francesca did not repent in hell, why should Malatesta repine on earth?

If Mr. Phillips has been chary in the use of local color, Signor d'Annunzio has laid it on with a lavish hand. It was of course easier for him, as an Italian, to enter into the psychology of his characters, to brush in their background by those allusive touches which are so much more suggestive than explicit statement. But the element of dilettanteism in his talent has led him to attempt a minute "reconstitution" of the period, so that the thread of his drama is almost lost in a labyrinth of archæological and etymological details. The mere reading of Signor d'Annunzio's list of characters shows how large a part he allots to the episodical portrayal of life in a mediæval Italian city. In a chronicle-play there would have been room for his supernumeraries; but in a psychological drama, of which the direct action is limited to three persons, this swarming of musicians, soldiers, torch-bearers cross-bowmen and so on, affects one as though the figures in the

tapestry hangings of the castle had come down and thrust themselves between the living actors. To keep such a crowded background in perspective requires the large scenic brush of a master-dramatist; and even Shakespeare did not pack his middle distance in the plays where he wished the principal action to stand out in high relief. Moreover, in his dramas of passion, every subordinate character is a necessary link in the chain of action, as in the case of Oswald, the Fool and the rival men-at-arms in "Lear." Signor d'Annunzio lacks the skill to utilize his accessory figures in this way: they are merely put in to "look pretty," as a collector arranges his bric-à-brac.

The result, it must be owned, is distinctly effective. The play unrolls a series of vivid pictures, all suffused with the atmosphere of the old chronicles and the *novelle*. This is the real Italy of the Middle Ages—not the "academy of manslaughter, the sporting-place of murder" of the terrified English imagination, but the bright fierce inconscient Italy of Mattarazzo and Boccaccio. The pasteboard "flies" are replaced by the actual walls of the Malatesta keep, war-dinted, blood-stained walls, frowning over a fortified town of trembling burghers and a land tilled by serfs and ravaged by the mercenaries of rival tyrants. We are in Dante's Rimini.

Signor d'Annunzio has composed a fable in keeping with this background. He reverts to the traditional story of Francesca's marriage—a story of fraud and violence, for the real Francesca was no Patient Grizzel, but a damsel so high of spirit—*d'altiero animo*—that, to trick her into marriage with the deformed Giovanni Malatesta, it was necessary to make her think that his brother Paolo—himself a married man, and sent to wed her by proxy—was to be her real husband. This at once secures the spectator's sympathy for Francesca. She has been basely used, and her husband is a party to the fraud. In the first act, Signor d'Annunzio shows Francesca at her father's court in Ravenna, surrounded by her attendant damsels and her brawling scheming brothers. One of these, Ostasio, who for political reasons is set on the Malatesta alliance, but who wavers at the thought of sacrificing the girl, thus describes her to the notary who is urging the expediency of the marriage:

> "Ah, she were worth a crown! How beautiful!
> No blade is straighter than the gaze she plants

Straight in the eyes of whoso speaks with her.
But yesterday she said: 'What man is this
To whom you give me, brother?' When she goes,
Her great hair all about her to the knees . . .
She gladdens me like ensigns in the wind
Over a conquered city . . . then it seems
The eagle of our House sits on her wrist
Like a jessed falcon straining for high prey.
But yesterday she said: 'What man is this
You give me to?' *Ah, who shall see her end?*"

Eight centuries and the Alps lie between this Francesca and Mr. Phillips's.

Expediency overrules Ostasio's scruples. He imprisons a wandering *jongleur* whom he suspects of having come to Ravenna in Paolo's train, and of knowing that this brilliant cavalier is but a vicarious wooer; and the act closes with the picture of Francesca handing a rose to her supposed husband through the courtyard gates.

The second act shows the interior of the castle of Rimini. The fortress is besieged by Ghibelline forces, and Francesca has mounted to the upper story of the keep. Here she is joined by Paolo, newly come from besieging Cesena with Guido de Montfort. This Paolo is not the carpet-knight of tradition, "more given to the arts than to warfare." A year has passed since the marriage of Francesca, and since then

"Peace and the soul of Paolo Malatesta
Forevermore are foes in life and death.
For all about me turned to enmity
The day thine unreturning foot was set
Within this fatal house, and mine withdrawn.
Bloody deeds
That night did medicine my wounded soul.
Tindaro Omodei I slew, and left
His roof in ruins, flinging him as prey
To the insatiate furies at my heels."

Francesca listens, trembling and invoking the saints; but in that moment of violence and terror their love for each other flames up like the Greek fire blazing about them. This scene, where the air hums with flying missiles and the sky is lit by the flare of blazing roofs, is one of the finest in the play. The lovers are swept into each other's arms by the heightened passion of the moment. Suddenly Giovanni appears. The day is nearly won,

and he comes to tell his brother that the Florentine envoys have brought the good news of his election as Captain of the People. Francesca tells her Cypriote slave to bring a draught of wine to the thirsty warriors. Giovanni drinks first, and then bids her hand the cup to his brother; and she offers it with the words

> "O brother of my lord, drink of the cup
> Thy brother drinks of"—

a phrase on which the act should have closed.

The scene of the third act is the bedchamber of Francesca, "panelled with pictures from the story of Tristan". Francesca is reading aloud to her damsels the tale of Guinevere and Lancelot. Presently Paolo arrives from Florence, and the latter half of the act is a prolonged love-scene, closing upon the fatal kiss. It is impossible, without going into detail, to render the incidental charm of this act, especially in its earlier portion, where Francesca talks with the merchant who has ridden in Paolo's train from Florence. Signor d'Annunzio has drawn with singular felicity on the legends, the poetry and the superstitions of the period, and the *gaia brigata* of Francesca's court live before us like the knights and ladies in the prologue of the Decameron. Dramatically, the effect is less successful, since the situation remains what it was at the close of the previous act.

Signor d'Annunzio, like Mr. Phillips, has had to devise a means of exciting Giovanni's suspicions. To this end, he has given Malatesta a younger brother, the terrible one-eyed Malatestino, a stripling who might have been drawn from Mattarrazzo's Grifonetto Baglione. This young bird of prey loves Francesca, and when she indignantly rejects his love, hints to her that he knows her secret and holds her fate and Paolo's in his hands. She drives him from her, and Malatestino, going to Giovanni, offers to give him proof of his wife's guilt. One episode in this scene, though quite unrelated to the action of the play, is too characteristic to be overlooked. Messer Montagna dei Parcitadi, one of the leaders of the Ghibellines whom Giovanni has successfully repulsed, has been taken prisoner and cast into the dungeon of the keep. All through the lugubrious scene between Francesca and Malatestino, the captive Ghibelline's cries are heard. They unnerve and madden Francesca, and at length Malatestino declares that he will go down and silence the prisoner.

Fascinated but helpless, she watches him go, and in a few moments the boy returns, dragging Montagna's head behind him in a linen cloth. "How heavy it is!" is his comment, as he drops his dripping burden.

Meanwhile Giovanni, at Malatestino's suggestion, has planned the usual feigned departure, and Paolo and Francesca forget their peril in the prospect of being for once alone together. The fifth act shows Francesca's bedchamber at midnight. She lies in an uneasy sleep, from which her maidens will not rouse her, because it is dangerous to waken a dreamer—*un cuor che vede.* They talk in undertones by the bedside. One says that Francesca always has her dreams interpreted by the Cypriote slave, Smaragdi; another whispers that she has seen Giovanni and Malatestino ride away under the starlight toward Pesaro, the younger brother carrying Parcitadi's bloody head at his saddle-bow; and a third sighs out that one can breathe freely again, now that the hunch-back and the one-eyed are gone. The whole scene is full of mystery, of fantastic sounds and shadows. Suddenly Francesca wakes. She calls for Smaragdi, the watchful slave, who is always at her side, who never fails to warn her of impending danger. But Smaragdi has vanished. She was last seen washing up the bloodstains on the court-yard pavement, where Malatestino had tied Parcitadi's head to his saddle-bow. The maidens seek her, calling softly down the dark stone corridors; but no answer comes. Smaragdi has been spirited away, and the air is full of doom.

Francesca dismisses her attendants. Suddenly she hears a low knocking on the door; she calls out "Smaragdi," but it is Paolo who enters. The scene moves rapidly to its end. Another knocking, this time loud and furious, tears the lovers from each other's arms. Giovanni bursts in and the brothers draw their daggers on each other; but Francesca flings herself between and receives Giovanni's blade in her breast.

It would have been impossible to do justice to Signor d'Annunzio's drama without dwelling at some length on the exquisite incidental touches which create its peculiar charm; yet it must be owned that these touches impede the action, and that the drama, when stripped of them, shows a complete arrest of movement in the third act. Far different is the construction of Mr. Crawford's "Francesca." Though in the French version (which in-

cludes a prologue) the action covers a space of fourteen years, it moves with a rapidity beside which Mr. Phillips's action drags and Signor d'Annunzio's seems to remain stationary. Yet this impetus is not acquired by mere stage ingenuity; indeed, it is to Mr. Crawford's credit that his skill in the construction of mechanical plots has not led him to turn a tragedy into a melodrama. He has preserved the simple outline which such a theme demands, and his dramatic instinct has saved him from clogging it with unessential detail.

His play was written for Madame Sarah Bernhardt, with the view of its being translated into French; and these peculiar conditions restricted Mr. Crawford to the use of the simplest prose. The English version necessarily suffers from this restriction. In a language which, like the English and the Italian, possesses a special poetic vocabulary, it is hard to render lofty situations in prose without running into colloquialism or bathos. Mr. Crawford has at least refrained from making his personages talk "prose poetry". They use the plainest and most direct English, and the play seems almost like the skeleton of a drama in blank verse.

This nudity makes the structure of the tragedy more salient. To turn from the crowded scene of Signor d'Annunzio's "Francesca" to the open spaces of Mr. Crawford's, is like passing from a modern English play with an elaborate stage-setting to the bare *mise-en-scène* of a classic drama at the Théâtre Français, where, if there is a glass of water on the stage, the spectator knows it has its special relevancy. Mr. Crawford, alone of the three authors, has turned to history for the chronology of his drama. According to the old chronicles, Paolo and Francesca loved each other for fourteen years before Giovanni discovered their secret; and, in the original version of Mr. Crawford's play, his heroine is the mother of a girl of thirteen when the action begins. A brief prologue, setting forth the fraud of Francesca's marriage, has been added to the French translation; but the addition, though cleverly made, detracts from the unity and simplicity of the original, and ought not to be included in its consideration.

Mr. Crawford, put to it, like his fellow-dramatists, to invent an effective way of exciting Giovanni's suspicions, has made the daughter, Concordia, the innocent means of her mother's betrayal. In the opening act, Francesca and Paolo are shown in the

security of their long-established relation—a relation which Francesca believes to be completely justified by the abominable deception of her marriage. But a woman's voice is heard in the castle court, shrieking out maledictions on Paolo; and the latter, looking from the window, recognizes his wife Beatrice in the disguise of a peasant. Francesca's jealousy is instantly roused. She couples this mysterious incident with the fact that Paolo has suddenly and inexplicably accepted the post of Captain of the People, proffered by the Florentine government; the woman cries out again, "Paolo Malatesta! Coward! Betrayer!" Paolo, losing his self-command, dashes down into the court-yard, and Francesca, left alone, murmurs to herself: "A woman crying out his name—a woman leading a child—and on this very day he talks of leaving me!"

The next act opens, effectively, with the holding of a court of justice. Malatesta, as lord of the *haute et basse justice,* is to pass sentence on the various offenders who come under his jurisdiction. While the men-at-arms are preparing for the trial, Giovanni chats with his little daughter, and Concordia asks him what has become of the strange madwoman who had so frightened her mother and her uncle Paolo. Little by little, from the child's talk, Giovanni pieces out a fragmentary hint of the truth —enough to rouse a vague suspicion, without directing or defining it. One simply feels that henceforth he will be on the alert. Beatrice, meanwhile, has been seized and imprisoned, and Paolo knows that she will be brought before his brother for trial. This must be prevented, and Paolo bribes the gaoler to let her escape; but Francesca, mad with jealousy, is equally determined that the prisoner shall not be shuffled out of sight. She appears, and insists on Giovanni's summoning the mysterious woman first. Paolo, at bay, makes a sign to the gaoler, and in a moment the latter returns with the announcement that the stranger has strangled herself. Giovanni bids the bearers bring in the body, and himself uncovers the dead woman's face. There is a pause full of dreadful significance, as each in turn recognizes Beatrice; then Malatesta, looking at his brother, says in a tone of solemn command: "Paolo Malatesta, bury your wife."

Francesca's jealousy has been lulled, but Giovanni's is awakened; and on Paolo's soul lies the weight of his wife's death. This psychological situation, brought about with masterly simplicity,

serves to maintain the interest of the two remaining acts. Properly speaking, indeed, these form but one act in two scenes, which together compose the climax of the tragedy.

The scene opens in the walled garden under Francesca's window. Giovanni has set his spies in motion, and learns that Paolo has left Florence clandestinely. Without doubt he has come to Rimini, is perhaps even now in hiding in Francesca's chamber. As Giovanni talks with his wife he hears the casement stir overhead. The day is sultry, and he suggests to her that they should go indoors; but she declares that her room is stifling and that she has come into the garden for air. Every word and gesture confirms his suspicions. Now begins the most masterly scene in the play. Giovanni, the open-hearted and cruel, has transformed himself into a smooth and subtle hypocrite, in order the more surely to compass his revenge. He tells his wife that Paolo has betrayed him, conspiring with the exiled Ghibellines to get possession of Rimini as a base of operation against the Florentine republic. This is no vague rumor—Giovanni has the facts from the Florentine government. Paolo has left Florence suddenly, without warning, and the question is—whither has he fled? "If he is innocent of treason he will either come here to escape from his enemies, or he will go back to Florence and face them Which do you think he will do?"

Francesca falters: "I—I think he may come here;" and Giovanni answers quietly: "Yes, I think it is likely that you will see him here to-day."

She extracts a promise from Giovanni that he will not move against his brother till he has seen Paolo and heard his defence; but when her husband asks: "Will you give me nothing for this, Francesca?" she shrinks back with uncontrollable abhorrence, and Giovanni, clasping her with sombre passion, cries out: "I love you! I love you! *I shall love you still when you are dead.*"

The scene shifts to Francesca's room. Paolo, concealed there, has heard the conversation between husband and wife, but the two lovers, in each other's presence, are once more forgetful of impending danger. Francesca, indeed, suggests that they should take counsel together for Paolo's safety, but he answers, "Not yet!" and their talk strays back to the days of their early love, and to the book which had betrayed them. "Where is the book?" Paolo asks, and Francesca gives it to him. He begins to read

and then hands it to her. She takes up the tale: "And when Launcelot saw Guinevere's lips—," but suddenly she exclaims: "It grows so dark that I can hardly see." The darkness is caused by a shadow falling across the book; the shadow of Giovanni who, his dagger between his teeth, noiselessly enters by the window before which the lovers sit. He reaches them unperceived, but as his arm is raised, Francesca sees him and flings herself across her lover. Up to this point the scene moves with a sombre rapidity; but its close is marred by a "death-bed speech" from the dying Francesca, which one suspects of having been composed at the request of Madame Bernhardt. Certainly, its effect is to let the play down suddenly from tragedy to melodrama; a fact the more to be regretted, as this is Mr. Crawford's only obvious concession to stage—or rather "stagy"—conventions. Signor d'Annunzio's Francesca makes a nobler end.

Whatever the merits of the two other plays—and they are many—Mr. Crawford has undoubtedly been most successful from the dramatic point of view. He has written the best "acting" play. His action is more rapid and simpler than that of the other dramatists, and has a higher quality of dramatic inevitableness. He has been clever in letting the surprise of the lovers take place without the time-honored device of the feigned departure. The psychology of his principal characters is firmly drawn, and though his play is as bare of metaphor as a tragedy of Alfieri's, it does not lack high imaginative touches, as where Francesca exclaims on the sudden darkening of the light behind her: a touch which suggests, though on a lower plane, such lightning-flashes of significance as Keats's

> "So the two brothers and their murder'd man
> Rode past fair Florence,"

and Imogen's exclamation on the road to Milford Haven:

> "Why, one that rode to's execution, man,
> Could never go so slow."

It is curious to note that the French critics, who have written much and favorably of Mr. Crawford's play, take exception at the two most characteristic *racial* traits in the drama: the long attachment of the lovers, and Malatesta's change from a violent and outspoken man to a stealthy smiling assassin. It is at these

two points that Mr. Crawford has shown his insight into Italian character and his courage in departing from stage conventions. He has had the audacity to draw his characters as Italians of the Middle Ages, and not as scrupulous and sentimental modern altruists. Italian fidelity in love was for centuries the theme of wondering comment to French travellers, who saw only a *vieux collage* in the long devotion of a lover growing gray in his lady's service. According to the curious code of sexual morality in Italy, the tie between the lover and his mistress was as sacred as marriage, or was rather in fact what that abeyant bond was in theory; and Mrs. Piozzi, in her travels, gives a quaint picture of an old Milanese lady of noble birth, whose old *cicisbeo,* attended by his old servant, presents himself every evening at the same hour. To those who understand this tradition, the long affection between Paolo and Francesca gives an added dignity and pathos to their situation, though it may prove a stumbling-block to English and American theatrical managers, whose recipe for historical drama consists in dressing up modern characters in the costumes of the period, and permitting the playwright the lavish use of "What ho!" and "Marry come up!" as a satisfying substitute for historic truth and racial psychology.

EDITH WHARTON.

PERSONAL INFLUENCE OF THE KAISER ON GERMAN PUBLIC LIFE.

BY WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND.

It is an attractive task to lay bare the various sources of the extraordinary influence exerted by the German Emperor upon the public life of the nation he rules. The world knows this influence to be very strong, but relatively little is generally understood as to whence it is derived. The purpose of this article is to show not only its extent on the different spheres of public activity in Germany, but also by what means the Kaiser has succeeded in so remarkable a degree in impressing his will, his aims and convictions upon his country.

The constitution of the Empire, on which the lawful powers and prerogatives of the head of the nation exclusively rest, does not confer on him a great abundance of either, hardly as much, in fact, as the constitution of this country delegates to the President. It divides the power of the Empire as such between the Kaiser, the Bundesrath or Federal Council, and the Reichstag or National Parliament. It makes the Kaiser chief commander of the military and naval forces; it invests him with the right of representing the Empire on all occasions in its dealings with foreign countries and their ambassadors and ministers, and of declaring war and concluding peace. But it grants the Kaiser no veto power to block unwise or unwelcome legislation, such as the President of the United States possesses; neither does it give him the duty or power to interfere in the internal affairs of any of the German states save the one whose monarch he is, making him in every respect, excepting those specified above, merely *primus inter pares*. The Bundesrath and the Reichstag are jointly entrusted with the right of legislating for the Empire, of framing, altering and passing bills which after approval by both bodies

become laws, although the Imperial Government may, and generally does, prepare and submit such bills, and these, of course, may more or less accurately reflect the personal wishes of the Kaiser. But it is at all times within the province of these two bodies to thwart the Kaiser in the matter of legislation.

The Bundesrath, particularly, is an organization whose functions are, on the whole, as defined by the constitution, nearly if not quite as important as those of the Kaiser. Its fifty-eight members are appointed by the governments of the twenty-six sovereign states which together compose the Empire; and its powers are not only legislative, like those of the Reichstag, but within certain limits supervisory and administrative as well. It also belongs exclusively to the Bundesrath to devise and set in force the rules and regulations for the execution of all laws. Prussia is represented within the Bundesrath by but seventeen out of the fifty-eight members, so that the Kaiser, even as King of Prussia, cannot sway the deliberations and decisions of this body.

The other branch of the legislative organization of the Empire, the Reichstag, is composed of 397 members, elected by general franchise, and representing, of course, every shade of political opinion, from the Socialist creed to the most reactionary shade of belief held by the so-called Junker Party. The splitting-up of political thought in Germany into almost a score of parties and factions, would in itself prevent the complete ascendency of the Imperial will within this body, and, as a matter of fact, the Imperial Government is obliged to win over a majority of votes for every measure it desires passed. This is what Bismarck called "*Politik machen von Fall zu Fall.*"

Thus, then, in theory, the power of the Kaiser to guide the legislation and administration of the Empire is seriously curtailed and, to some extent, even handicapped. But in practice this is true in a much less degree. As to the Bundesrath, though the seventeen Prussian votes directly controlled by the Kaiser are less than one-third of the total, there are always enough votes of the other states obtainable to give Prussia, which means the Kaiser, the majority. For, aside from the fear of displeasing the Kaiser, a sentiment which is strong in the bosoms of the smaller states and their rulers, and for which experience has furnished them good reason, Prussia's interests in any question or pending measure naturally run parallel with those of a number of its

neighbors. And the great weight which the interests of a state must naturally have which alone forms three-fifths of the territory and contains two-thirds of the population of the Empire, will be the decisive factor in many otherwise doubtful cases. At any rate, it is a fact that the Bundesrath, ever since it held its initial session in 1871, has in the end run counter to the Kaiser's and Prussia's serious interests in not a single instance.

The Reichstag, on its part, has not always been so amenable to the Kaiser's influence. On several occasions that body has rejected measures strongly urged by the Imperial representatives. Some of these measures have been definitely dropped, while others have again made their appearance and been finally passed, with or without alterations, as was the case with several of the bills for the increase of the army and navy. Nevertheless, the Reichstag has always been recognized by the Emperor as an uncertain element in his calculations, and as one which, in spite of the most clever manipulation, can never be depended upon to give effect to his wishes.

But, then, the powers of the Reichstag are more narrowly circumscribed than those of the Bundesrath; and the very fact that this body is composed of so many and so heterogeneous political units prevents it from becoming at any time a very formidable adversary, and from ever presenting a solid front against Imperial encroachments. It has, besides, no "patronage," so-called, to distribute and no other tangible favors to bestow.

The opposition, therefore, which the Kaiser has met, and is likely to meet in the future, from this quarter is much less serious than at first sight would appear to be the case. The amount of this possible opposition, however, is still measurably decreased by the personal influence of the Kaiser. For the Kaiser strikingly embodies an epitome of all the driving forces in the German character of to-day; and just as he in that capacity exercises a wellnigh mesmeric influence on the mind and imagination of the nation, so, too, he does on its representatives in the Reichstag. His masterful ways, and the forceful and picturesque manner in which he usually presents his views in public, greatly add to the authority of his personality. But he has still other means of impressing his will. Among these are speeches from the throne. These public enunciations, which in other countries are mere cut-and-dried papers to which little attention is paid, are

really meant by the German constitution to be nothing more. Under the present Kaiser's predecessors they *were* nothing more. They were read in a perfunctory manner, precisely as worded by the Imperial Chancellor. But William II. did not follow in his grandfather's footsteps in this respect. He has repeatedly and in a dramatic manner disregarded the exact wording, and even the spirit and substance, of the manuscript prepared for him by his Chancellors, and strongly infused them with his own ideas and opinions. From impersonal and unimpressive documents, such as the constitution contemplated, his throne speeches have become sensational events, reverberating through the whole Empire, and stamping in advance as his personal opponents, nay, enemies, all those delegates in Reichstag and Diet who resist the passage of the measures proposed by him. The receptions the Kaiser accords, in conformity with a long-established custom, to the presiding officers of the legislative bodies, and which under William I. were merely formal, are regularly turned to the same account by the present Kaiser. By strong and eloquent suasion on these occasions, the Kaiser has several times turned the scale in favor of important measures.

William II. has often given public utterance to his conviction that the most potent support of his throne is his army. It is not surprising, therefore, that he has steadily aimed at keeping that pillar of his strength perfectly under his own control. In doing this he has made use of every available means. All the year round finds him busy attending parades, manœuvres, anniversaries of battles, birthdays of sovereign or otherwise distinguished chiefs of a number of his regiments, and delivering speeches, toasts, formal or impromptu addresses, in which he never fails to inculcate precepts and traditions of loyalty and of every other military virtue, seizing, too, opportunities thus afforded him to pay compliments to the heads of allied or friendly nations, or to express other sentiments likely to benefit Germany in her political relations. Above all, though, he fraternizes with the officers of the army at luncheons or banquets given at their barracks, to which he invites himself. His after-dinner remarks on such occasions have often astounded the world, but from his own point of view, that of commander-in-chief of the army, they have been highly effective, and have tended to knit still more firmly the bonds which unite the army to his person. Then there is the entire

category of rewards and punishments, which he, as head of the army, dispenses at will—promotions, orders and decorations, praise or censure meted out to individuals or bodies in army orders and bulletins; confirmations, revisions or nullifications of sentences imposed by courts-martial. It will easily be understood that these varied and constantly applied means alone suffice to make the influence of the Kaiser over his army an element of surpassing force. But to all this must be added the influence he acquires through his "Military Cabinet." This is a bureau under his exclusive control, whose mission it is to supply him daily, by regular verbal or written reports, with that wealth of personal details about his army, and especially about the corps of officers, which enables him to know at all times the exact spirit and degree of efficiency noticeable in each regiment, even each company or squadron, and which lends to his personal relations with the army a spice of intimacy and comprehensive knowledge which is of enormous value. It is credibly asserted that the Kaiser personally knows half of the 25,000 officers in his army.

His "Naval Cabinet," whose scope of duties is similar, is largely responsible for his intimate knowledge of the ships and men composing the German navy. His constant visits to the naval vessels also have a share in this, and it is probably true that he personally knows every one of the 123 vessels and 1500 naval officers under his command.

As regards the citizen population, and more particularly the immense corps of government officials, his "Civil Cabinet," of which Herr von Lucanus is the dreaded chief, puts him in a position to acquire a great deal of similarly intimate knowledge about it. Thousands of petitions, letters of thanks, special reports, etc., reach him in the course of every year through this "cabinet" which give him a keen insight into the lives, ambitions, and aims of the middle and higher classes. The peculiar passion for titles and decorations, for which the Germans themselves have coined the word "*Titelsucht*," likewise furnishes the Kaiser with a strong lever by which to turn people at will. Every winter—on January 18th, as a rule—the so-called "*Ordensfest*," or Fête of Decorations, is celebrated at the Berlin court, when between 5,000 and 8,000 newly decorated citizens, drawn from every walk of life, are invited to court, file before the Kaiser and his consort, and are subsequently regaled in a number of the

most splendid apartments of the Old Castle, and affably treated by a large and gorgeously attired body of flunkeys. Thus an indelibly sweet and powerful impression is left on the minds of this heterogeneous multitude, largely composed of unsophisticated and intensely loyal denizens of rural districts or smaller towns. The official organ of the Empire on the afternoon of that day publishes a special edition, containing on a score of quarto pages the full names, callings, etc., of all these happy persons, together with a minute classification of the decorations and medals awarded, and all the newspapers in the Empire reprint the list, wholly or in part. The present Kaiser has used this quite inexpensive but very effective mode of rewarding loyal subjects with steadily increasing lavishness, and has invented a number of new decorations, besides. He indulges the ambition for titles with like generosity and with like effect.

By vastly increasing the splendors of his court, the Kaiser has also materially heightened his personal influence. The simple and unostentatious manners and customs prevailing at the Berlin court during the days of William I. have been superseded by an elaborateness of ceremonial, a brilliancy of appointments and costumes, and a display of taste and refined luxury which rival, and in some features even surpass, the elegancies of the Tuileries under Napoleon III. The exterior and interior of Berlin Castle, and of several other royal homes belonging to the Prussian monarchs, have been renovated and embellished, and connoisseurs claim that the so-called White Hall in Berlin Castle, in its new guise, is the most beautiful and chaste extant. The banquets given by the Kaiser on grand days enjoy a deservedly high reputation among European diplomats, and the royal cellars are unequalled to-day in any capital. The pressure to attend the Berlin court festivities has on account of all this become stronger every year. But in like ratio has the Kaiser's tendency increased to render these festivities exclusive.

All these means used by the Kaiser to extend and strengthen his influence on every class of the population are legitimate. But some other means he uses are open to serious objection, for they amount to nothing less than an overriding of the constitution. It was Bismarck who drew up that fundamental instrument, and it contains provisions clearly defining not alone the powers and prerogatives of the Emperor, but also those of the Imperial Chan-

cellor. One of these provisions is to the effect that every public utterance by the Emperor, oral or written, must receive the sanction of the Imperial Chancellor to acquire the character of a government emanation. Without that such utterances are to be considered merely as private enunciations, having no binding force on the sovereign, the government, or the nation. The constitution provides that every document signed or written by the Emperor in his public capacity must have the counter-signature of the Imperial Chancellor, whereby he, the Chancellor, assumes the responsibility for it toward the nation and its representatives in Bundesrath and Reichstag, and becomes amenable to them. Bismarck in his Memoirs says that the intent was to render the Chancellor alone responsible, he having identified himself with the monarch's act or expression by his signature, and thus "shield" the sovereign; the further inference being that if it becomes manifest at any time that the nation, through the majority of its representatives, disapproves of measures or opinions thus endorsed by the Chancellor, the sovereign has the simple remedy of dismissing the Chancellor and appointing a successor.

This important provision of the German constitution has been practically nullified by the Kaiser for many years past. He has declared himself in favor of projects or pending measures; he has proclaimed a new policy, or an important alteration in an old one; he has launched the ship of state into the troubled waters of a dangerous adventure, without even first consulting with his Chancellor. This he did throughout the Hohenlohe régime, and he has done it on several occasions since the present Chancellor came into power. The seizure of Kiaochou was a step undertaken not alone without the knowledge of the Chancellor, but directly against his will. If Germany at that time had become involved in war with China, that war would have been due to a flagrant violation of the constitution by the Kaiser. Public declarations have been made scores of times by the Kaiser, condemning or approving men and measures, without previous consultation with his Chancellors. Yet, while thus ignoring the constitution himself, the Kaiser has, when such utterances of his were adversely criticised, taken advantage of the existing very illiberal judicial practice, by prosecuting such critics, whom he, on a conspicuous occasion, styled "*Nörgler*" (fault-finders), and whom he advised to "shake the dust of the fatherland off their shoes." If these

utterances of his had been made with the consent, or over the signature, of the Imperial Chancellor, they would have become fit subjects for criticism within reasonable bounds. But by this doubly unfair proceeding on the Kaiser's part neither the Reichstag nor the nation at large is permitted to pronounce public judgment on his sayings and doings.

Again, the Kaiser has, contrary to the constitution, practically monopolized the direction of the foreign policy of Germany for many years—in fact, ever since the retirement of Bismarck. The Empire's foreign policy, by the explicit terms of the constitution, is left wholly to the Chancellor. If the Kaiser be not satisfied with the Chancellor's foreign policy, he can dismiss him. But the Kaiser found it more to his taste to shape the Empire's foreign policy entirely according to his own ideas, making the Chancellor, at least in this important respect, a mere figure-head. Bismarck, with whom he first tried these tactics, would not submit and was retired. Caprivi, a soldier before being a statesman, and regarding the Kaiser solely as his commander-in-chief, obeyed blindly. Hohenlohe, who was of a different moral and intellectual fibre, disliked being thus cavalierly treated, and finally resigned. How long von Bülow will submit to this treatment remains to be seen.

These are the two most important features in which the Kaiser shows a studied and persistent disregard of the constitution. But there have been other, less important, instances in which he has shown small respect for the instrument which created his position. These autocratic leanings of his would, in other countries with a longer past of constitutionalism, be a most dangerous defect. But in Germany, where parliamentarism is an importation, which has by no means as yet been as firmly established as in England, France, or even Italy, these absolutistic tendencies of the Emperor figure not nearly so prominently in the people's eyes as one might think. For what in Germany is termed the "monarchic principle" is rooted very deeply in the heart of the nation as a whole. The Socialists are the only exception; all the rest of the nation, say three-fourths of it, is intensely monarchic.

But, after all, it is the personal influence of the Kaiser which is most potent. His forceful personality simply compels attention. For years after his accession millions of Germans stood aloof, ignoring his kaleidoscopic activity, and firmly believing that after he had "sown his wild oats," and after the novelty of the

situation into which he had been summoned so unexpectedly had worn off, he would cease his pyrotechnic interference in every phase of public life. But these would-be "indifferents" were forced to abandon their attitude. When, after one of his speeches, often ill-advised, flamboyant and overshooting the mark, but always striking and earnest, the press of the whole world would be ringing with comment, and at every German fireside heated discussions *pro* and *con* would take place, these sober-minded Germans, while still condemning his methods, found it impossible to stand supinely aside. The Kaiser, on every weighty problem that came to the surface for solution, would split the nation into two hostile camps, stimulating discussion and keeping both adherents and opponents of his views at fever heat. It is this sensational side of his personal influence, probably more than any other, which has been, and is still being, felt most strongly. Into every political campaign in Germany he has thrown fire-brands in the shape of mottoes, pithy and apt sayings, sarcastic allusions, or ironical retorts to his adversaries. Every weapon of warfare has been successfully employed by him.

When the Kaiser disapproved of the violent Agrarian agitation in 1894, he coined the phrase: "You cannot expect me to sanction bread usury." And the phrase flew like wildfire all over Germany. When he dedicated the important Baltic-North Sea Canal, he said: "Oceans unite; they do not sever," and, similarly: "The world's present motto is, 'Easy Communication.'" When he considered it necessary to check the advancing tide of Socialism, he spoke of the Socialist party, numerically the largest in his Empire, as: "A horde of men unworthy to bear the name of Germans." And the bitter words still rankle in the breast of every German Socialist. When he rebuked the Ultramontane Centre Party for refusing to do honor to Bismarck on his eightieth birthday, he said: "This is a national disgrace, unequalled in modern history." When he had veered around in his ideas on the Agrarian question, he said: "Agriculture is the backbone of the country, and it must be protected." He coined the phrase about the "Greater Germany," and said: "Our future lies upon the water"; and, more strongly: "Without the consent of Germany's ruler, nothing must happen in any part of the world." His sayings about the "mailed fist," about "planting the banner of Germany upon the walls of Pekin," about the "yellow danger,"

and all the other highly colored and startling sentences descriptive of his conception of the situation in China, are still in everybody's recollection.

Now and then he has been checkmated, or even defeated outright. But despite occasional rebuffs, the Kaiser, in nine cases out of ten, has had his way, and is likely to have it in the future. His influence to-day is felt more strongly than that of any other single factor in Germany. In some ways this has been beneficial to Germany. It has led to the adoption of the most comprehensive plan of naval increase. It has infused more enterprise and self-confidence into the nation. It has inaugurated Germany's World Policy. Despite the fact that the nation gave undue prominence to sentimental considerations during the Spanish and the Boer wars, and thereby embittered relations, first with this country, and next with England, it has steered the ship of state so cleverly as to lead to the present *rapprochement* with this nation, and to a maintenance of correct relations with England.

The Kaiser's influence upon education and upon science in Germany has been great and, in the main, wholesome. He has clearly perceived the urgent need of remodelling the German educational system on new lines, lines more in accord with the requirements of this age of practical things; and his ideas, though at first they met the united opposition of the professional pedagogues of the old school, are now slowly prevailing. In the wide domain of applied science the Kaiser's influence has also wrought a vast amount of good.

But the incalculable harm done by the Kaiser's influence in other fields of public life probably more than balances accounts. For one thing, it has lowered the national standard of political thought and liberty. To all intents and purposes Germany, though nominally enjoying a constitutional form of government, is ruled autocratically.

On German literary and art life the personal influence of the Kaiser has also been noxious in the highest degree. He has waged, with more or less success, a savage war upon that highly interesting movement known variously as "Secessionist" or "Realistic," and of which, in literature, Hauptmann and Sudermann have been the main standard bearers, and in art, Böcklin, Liebermann, Klinger, Thoma, Stuck, and others. With all his might he has fought this movement, the most promising Germany

has known for a century, and despite its extreme and unwise partisans one powerfully moulding German thought and ideals. In place of it the Kaiser has, so far as lay in his power, substituted tame mediocrity, as strikingly exemplified by his own marble "ancestral gallery" in the Siegesallee in Berlin, and by the bombastic historical dramas of Joseph Lauff, the latter owing their very existence to the Kaiser's inspiration.

But perhaps the most portentous injury, and certainly the most completely achieved, done to German public life by the Kaiser's personal influence, is that inflicted upon the press and periodical literature. The freedom of the press, guaranteed not only by the Imperial Constitution, but by those of Prussia and the other German states, has been practically destroyed by him. The practice of the courts all over Germany, from the lowest to the highest, has been, since the accession of William II., growingly and steadily illiberal and systematically inimical to the press. Honest expression of opinion, whenever it contravened the Kaiser's ideas and convictions, has been so persistently and severely punished that it may be said to be effectually muzzled. There has never been any régime in Germany, so far as the records go, during which convictions for *lèse majesté* and all sorts of press offences have been even approximately as numerous. All this is not only in consonance with the Kaiser's wishes, but it is in large measure directly due to him, the appointment of the judges forming the highest tribunal in the Empire, and the positions leading up to this highest court, being under his control. The Kaiser has never during the fourteen years of his reign pardoned a single one of these offenders against his own dignity, nor even shortened, in any instance, their penalty. Besides, he has often expressed downright hostility to a free press.

In the Kaiser's veins mingle strange and unharmonious elements—the blood of the Hohenzollerns, than which there is none more matter-of-fact in Europe, nor more cool and well disciplined, and the blood of the Guelphs, than which there is none more stubborn, proud and unruly. William II. shows very distinctly this double lineage in his physical as well as his mental make-up. When one keeps this in mind, the discordant qualities of his personal influence, in its baneful as well as its beneficial effects, are more justly appreciated and adjusted.

WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND.

THE PROROGUED TURKISH PARLIAMENT.

BY KARL BLIND.

In the midst of the terrible excitement of the long-continued South-African war, an important event has passed almost unobserved, concerning the future and the fate of the Ottoman Empire. I refer to the split within the "Young Turkish" party of Reformers, which broke out at the recent Paris Congress.

If there is any hope for a bettering of the sad state of things in the Near East, which has so often proved a storm-centre for Europe, it lies in the restoration of that short-lived Ottoman Parliament whose dissolution, or rather prorogation, was decreed by Sultan Abdul Hamid in 1878, when a Russian army was thundering at the gates of Constantinople. To work for the re-convocation of that Parliament has been the object of the Young Turks.

"Young Turks" they are usually called. But, in point of fact, they are men of the various nationalities comprised within the Ottoman Empire.

A patriotic Ottoman feeling, together with a warm zeal for bringing about reforms in the direction of representative government, has hitherto characterized the Young Turkish party. Their desire has been to prevent the Empire from being gradually broken up or partitioned by aggressive foreign action. They wish to connect its component populations by closer ties through common parliamentary institutions, so that Turks, Armenians, Albanese, Syrians, Arabs, and whatever scattered remnants of Bulgars and Greeks there are still in the Ottoman dominions, should r[illegible] once more in a common parliament.

In the Assembly of 1877-8 all creeds had been represented: Mohammedans, Greek Catholics, Roman Catholics, Armenian Christians, Protestants, and Jews. And, truly, they then pulled well together on lines of Liberalism, as against despotism.

Since the overthrow of the Constitution in 1878, quite a number of committees of progressive men of various blood, speech, and faith have been in existence, outside and partly even inside the Ottoman Empire—in eastern Europe, in Asia Minor, in Egypt, and along northern Africa, as well as in Switzerland, France, and England. Many of them have agitated, as exiles, by means of publications in Turkish, in Arabic, and in French smuggled into the Sultan's dominions.

The foremost of them is Ahmed Riza, the son of an ex-Minister, a man who in his youth made brilliant studies in Paris, travelled in Europe, and occupied afterwards a position in the University in Constantinople and in the Department of Public Instruction. Tall and well-formed, he is, in bodily appearance, so unlike a Turk that he might pass for a German or an Englishman. As an exile, he publishes a periodical, called "*Mechveret*" ("The Consultation"). It is a paper written with much moderation, in a patriotic and Liberal spirit, and almost academic in tone. Very frequently, also, in the columns of the "*Mechveret,*" due warning is given as to Russian designs. Parliamentary reform is urged in that paper both from the point of view of justice and principle, and as a means of warding off that foreign interference which is ever threatening from many quarters.

It was hoped that at the last Paris Congress of Young Turkish Reformers this Liberal and patriotic programme would be firmly upheld. Very unexpectedly, the opposite has happened. Among the forty-seven delegates assembled, there were Turks, Arabs, Greeks, Kurds, Albanese, Armenians, Tcherkesses, and Jews. Two sons of Mahmud Damad Pasha—a brother-in-law of Abdul Hamid—joined the Congress. Their names are, Princes Sahab-eddin and Lutfullah. All of them were exiles.

At the Congress, Prince Sahab-eddin took the chair. In a preparatory sitting, the party of Ahmed Riza had drawn up a programme, which contained the following points:

1. A declaration of loyalty towards the ruling dynasty within the limits of law;

2. Promotion of modern, progressive civilization among the adherents of the Mohammedan creed; and protection of other religions on the same footing of equality;

3. Establishment of harmonious political co-operation among all Ottomans, Mussulman or non-Mussulman.

4. Adoption of the Constitution, which was promulgated in 1875, as the basis of government.

This programme was still strengthened at a subsequent preparatory meeting, under the chairmanship of Halil Ganem, the able and active fellow-worker of Ahmed Riza. He was a member for Syria in the Parliament which sat at Constantinople twenty-five years ago. Formerly he edited, at Geneva, a paper called "*The Crescent*" ("*Hilal*"), and he afterwards became the founder of "*La Jeune Turquie*," another progressist organ, which appeared in Arabic and French. In the programme drawn up at his initiative, the "maintenance of the integrity and indissolubility of the Ottoman Empire" was combined with "the respect for the fundamental laws of the country, especially of the Constitution of 1876, which offers the surest and most precious guarantee of general reforms." A number of members of the Congress adhered to this declaration.

When, however, the delegates met in full congress, a kind of mine was sprung upon the programmes just described. A member, who began with an eloquent denunciation of the Sultan's despotism, proposed an additional paragraph, in which the Powers that had signed the Paris Treaty of 1856 and the Berlin Treaty of 1878 were called upon to employ "benevolent action" for making the above-named principles of good government a reality, and for seeing the international treaties properly executed.

Mild as the phrasing of this proposal was, it contained the germ of the gravest danger. It called foreign Powers into the field; and far-seeing Turkish patriots know only too well what that means. Hence Halil Ganem, Ahmed Riza, and several other delegates energetically opposed this motion.

On their part, two Armenian members supported it with extreme warmth. The sitting became very tumultuous. Finally, the President, the son of the Sultan's brother-in-law, mixing repeatedly in the fray in favor of foreign intervention, succeeded in having that proposal passed by a majority in which not Turks, but Greeks and Albanese, were prominent.

Six meetings were held. The outcome of them was a schism in the party—"a schism which," as the "*Mechveret*" says, "must be deplored by all patriots who desire solidarity between the divers racial elements of the Empire." The Armenians, it is reported, drew up a programme of their own. They declared that

they would "only make common cause with the Young Turks for the overthrow of the present régime," but not further.

Here I may state at once a fact little known, or too often forgotten, concerning Armenian nationality. In European Turkey there is only a sprinkling of that Christian race. In Asia Minor, even, it is numerically by no means in a majority in those provinces which usually are called Armenian. Turks and Kurds are the majority even there. On the other hand, the Armenians form a majority in that part of their ancient country which is now under the dominion of the Czar. Now, were it possible to wrest that Armenian province from Russia, there might be a possibility of reconstituting an Armenian realm. But as there is no prospect of Russia's giving up, or being made to give up, her prey, the result of a separate constitution of so-called "Armenian provinces" in Asiatic Turkey would lead to such a state of confusion that annexation of that part also of Asiatic Turkey to the Muscovite Empire would be the inevitable and deplorable end.

Foiled at the Congress, the patriotic Young Turkish delegates made, at one of the last sittings, protest against all foreign intervention. In this utterance it is declared that "the various Powers are only guided by self-interest, which is by no means always in accord with the interest of our country. Hence, we distinctly reject action which would encroach upon the independence of the Ottoman Empire." At the same time, these Young Turks repeated that they are "by no means hostile to Europe. On the contrary, one of our chief desires is to have European civilization spread in our country, especially as regards scientific progress and useful institutions."

The majority of the Congress, however, proceeded to the election of a Committee, with Prince Sahab-eddin at its head. It is composed of four Mohammedans and three Christians, the latter including one Armenian.

Strangely enough, this Committee is said to have obtained the adherence of the Armenian delegates, although these latter roundly declared that they "would never wish to see the six provinces of Anatolia subjected to the Ottoman Constitution." Rather would they act with the Macedonian Committee, which, it need not be said, works for a further breaking-up of Turkey.

On their part, the Young Turks of the "*Mechveret*" connection intend to pursue their own work as before. A new organ

of theirs is to be founded by the fusion of three similar existing ones. It is to be called "*Chouraï-Ummett*" ("National Grand Council"), and will appear twice a month in Turkish.

Some details as to the origin of the Young Turkish movement, and the former existence of that Ottoman Parliament which its leaders want to be restored, will here be in place.

About thirty-six years ago, a group of men of the younger generation, mainly from the learned class, began an agitation which had for its aim the abolition of the arbitrary form of government; the convocation of a Representation of the People; the controlling of the public exchequer by such a Parliament; and the introduction of civil and religious equality for all races and creeds. Some men of riper age made common cause with these young and ardent reformers. Midhat Pasha, though not belonging to the group of "Young Turkey," was at any rate looked upon as one of its hopes.

It was Midhat who, in the years before 1876, repeatedly sought to awaken the Porte—that is, the Ministerial Government, as distinct from the Palace or Sultanate—to the necessity of representative government. For some time he failed in his efforts. They only resulted in his occasional personal disgrace at Court, and in the banishment, or voluntary exile, of the persecuted Young Turks.

However, after a while, Constantinople was deeply agitated by the Softa risings—a popular movement officered by Turkish students and teachers, and supported by the better educated class of Mohammedans in general. Finally, a Parliament for the whole Empire was convoked, and civil and political equality proclaimed for all races and creeds. This occurred in 1876, almost immediately after the present Sultan had come to the throne.

Those who know of him to-day only as a relentless tyrant, may wonder when told of the declaration and the promises he then made. Abdul Hamid was thirty-four years of age at that time, and apparently imbued with the best intentions. The gradual decline of the Empire, he frankly said, was due to existing disorders in the administration. Invoking, on what he called "this happy day" of the proclamation of a Charter, the memory of his father, he declared that, if his sire had lived longer, a constitutional era would have been inaugurated already under him. Providence had, however, reserved for himself the task of bringing about this

fortunate transformation, which would prove the highest guarantee of the welfare of his subjects. For this, he expressed his thanks to Heaven. He went on to speak of "the abuses which are the consequence of the arbitrary rule of one or of a few individuals." He then referred in detail to the principles of the new Charter: the responsibility of Ministers; the parliamentary right of control; the independence of the Courts of Justice; and the equilibrium of the Budget. All this, he asserted, was in conformity with the doctrines of the Mohammedan religion.

Again, in a later speech, the young Sultan said to Parliament:

"If we have not reached the level of the progress attained in the civilized world, the cause is to be sought in the instability of the institutions which are necessary to the State, and of the laws and regulations that are their outcome. That instability is produced by the fact of everything having hitherto been the work of an *absolutist* Government which ignored the salutary principle of a deliberation in common."

In a further harangue, Abdul Hamid once more declared: "The welfare of the Empire wholly lies in the full and sincere application of the Constitution."

Could any words be more binding upon a ruler?

Now, how did that Parliament behave? And how was it received by the population at large?

Sir Henry Elliot, who represented England at the Porte in most critical days, has given valuable testimony on those points. He wrote that the Charter

"was received with absolutely unanimous acclamation by all the Christians, Greeks, or Armenians, who saw in it the dawn of better days, as also by the educated and better class of Turks, Softas and others; but it was regarded with unqualified aversion by the Palace sycophants and the corrupt official Pashas and their followers, who trembled for the abuses on which they had so long fattened."

As originally drafted by Midhat—Sir Henry Elliot added—the Charter had contained even more efficient guarantees than the Act finally accepted by the Sultan. Yet, even in the weakened form in which it was published, it was of a character which must have made Russians sigh for a similar boon.

The legislators so unexpectedly collected from all parts of the Ottoman Empire did a remarkable deal of excellent work. I carefully went at the time through the whole of their debates in 1877-78 in the French text of the Constantinople press; and I was

astonished afterwards to learn, from men conversant with Turkish, who had often been present at the sittings, that the reports of these lively discussions had even been considerably toned down in the official version. Sir Henry Layard, the English Ambassador, has also recorded his appreciative testimony in honor of that Parliament, which had two sessions—one lasting three months.

There were a Senate and a Parliament. In the Constitution more specially elaborated by the legislators, it was enacted that every 50,000 male citizens were to elect a member to the House of Commons. The vote was to be by ballot. Every deputy was regarded as representing, not merely his constituency, but the nation at large. Members of both Houses were to be paid. The sittings of the Chamber of Deputies were public. No member could be arrested or prosecuted without the consent of the Chamber. The initiative in bringing in bills belonged both to Ministers and to private members. The Budget was to be fixed every year by the House of Commons. In case of an adverse vote, the Sultan had to change the Cabinet or to dissolve Parliament. The House of Commons had the right of bringing Ministers to trial before the High Court of Justice. A Minister thus charged was in the mean time suspended. Judges were irremovable; the procedures of all tribunals were public. Whilst the unity of the Empire was upheld, there was to be decentralization in local government. In the provinces, the districts, and the cantons, special Councils had to be formed on the elective principle.

Add to this, that, in the original Charter granted by the Sultan, freedom of the press; equality before the law; admission of all citizens, irrespective of race and religion, to the various public employments; liberty in matters of public instruction for all denominations; obligatory popular instruction; an equal imposition of taxes in accordance with the amount of property; free exercise of every religious cult; abolition of torture and of confiscation of property, had already been proclaimed as the basis of the Constitution, and it will be seen that there was indeed good promise for the future. The Sultan, while remaining Protector or Defender of the State Religion, was henceforth to be surrounded by responsible ministers. His person was to be inviolable.

This introduction of parliamentary government and civic freedom into Turkey displeased the Czar very much. It was held to be a dangerous example for his own subjects. "What?"—they

might be expected to call out—"are we not even to have the liberties which the Turks enjoy?"

With a jealousy easily understood by those who knew the famous despatch of the Russian diplomatist, Pozzo di Borgo—who wrote it in the first year of the war waged by Czar Nicholas against Turkey (1828-29)—the Government of St. Petersburg anxiously watched, in 1877, these constitutional developments in the neighboring Ottoman Empire. In Pozzo di Borgo's despatch it was cynically avowed that, whenever there was "a commencement of physical and moral organization which Turkey had hitherto not possessed," Russia must make haste to counteract such plans of reform and amelioration, lest the barriers against her advance towards Constantinople should present even greater difficulties! "Things being in this state," Pozzo di Borgo, in explaining the Emperor's views, finally said, "we must congratulate ourselves upon having attacked these plans of reform before they became dangerous to us."

Here we have a pretty plain clew as to Russian Government procedures under Nicholas I. Again, we get from Mr. Layard, the English Ambassador at Constantinople in the seventies, the following characteristic statement, officially made in a letter of his to Lord Derby, the Foreign Secretary:

"A Russian gentleman observed to me: 'Russia looks upon the establishment of a Constitution and a Parliament by the Turkish Government as an insult and a defiance to her. *Their existence would alone furnish us with a sufficient reason to make war upon Turkey.* We will never consent to be the only Power left in Europe without Constitutional institutions; and as we are not prepared for them, we cannot, it is evident, allow Turkey to have them.'"

Unfortunately, England, which in the fifties had opposed Nicholas I., showed no friendliness to the cause of Turkish reform in the seventies. Worse than that, the great "Liberal" leader did his utmost to foil a movement which seemed to be of such good augury. Led astray by his theological and High Church prejudices, Mr. Gladstone, who described the whole Turkish nation as "the one anti-human specimen of humanity," gave his party a deplorably wrong cue. Nothing, in fact, could have been more unwelcome to him than the practical demonstration of the readiness and the aptitude of the Turk to work out his own political salvation by means of internal reform. Hence, those

around Mr. Gladstone gave the signal for ridiculing such praiseworthy aspirations.

Yet, the fact is that, if the Russian army had been defeated at Plevna, and if the Czar, who passed anxious hours there at the long-continued siege, had been forced to retreat, he would have found the draft for a Constitution presented to him upon the bayonets of the National Guard in his own holy city of Moscow.

However, whilst English Liberals, then in Opposition, were misled by Gladstone, Mr. Disraeli, at the head of the Conservative Government, was foiled by members of his own Cabinet—notably by Lord Derby. To Derby's father the Tory Premier, in his youth, had been deeply indebted, when he, the ex-Radical and ambitious adventurer of foreign, Jewish extraction, had to make his headway against the feelings of aversion that met him among a bigoted squirearchy. The recollection of this support in times of difficulty and distress made Disraeli yield, to a considerable extent, to the policy of his Foreign Secretary, who evidently played a double part. Finally, Lord Derby, after he had shielded Russia as far as he could dare to go, left Disraeli's Cabinet and went over to Gladstone!

I could say more on this subject, especially also in reference to a long conversation I had with Mr. Disraeli before the Russo-Turkish war at the House of Commons. It was he who sought the interview when he had heard from a common friend, a Liberal Scottish member, with whom I dined at the House, that I was there.

For a full hour, all the problems both of the Near East and the Far East were discussed on that occasion. Great was my astonishment, I confess, on finding then how strangely ill-informed Disraeli was on those subjects. The very questions he put, in presence of my friend, proved his lack of knowledge.

It is not to be forgotten how Mr. Gladstone, only a few years afterwards, acted again, when there was a second attempt of a Mohammedan people to achieve a parliamentary transformation—namely, in Egypt. That movement had the publicly declared sympathy of the heads of the Christian and Jewish communities of Egypt. Yet, Mr. Gladstone, plotting with a small "inner ring" of his Cabinet, and keeping such prominent members of it as John Bright outside the secret consultations, suddenly startled the world by the bombardment of Alexandria, without even a

declaration of war. By all means a nation mainly composed of adherents of Islam had to be prevented from showing that it was capable of reforming itself.

Such are the bitter fruits of theological hatred!

Turks and Armenians, Greeks, Albanese, Bulgars, Syrians, and Arabs had harmoniously worked together in the Ottoman Parliament of 1877-78. But in the Palace, at Yildiz Kiosk, the progressive tendencies of that Assembly were uneasily looked upon as proceeding at a rather fast rate. Its last days were of a troubled and stormy kind. The hangers-on at Court, bearing a deep grudge to Midhat, the author of the Charter, had succeeded in getting him exiled by the Sultan. On their part, the representatives of the people energetically asked for Midhat's recall, both on account of the war then going on, for which an able leader was wanted, and because Parliament felt itself threatened. This question, as well as one about the Budget, created a hostile stir at the Palace.

In the mean while, the Russian army had arrived, under Grand-Duke Nicholas, in close neighborhood of Constantinople. It was able to hold a bayonet, so to say, to the throat of the Turkish Government and Parliament. In the midst of this threatening state of things, Abdul Hamid prorogued the Legislature.

It was prorogued (let this be well borne in mind), not abolished. In the Decree issued by the Sultan, and in a communication made to the Ambassadors, it was distinctly declared that *Parliament would be convoked anew after the conclusion of peace.*

I will not enter here into the deplorable occurrences which, later on, began with the eccentric and rather mysterious irruption of Armenians into the Ottoman Bank at Constantinople, and which led to the frightful reprisals by Turkish cudgel-men. The band of strange heroes who originated these troubles was utterly unknown to the Armenians in Turkey, and officered by men who had come from Russia. Two of their leaders, when interviewed at Geneva, laughingly declared that the man who had proposed the irruption into the Ottoman Bank, had also suggested the "burning of all Constantinople, which is entirely in wood."

The rift between the real "Young Turks" and their Armenian allies has since become more and more pronounced. I refrain from going into the details which I have heard from both sides. It is by the Armenians, to whom some Greeks and Albanese have

rallied, that the parole of calling upon foreign Powers for "benevolent action" is now given out. On this point, Halil Ganem wrote some years ago, when a "Crusade," a "Partition of Turkey," or the introduction of a "European Protectorate," was called for by some agitators abroad:

"We want our country to maintain its independence, its full independence. The Ottoman People, which is henceforth to direct its own destiny, shall not be loaded with chains, nor drag a ball behind its feet. We do not mean to escape from the despotism of the dreary monarch who rules over us, for the purpose of submitting to an even more intolerable despotism. If we must perish, we will perish ra r than submit to such a yoke, which would dishonor without saving u ."

Nevertheless, now, a majority of those who hither co-operated with the Young Turkish party—mainly men of different race from the Osmanli—have practically pronounced in favor of foreign intervention under the guidance of the son of Abdul Hamid's brother-in-law.

But, to far-seeing politicians, it is clear that any foreign intervention would dangerously bring in Russia, whose Autocrats have for centuries aimed at the possession of Constantinople—a possession which, if in the hands of a strong military Power, would, in the opinion of Napoleon I., "confer upon that Power a world-dominion."

Had Nicholas I. succeeded in his attempt, in 1854, and thus gained access to the Mediterranean, Italy would, in all probability, never have achieved her unity. Nor would Hungary have recovered that self-government which in 1849 had been overthrown by armed Russian intervention. Nor would Austria proper have re-obtained those constitutional liberties which Imperial and Royal reaction, aided by Slav revenge, had abolished in 1849, after the sanguinary siege of Vienna.

Foreign intervention in Turkey, in our present days, would give rise to rivalries which would convert the Continent of Europe into shambles. Such a cure of the Sultan's misgovernment would be worse than the existing evil. All thinking friends of progress can, therefore, only hope that the Young Turkish reformers may be able so to influence the mass of their countrymen as to bring about the re-convocation of the prorogued Parliament of 1878.

KARL BLIND.

IMMIGRATION'S MENACE TO THE NATIONAL HEALTH.

BY T. V. POWDERLY, COMMISSIONER-GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION.

MUCH has been said and much remains to be said of the evils likely to follow the admission of the alien criminal, pauper, anarchist and contract laborer who seek safety, an asylum or a workshop in the United States. The morals of the immigrant, the likelihood of his falling into distress and becoming a burden on our taxpayers, the possibilities of his carrying with him, or developing after landing, anarchistic tendencies, have all occupied the thought and attention of students of public questions; but the physical condition, the health, of the arriving applicant for the honor of American citizenship has not occupied the place in the discussion to which the gravity of that particular phase of the question entitles it. Many who study the immigration problem have in mind the immigrant as he presented himself at the port of landing in the early and middle decades of the last century, and they talk of him as he then was. They have before their mind's eye the sturdy Englishman, Irishman, Scotchman, Welshman, German and north countryman who came strong in limb and pure in blood. When opposition to immigration manifested itself in early days it was based on political or religious grounds; those who then wrote on the subject were actuated by a fear that the infusion of so much alien blood into our national system would pollute the stream of political life and weaken the strength of our institutions. They may have had cause for apprehension, they may have had reason to view the immigrants of their day with alarm, but it must not be forgotten that they were writing about an alien stream that had its source, or sources, in lands to which they looked with pride when tracing their own genealogy. The immigration of that day distributed itself over

the entire country. With the massing of aliens in the centres of industry, grew a demand for the regulation of the system under which immigrants gained access to the United States. The popular idea is that immigration laws, passed during the last two decades, are intended to restrict, or lessen, the number of arrivals. No law has been enacted to prevent the strong, the willing, the honest, the moral or the healthy from landing, only certain classes are denied the right to come among us and take up a residence here. The proscription of these classes is intended to sift, rather than to restrict, immigration. The immigration law of 1891 provides, among other things, that the following classes of aliens shall be excluded:

"All idiots, insane persons, paupers or persons likely to become a public charge, *persons suffering from a loathsome or a dangerous contagious disease*, persons who have been convicted of a felony or other infamous crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude, polygamists and also any person whose ticket or passage is paid for with the money of another or who is assisted by others to come, unless it is affirmatively and satisfactorily shown on special inquiry that such person does not belong to one of the foregoing excluded classes, or to the class of contract laborers excluded by the act of February 26, 1885."

The immigration authorities have experienced little difficulty in enforcing the provision by which idiots are barred, for very few of that class present themselves for admission. Insane persons, or those in whom the taint of insanity slumbers, have occasioned little or no anxiety or trouble at our ports, for cases in which aliens actually insane at the time of arrival have been barred, are rare. Persons who have been insane at home usually prepare for the passage to the United States at a time when the malady does not manifest itself externally; and, presenting a good appearance on arrival, aliens in whose systems the seeds of insanity lay dormant have frequently been admitted. Many instances may be cited to show that such persons have gained access to public institutions in one or the other of our States and have been deported within one year after landing. The deportation of an insane person, whether on arrival and before landing, or afterwards from the interior, is always effected without protest or opposition. Relatives and friends are usually pleased to be rid of them. Paupers, or persons likely to become a public charge, are easily dealt with; for, if likely to become a charge on the charity of the community, they may be deported without ques-

tion, unless relatives or friends guarantee under bond, in cases where bonds may be accepted, that they will not become public charges. If the record of conviction of a "felony or other infamous crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude" is present at the time of arrival of an alien, he may be sent back; but in most cases no such record is in evidence, or accessible to the immigrant inspector, and until the criminal instinct is manifested in some overt act later on, the alien may never be suspected of having been a criminal in his own country.

Polygamists, unless practising polygamy, or acknowledging that it is their intention to practise it, are not excluded. In the case of a polygamist, much depends on the state of facts presented to the inspector. The alien may admit that he is a believer in polygamy and be landed, for such avowal is usually accompanied by a declaration of his belief in some form of religion which sanctions polygamy. The Constitution declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The alien polygamist is usually an intelligent person; furthermore, he is apt to be well coached by some missionary of polygamist tendencies, and while admitting that he is a believer in polygamy will, in the same breath, deny that he is practising or intends practising polygamy.

The aliens, therefore, who give the immigration authorities the most trouble are those who come "suffering from a loathsome or a dangerous contagious disease"; and, of these, persons afflicted with Favus and Trachoma are most numerous. In other cases, excepting idiots, and these are so few as to give little trouble or concern to the government officials, admissions or confessions of the alien are required, but where Favus and Trachoma are present the alien presents the evidence to the Marine Hospital Surgeon who inspects all arrivals, it being external and difficult of concealment. The definition of Favus, as given in the Standard Dictionary, is: "A contagious disease of the skin, especially of the scalp, producing yellow flattened scabs and baldness, scald-head, honeycomb ringworm." The same authority defines Trachoma as: "A disease of the eye, characterized by hard pustules or granular excrescences on the inner surface of the eyelids, with inflammation of the membrane."

Until recently, the people of the United States were not familiar with either Favus or Trachoma; and until the tide of

immigration swelled up, and began to flow in on us from the countries of southern Europe and the Orient, these diseases were not very prevalent. Even now, many well-informed persons inquire what is meant when an immigrant is described as one suffering from Favus or Trachoma. When I assumed the duties of Commissioner-General of Immigration, I was ignorant of the nature of these afflictions. While the law expressly prohibited persons suffering from such diseases from landing, it was also held that, until an alien had been examined, pronounced entitled to admission and actually passed inward to this land of liberty, he was constructively on ship-board and, as a consequence, not landed. The hospitals in and around New York city were crowded with sick and disabled immigrants during the months of August and September, 1897, as a result of the burning of the Ellis Island Immigrant Station and Hospital in June of that year. Examining the reports sent in from these hospitals, I noticed that a great number were held to be treated for Favus and Trachoma, and for the first time I learned what these diseases actually were.

It was not to punish the steamship companies or the unfortunate aliens that the determination was reached by the Commissioner-General of Immigration to prevent, as far as possible, not only the landing of diseased aliens, but their embarkation at foreign seaports with the intention of landing in this country. The following, from the report of the Commissioner-General for the fiscal year ended June 30th, 1898, in which he refers to the bringing of persons "afflicted with a loathsome or a dangerous contagious disease" to the United States, will explain in part what was done to make the law effective:

"The last-named class represents virtually a new departure in the work of the Bureau, since the rejections on that ground rose from a single immigrant last year to 258 for the present fiscal year. This does not show, as may appear at first sight, laxity heretofore on the part of immigrant officials, but displays their increased efficiency in detecting and excluding cases of contagious diseases which are less obvious upon examination and of the nature of which less is known outside the medical profession than of the more generally recognized and easily detected forms of contagion.

"Most of the exclusions upon this ground represent aliens afflicted either with favus, a disease of the scalp, or trachoma, commonly known as granular eyelids. The former is confined almost exclusively to young persons, and, unless a careful inspection is made, the afflicted person

may be admitted without detection. Protracted treatment is required in order to effect a cure, but experienced physicians contend that the disease is likely to become virulent, even after a course of hospital treatment.

"The difficulty in dealing with those afflicted with favus is that the separation of families is likely to follow the deportation of the afflicted immigrant, and this has occasioned immigration officials no little embarrassment and uneasiness. The question whether it would be better to deport such a person immediately on arrival and thus sunder family ties or, by delay of treatment, risk introducing this disease among the children of Americans, has been under discussion for some time, and it was decided to protect the children of the United States, even though hardship should follow the deportation of afflicted persons. With that end in view the following circular was issued:

"'TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

"'OFFICE COMMISSIONER-GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION,

"'WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 19, 1897.*

"'*To Commissioners of Immigration, Collectors of Customs, and Immigrant Inspectors:*

"'In view of the prevalence among arriving immigrants of favus, a loathsome, contagious disease, you are hereby instructed to make a careful examination in order to insure the detection of all such cases and their immediate return to the country whence they came, if possible, by the steamship upon which they arrive, otherwise as soon as practicable by a steamship of the same line, at the expense of said line.

"'If the certificate of the examining physician in this country indicates that the disease existed at the time of alien's embarkation, or that symptoms had developed at that time which the transportation company's physician might, with reasonable care, have detected, steps should be taken for the prosecution of such company, as provided by section 6 of the act of March 3, 1891.

"'If any minor alien, suffering with said loathsome disease, is accompanied by its parents, one parent should be returned with such alien as its natural guardian and protector.

"'All cases of aliens afflicted with favus now confined in hospital by direction of the United States immigration officials whose expenses are not borne by their friends or relations must be returned, as soon as they are able to travel, to the country whence they came, at the expense of the steamship company which brought them here.

"'T. V. POWDERLY, *Commissioner-General.*

"'Approved.

"'L. J. GAGE, *Secretary.*'"

The persons afflicted with Trachoma were comparatively few, and a doubt existed as to whether it should be classed as a contagious disease. To settle the disputed point the Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service was appealed to for an opinion; the following is quoted from his answer:

"I have to refer you to an article on Contagious conjunctivitis, written by Dr. Miles Standish, of Boston, who is considered the very best authority. The article is as follows:

"'After these infections of the conjunctiva, the next most dangerous form of contagious conjunctivitis is the so-called granular lids, or trachoma. If this is of bacterial origin, the micro-organism has not as yet been recognized; nevertheless it will spread slowly through an orphan asylum, tenement house, or any other place where the poor are crowded together, unless special means are taken to prevent this result, leaving its victims handicapped for life and often nearly blind. Fortunately it is diminishing in this country, and is, compared with a few years ago, seldom seen except among recent immigrants from the eastern end of the Mediterranean, Polish and Russian Jews, Armenians, and others from that locality; and I may say in passing that the presence of acute trachoma in the conjunctiva of immigrants should be a good and sufficient reason for turning them back whence they came. A large proportion of these cases within a few months after their arrival become incapacitated and are public charges. And not only this, but were it not for the new cases thus introduced into the great tenement localities of our large cities, it is my opinion that the disease would soon become extremely rare in this part of the country.'

"I have to add that I concur in the opinion of Dr. Standish as to the contagiousness of trachoma."

The agents of the steamship lines in Europe and Asia were notified that they should not sell tickets to persons suffering with either Favus or Trachoma, and in a large measure the traffic in diseased immigrants fell off. There were those, however, who paid little heed to the notice, and, trusting to the chance of passing their victims through without question, they continued to book them to points in the United States as before. When a member of an arriving family of aliens was discovered to be afflicted with disease of the scalp or eye and was ordered deported, the friends or relatives of the barred immigrant at once resorted to every means at their command to have the order of deportation set aside and the immigrant landed. Members of Congress, Senators, Cabinet members and the diplomatic representatives of foreign governments were appealed to to use their influence with the Commissioner-General of Immigration and the Secretary of the Treasury to have the diseased person sent to a hospital or landed. The sympathetic heart of the American people was appealed to, and the Bureau of Immigration was severely criticised for its determination to prevent the introduction of alien diseases to this country. Senators and Members of Congress who

took part in the debates preceding the passage of the law of 1891 and voted for it, besieged the Bureau of Immigration at the request of constituents whose friends or relatives had been ordered deported. Some were in earnest; others, becoming indignant, characterized the action of the immigration authorities as "an outrage"; while a few made a show of sincerity and indignation in presenting their arguments, and wound up by whispering to the Commissioner-General that they "would rather such aliens should be debarred, but there are many of their countrymen in my district, and I must make them believe I am doing my best for their friends."

On several occasions those who came to plead the cause of aliens, barred because they were suffering from Favus or Trachoma, asserted that the disease had been contracted in the steerage, during the voyage from the old country. They claimed that because no evidence of disease was discovered on the other side, before the immigrant sailed, it must have been communicated to the sufferer on the way over, and for that reason the person so afflicted should be landed. The one particular reason which determined the Commissioner-General of Immigration to prevent the landing, for any length of time or for any purpose whatever, of persons who had Favus or Trachoma was the importance of preventing the introduction of the germs, seeds or whatever else they may be called, of these diseases to the steerage of the immigrant ship. No other place under the sky is so well calculated to serve as a propagating bed for disease as the place where hundreds, and thousands, are crowded together for six or seven days, in an atmosphere that at best is unwholesome, while subsisting on food that contains no more nutrition than the law actually requires. Keep the disease out of the steerage, and it will not come out of the steerage to plague the children of America. Vice may come in the cabin or the steerage, in rags or fine raiment, and escape detection, but the diseases under discussion proclaim their presence and are their own detectors. That aliens who bring these diseases are for the greater part children does not lessen the gravity of the situation; on the contrary, it adds to it; for they go at once where large numbers of American children congregate, to the public schools and the crowded streets, to the tenement houses and attics of our large cities. That death does not follow contact with either disease is no reason why we should invite it

to our shores. Statistics are not necessary to prove that disease is always dangerous; figures are not required to demonstrate that it should be avoided or warded off. No man would invite a person afflicted with a contagious disease beneath his roof, to mingle with the members of his own family. Rather would he shield his family from contact with disease; and as the nation is but a larger family every citizen should do his part, use his influence, to safeguard the homes of the poor of the United States against disease from abroad. If in future we should have occasion to trace the cause why our people are hairless and sightless through Favus and Trachoma, we should have ourselves to blame, for with proper precaution they may be warded off. One may complacently settle himself down in his comfortable chair, in his own home, and say: "It is no affair of mine if these children are afflicted, they do not associate with me, or mine." It is his affair and if he is conscious of the fact that disease is spreading in the community, it is a crime against society for him to remain silent and inactive. The men who, in the past, made the world better were obliged to disagree with others and with the world as they found it. It is not by tolerating evil, and submitting to those who advocate its continuance, that evil is checked. If we remain indifferent simply because these diseases do not prove fatal to life, we evade our duty; for the health of the nation is imperilled while one man is diseased. The old cry, "America is the asylum of the oppressed of the world," is too threadbare to withstand the assaults of disease. There is a danger that the oppressed may, through the burdens they fasten on others, become oppressors. At any rate, there exists no reason why the United States should become the hospital of the nations of earth, even though it does afford an asylum for those who come here to escape oppression.

Could the buried ruins of dead empires speak, they would no doubt tell that ignorance of the laws of health, indifference to the spread of disease, assailed their roots and hastened their decay.

The oldest hour this world has ever known is passing while these words are being read; and, if experience counts for anything, this should be the wisest hour of all time. If we would profit by that past, by the experience of other nations, then every advance of loathsome, dangerous or contagious disease should be challenged at sea coast and border line, and denied admission to the United States.

T. V. Powderly.

MR. ANDREW CARNEGIE'S NEW BOOK.

BY M. W. HAZELTINE.

THERE are several reasons why the essays published under the collective title of "The Empire of Business" are likely to be read attentively. In the first place, the subjects discussed are interesting in themselves, and they are treated in a bright and suggestive way. In the second place, the author's personality is so honorably conspicuous on both sides of the Atlantic that his opinions upon any theme are listened to with respect, which, of course, is much augmented when they are manifestly based on his own experience. When Mr. Carnegie, for instance, tells young men how to grow rich, his title to speak as an expert is universally recognized. He is known to have acquired a fortune which, with one exception, is the largest ever accumulated by a human being in the course of a lifetime. Such epithets as "royal" and "imperial" are but inadequate definers of an opulence to which the history of mankind presents but a single parallel. It is instinctively felt by the community at large that the author of such an achievement may be trusted to indicate the traits of character and the rules of conduct which conduce to the attainment of wealth. No less reasonable is the current assumption that a man who has weathered industrial crises and solved the problems of high finance must have a more thorough comprehension of the laws of political economy than is possessed by college professors, whose speculations are unrestrained by personal or corporate responsibility. Believing, then, that the curiosity excited by Mr. Carnegie's book is entirely legitimate, we purpose to outline some of the conclusions which an exceptionally active and preëminently fruitful life has led him to form, not only concerning matters of perennial importance, but also touching certain questions which come home to us at the present time with peculiar force.

I.

What is meant by "The Empire of Business"? As Mr. Carnegie uses it, the term "business men" excludes, not only members of the professions, but also those engaged in mercantile or manufacturing pursuits or in banking, whose services are rewarded by salaries instead of by a share of the gain resulting from the enterprises in which they are embarked. Is a railway president receiving a salary, or the president of a bank, or a salaried officer of any kind, in business? Our author replies that, strictly speaking, he is not; for, "to be in business, a man must be at least part-owner of the enterprise to which he gives his attention, and chiefly dependent for his revenues, not upon a salary, but upon its profits." Obviously, this definition of business rules out the whole of the salaried class.

"None of these men is now in business, but many of them have been, and most successful therein. The business man, pure and simple, plunges into and tosses upon the waves of human affairs without a life-preserver in the shape of salary; he risks all."

Inasmuch, however, as the qualities essential to success in the professions are in the main the same which insure success in business, much of what Mr. Carnegie says regarding the traits and habits conducive to the attainment of the latter object will be found applicable in a wider field.

What especially strikes us in the practical suggestions which are the fruits of the author's experience, is the fact that they are seldom commonplace, and often run counter to current maxims. For example, Mr. Carnegie is no temperance lecturer in disguise, although his observation has taught him that men are more likely to fail in their careers from acquiring the habit of drinking spirits than from any and all the other temptations likely to assail them. What he says to young men on this point is:

"You must not drink liquor to excess. Better if you do not touch it at all—much better; but, if this be too hard a rule for you, then take your stand firmly here: resolve never to touch it except at meals."

In our author's opinion, next to drinking, the greatest danger to which a young man is exposed in the American community is speculation. His objections to speculation on the Stock Exchange are three, and every one of them is sound. In the first place, you

cannot win. Mr. Carnegie advises the young man who is disposed to risk his small savings in speculation to go to

"a regular and well-conducted gambling house, where they cheat fair. You can get fair play and about an equal chance upon the red and black in such a place; upon the Exchange you have neither."

In the second place, the habit of speculation disqualifies the mind for sober, unremitting work in business channels.

"The man who grasps a morning paper to see first how his speculative ventures upon the Exchanges are likely to result unfits himself for the calm consideration and proper solution of the business problems with which he has to deal later in the day, and saps the sources of the persistent and concentrated energy upon which depend the permanent success, and often the very safety, of his main business."

In the third place, nothing is more indispensable to young business men than untarnished credit.

"Nothing kills credit sooner in any bank board than the knowledge that either firms or men are engaged in speculation. It matters not a whit whether gains or losses be the temporary result of speculative operations. The moment a man is known to speculate, his credit is impaired, and soon thereafter it is gone."

With reference to a fourth source of danger—the habit of endorsing—our author does not lay down the rule "never endorse," but undertakes to draw the line at which regard for the safety or success of friends should cease, and regard for one's own honor should begin. After some discussion, the line is drawn as follows:

"Before you endorse at all, consider endorsements as gifts, and ask yourself whether you wish to make a gift to your friend, and whether the money is really yours to give, and not a trust for your creditors?"

After all dangers are avoided, however, it does not follow that a young man will obtain a larger measure of success than is implied in the permanent reception of a salary. How is one to rise beyond a salaried position? Mr. Carnegie tells us that the secret of rising lies in the habit of continually putting to oneself the question, not "What *must* I do for my employer?" but, "What *can* I do?" The faithful and conscientious discharge of the duties assigned one is, of course, exemplary; but the verdict in such cases generally is that your present duties are so well per-

formed that you had better continue performing them. "We make clerks, book-keepers, treasurers, bank-tellers, of this class, and there they remain to the end of the chapter." The man who is destined to rise must attract attention by doing something *beyond* the range of his special department, and *outside* the scope of his duties. Mr. Carnegie rejects as misleading the axiom "Obey orders if you break owners." On the contrary, he says that one should always break orders to save owners.

"You will never be a partner unless you know the business of your department far better than the owners possibly can."

As to the habit of saving, Mr. Carnegie explains why so much stress is laid upon it. It is not that the amount saved by a young man is of much importance considered as an investment, even at compound interest. It is because capitalists are disposed to trust the saving young man, whose income always exceeds his expenditures.

"For every hundred dollars you can produce as the result of hard-won savings, Midas in search of a partner will lend or credit a thousand; for every thousand, fifty thousand. It is not capital that your seniors require; it is the man who has proved that he has the business habits which create capital."

Still another current maxim is rejected by our author. We refer to the injunction "Don't put all your eggs in one basket." Mr. Carnegie says, on the contrary, that we should "put all our eggs in one basket, and then watch that basket." His observation has taught him that men who do this do not often fail.

"It is easy to watch and carry one basket. It is the trying to carry too many baskets that breaks most eggs in this country. He who carries three baskets must put one on his head, and this one is apt to tumble off and trip him up. One fault of the American business man is lack of concentration."

It is one of our author's most firmly-rooted convictions that in the race for wealth those start with great advantages who are born poor, and who have not spent some of the most important years of their lives in acquiring a college education. A basketful of inherited bonds, he says, is the heaviest load a young man

has to carry. He generally staggers under it. It is not from the sons of rich men that rivalry need be feared.

"Look out for the boy who has to plunge into work direct from the common school, and who begins by sweeping out the office. He is the probable dark horse that you had better watch."

After noting the absence of college graduates in a long list of bank presidents, Mr. Carnegie says that he has inquired and searched in all quarters, but can find small trace of him among the leaders in affairs. How is the fact accounted for?

"The prize-takers have too many years the start of the graduate; they have entered for the race invariably in their teens—in the most valuable of all the years for learning—from fourteen to twenty; while the college student has been learning a little about the barbarous and petty squabbles of a far-distant past, or trying to master languages which are dead, such knowledge as seems adapted for life upon another planet than this, as far as business affairs are concerned, the future captain of industry is hotly engaged in the school of experience, obtaining the very knowledge required for his future triumphs."

These convictions have not prevented the man who expresses them from creating a fund of ten million dollars, the income of which is to be used for assisting young Scotchmen to attend the universities of their native land. There is less inconsistency in this act of imperial munificence than may at the first glance appear. It is evident to the reader of this book that the author would advise the young men who avail themselves of his aid to spend three or four years at Edinburgh or Glasgow, at Aberdeen or St. Andrews, to apply themselves to the study, not of the Greek and Latin classics, but of electrical or civil engineering, or of chemistry, or, in other words, to the scientific or polytechnic side of a university curriculum. Mr. Carnegie foresees that:

"The trained mechanic of the past who has hitherto carried off most of the honors in our industrial establishments is now to meet a rival in the scientifically educated youth who will push him hard—very hard, indeed."

He names three of the largest steel-manufacturing concerns in the world, which at the time when he wrote were under the management of three young educated men, students of scientific or polytechnic institutions, who left theory at school, however, for practice in the works while they were yet in their teens.

II.

Inasmuch as a large part of Mr. Carnegie's colossal wealth is supposed to have been derived from an application of the principle of combination on a scale hitherto unprecedented, one naturally turns with curiosity to an essay in which he discusses the functions and the limitations of "trusts." If he were called as a witness on behalf of such instrumentalities for the concentration of capital and enterprise, his testimony might be exposed to the objection that it is not unbiassed, inasmuch as he is credited with holding the first-mortgage bonds of the United States Steel Corporation to the extent of some three hundred million dollars. As a matter of fact, his evidence is competent, because it does not matter to him whether the United States Steel Corporation is permanently successful or collapses. In any event, the assets of the company would suffice to pay its first-mortgage bonds. As a matter of fact, Mr. Carnegie's testimony, if closely scrutinized, seems favorable to a belief in the permanent success of the corporation mentioned, so long as it is managed on the cautious and conservative principles to which it has thus far adhered.

The danger is, according to our author, that a trust will be tempted to extort from consumers a larger return upon its capital than is yielded by the majority of other investments. If it succumb to the temptation, it will be unable to escape the penalty. Mr. Carnegie's assertion is that, "given freedom of competition, all combinations or trusts that attempt to exact from the consumer more than a legitimate return upon capital and services" are doomed to eventual failure. By "legitimate" is meant a return that does not materially exceed that derivable from capital invested in other lines of business. If, for example, at any particular period the demand for the products of a given industry greatly exceeds the supply, the manufacturers may yield to the temptation so to increase the prices of their output as to gain from it a profit out of all proportion to that obtainable by the producers of other commodities. The more successful a trust may be temporarily in thus profiting by the temporary excess of demand over supply, the more certain is competition to spring up. From this point of view, every victory portends eventual defeat. Mr. Carnegie reminds us that on one occasion

"the sugar refiners tried to get more from capital in their special field than capital yields in general. They endeavored to raise a part of the

ocean of capital above the level of the surrounding waters, but the result was that over their bulwarks the flood burst, and capital like water again found its level."

It is true that:

"to regain this level, a longer or a shorter period may be required, during which the commodity affected may be sold to the consumer in limited quantities at a higher rate than before existed. But for this the consumer is amply recompensed in the years that follow, during which the struggle between competitive factories becomes severer than it ever was before, and lasts till the great law of the survival of the fittest vindicates itself."

Of course, all corporations depend for their assurance of prosperity upon the foresight and sagacity of the men that manage them, and one of the proofs of sagacity is the refusal to run counter to economical laws.

Does not the case of the Standard Oil Company demonstrate that competition may be permanently avoided, and a monopoly of a given commodity acquired, so far, at least, as a large part of the earth's surface is concerned? Mr. Carnegie replies that the Standard Oil Company would long ago have gone to pieces had it not been managed in harmony with the laws which control business. He points out that the cost of oil to the consumer is no less low to-day, and many think that it is lower, than it would have been, had the business of extracting and refining petroleum not been concentrated and managed as one vast concern. Notwithstanding, however, the exceptional ability with which this corporation has been managed, our author holds that the chances are in favor of its losing ultimately its practical monopoly and meeting the fate of all previous experiments in the way of huge combinations.

"It is a hundred to one whether it will survive when the present men at the head retire, or, perhaps, I should say, when the present *man* retires, for wonderful organizations imply a veritable genius at the helm."

The commander-in-chief, no doubt, must have able corps commanders under him, but a Napoleon is needed at the head.

"To those who quote the Standard Oil Company as an evidence that trusts or combinations can be permanently successful, I say, 'Wait and see.'"

It is, in fine, our author's belief that the people of the United

States can afford to smile at the efforts of their manufacturers and railway magnates to evade fundamental economic laws by trusts, or combinations, or pools, or "differentials," or anything of the kind. He says:

"Only let the people hold firmly to the doctrine of free competition. Keep the field open. Freedom for all to engage in railroad building when and where capital desires, subject to conditions open to all! Freedom for all to engage in any branch of manufacturing under like conditions."

Here, then, is a manufacturer who, with one exception—Mr. John D. Rockefeller—has reaped a larger profit than any man living from the application of the principle of concentration to a particular industry, yet who solemnly assures us that:

"there can be no permanent extortion of profit beyond the average return from capital, nor any monopoly, either in transportation or manufactures. Any attempt to maintain either must end in failure, and failure ultimately disastrous just in proportion to the temporary success of the foolish effort. It is simply ridiculous for a party of men to meet in a room and attempt by passing resolutions to change the great laws which govern human affairs in the business world, and this, whether they be railway presidents, bankers, or manufacturers."

But, it may be asked, has Mr. Carnegie lived up to his assertion that "the only people who have reason to fear trusts are those foolish enough to enter into them"? Do his acts attest belief in his own words? Has he not shown confidence in trusts generally by placing his own factories at the disposal of the United States Steel Corporation? We answer, Not at all. He has by no means renounced his distrust of trusts in general. He has simply given proof of confidence in the individual men who manage a given combination. He has faith in their recognition of the inexorable laws of political economy. He believes that in exchanging his factories for the bonds of the United States Steel Corporation he has taken no speculative risk. It is this belief that causes him to say that he has "retired from business and reformed."

III.

It would be a mistake to imagine that the whole of Mr. Carnegie's book is concerned with the means of amassing wealth and with the economic laws governing its distribution. Some of his most memorable pages are devoted to the large and fructify-

ing uses to which opulence may be put. Here, again, the author speaks as an expert, in a sense which is unique. Already the magnitude of his contributions for philanthropic purposes dwarfs the work performed by any other public benefactor known to history. From some of the essays printed in this volume, which were penned long ago, it is evident that the dedication of his vast accumulations to beneficent objects has been the long-cherished and unswerving aim of his life. In a lecture delivered a good many years since, he expressed the conviction that wealth should be regarded as a sacred trust, to be administered, not by executors and trustees, but during the lifetime of its possessor, for the highest good of the people. He then made the assertion, which he has often since repeated, that:

"The day is coming, and already we see its dawn, in which the man who dies possessed of millions of available wealth which was free and in his hands ready to be distributed, will die disgraced."

He went on to say that:

"By administering surplus wealth during one's own lifetime great wealth may be made a blessing to the community, and the occupation of the business man accumulating wealth may be elevated so as to rank with any profession."

If any human being has lived up to this conception of the right uses of wealth, it is the author of this volume. As regards the scope and aggregate value of his benefactions, the names of Girard, of Nobel and of Hirsch are already eclipsed by his. According to an authoritative list recently published in Pennsylvania, his donations to public ends—no account is made of his private charities—amount collectively to nearly seventy million dollars, distributed between the United States, Scotland, Canada, England, Cuba, and Ireland, these countries being designated in the order of the extent to which they have been beneficiaries. There is no reason to suppose that Mr. Carnegie's consecration of an imperial fortune to the public good will cease, so long as his life shall last. The unparalleled magnitude of his pecuniary contributions to the welfare of his fellow-men is not more impressive than the foresight that has led him to couple his gifts with wise conditions, by which the danger of pauperizing communities and individuals is avoided.

Unquestionably, the determination to head the roll of the world's philanthropists was prompted by a love of fame. He is an illustrious victim of "that last infirmity of noble minds." He would doubtless himself acknowledge that, "if it be a sin to covet honor, he is the most offending soul alive." Among the lovers of mankind his preëminence is undisputed. We add that, by the method no less than by the volume of his giving, he has earned the only reward that he desires. As Mr. Carnegie has divined, there is more than one way to foil oblivion. He has built himself a monument, broad-based, sky-pointed, like the pyramids. For the thousands and the tens of thousands who will profit by his beneficence, year after year and century after century, it will be at once a duty and a joy to perpetuate his memory. Gratitude will speak in benediction. Seldom is it given to a sovereign to leave a deep mark upon history. Presidents die and are forgotten; but, when it shall prove as hard to recall them as it now is to recite the list of the Popes, the name of Carnegie will be still remembered.

M. W. HAZELTINE.

THE ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE OF WOMEN.

BY VERNON LEE.

I.

In recommending Mrs. Stetson's "Women and Economics," through the help of this Review, to my Anglo-Saxon readers, I am accomplishing the duty of a convert. I believe that "Women and Economics" ought to open the eyes and, I think, also the hearts, of other readers, because it has opened my own to the real importance of what is known as the Woman Question.

I must begin by confessing that the question which goes by that name had never attracted my attention, or, rather, that I had on every occasion evaded and avoided it. Not in the least, however, on account of any ridicule which may attach to it. There is, thank goodness, a spice of absurdity in every one, and in every thing, we care for in this world; and the dear little old lady in Henry James's "Bostonians," who pathetically exclaims: "And would you condemn us to remain mere lovely baubles?" is the very creature to endear a *cause;* she is the Brother Juniper, so to speak, of the Woman Question.

My vague avoidance of the movement was not even due to the perception of some of the less enjoyable peculiarities of its devotees. For a very small knowledge of mankind, and a very slight degree of historical culture, suffice to teach one that it is not the well-balanced, the lucid, the sympathizingly indulgent or the especially gracious and graceful among human beings who are employed by Providence for the attack and possible destruction of long-organized social evils; nay, that the martyrdom in behalf of any new cause begins, one may say, by the constitution of the individual as an inevitable eccentric, unconscious of the diffidence, the scepticism, the sympathy, the sense of fitness and measure which check, divert, or hamper normal human beings.

The early saints, judging by St. Augustine's "Confessions" and the "*Legenda Aurea*," must have been appalling prigs, indifferent to family affections, higher literature, hygiene, and rational cookery; while the Hebrew Prophets were quite devoid of their historian's—M. Renan's—intelligent indulgence for the administrative passion of, say, Nebuchadnezzar, or the touching pleasure in *toilettes* of Queen Jezebel. And, as to Socialists, who may be considered as the modern representatives of such virtuous tactlessness, we have all seen something of them, and of their well-meant efforts to clash with our habits of dress and manners, and to ruffle our feelings on trifling occasions. So that it does not require the generalizing genius of Dr. Nordau, clapping Tolstoy and Ibsen into his specimen-box of "Degenerates," to tell us that the Woman Question, Femininism, is likely to be taken up by those disconnected and disjointed personalities who are attracted by every other kind of thing in *ism;* whose power consists a little in their very inferiority; and whose abnormal and often morbid "pleasure in saying 'no'" (as Nietzsche puts it) is, after all, alas! alas! so very necessary in this world of quite normally stupid and normally selfish and normally virtuous "pleasure in saying 'yes.'"

All these things I knew, of course, and I do not really think it was any of them which made me thus indifferent, and perhaps even a little hostile, towards that Woman Question. Indeed, when I seek in the depths of my consciousness, I think the real mischief lay in that word "Woman." For, while that movement was, of course, intended to break down the legal, professional, educational, and social barriers which still exist between the sexes, yet, owing to the fact of its necessarily pitting one of these sexes against the other; owing to the inevitable insistence on what *can,* or *cannot,* or *must,* or *must not,* be done, said, or thought by women and not men—women—women—women—always women! there naturally arose a certain feeling, pervading, overpowering, intolerable—like that one suffers from in visiting a harem or a convent—the fact of sex, exclusive, aggressive, immodestly out of place, perpetually obtruded on one's consciousness; while the other fact, the universal, chaste, spiritual fact of *humanness,* of *Homo* as distinguished from mere *Vir* and *Femina,* was lost sight of. And somehow—if one is worth one's salt, if one feels normal kinship not only with the talking and

(occasionally) thinking creature around one, but also with animals, plants, earth, skies, waters, and all things past and present; if one be able, as every decent specimen of genus *Homo* must, to join in Francis of Assisi's "*Laudes omnium creaturarum*"—why, then, one feels a little bored, a little outraged, nay, even sickened, by this everlasting question of sex qualifications and sex disqualifications; and (very unjustly, but perhaps therefore very naturally) one gets to shrink from that particular question exactly because it *is* the *Woman* Question.

Very unjustly. Let me repeat that; and remind the reader that what I am describing is my still unregenerate state.

II.

I was converted by Mrs. Stetson's unpretending little book, because in it the rights and wrongs of *Femina, das Weib,* were not merely opposed to the rights and wrongs of *Vir, der Mann,* but subordinated to those of what is, after all, a bigger item of creation: *Homo, der Mensch.*

There was nothing new in connecting the Woman Question with Economics. If I may judge by myself, the majority of people who know anything of Political Economy must be accustomed to regard such questions as marriage, divorce, prostitution, the legal position of mothers and fathers, and many of the peculiarities of law and custom with respect to the sexes, as hinging upon the facts of wealth production and distribution, tenure of soil, heredity and division of property; upon the whole immense question of the individual's share in the products of nature, of invention and of industry. Indeed, I much suspect that, as in my case, many thinking persons shelve the question of women's abilities and disabilities exactly because it seems to depend almost completely upon the far more important question of the redistribution of wealth; to represent a minor act of social justice and social practicality (bringing much waste energy under cultivation) inevitably involved in the greater act of social justice and social practicality which, through revolution or evolution, must needs take place some day or other.

The originality, the scientific soundness and moral efficacy of "Women and Economics," appear to me to lie in its partially reversing this fact; and in its substituting a moral and psychological reason for the rather miraculous mechanicalness which

mars every form of the "historical materialism" of the Marxian school. In other words, this book shows that the present condition of women—their state of dependence, tutelage, and semi-idleness; their sequestration from the discipline of competition and social selection, in fact their economic parasitism—is in itself a most important factor in the wrongness of all our economic arrangements.

This main thesis of the book can be summed up as follows:

In consequence of the immense benefit which a prolonged stage of infancy, that is to say of intellectual and moral plasticity, obtained for the human race, all other advantages tended, during the beginnings of civilization, and have tended ever since, to be sacrificed to the rearing of children; and, first and foremost, there has been sacrificed to it that equality in the power of obtaining sustenance, and that consequent mutual independence in such matters, which we find existing between the male and female half of almost every other race of animal. The human race has obtained much of its superiority through the partial replacing of instinct by individual experiment and conscious tradition; but this has meant that the human infant has been born into the world far less mature, far less typically developed, and far less near to independence than the young sheep which can walk within half an hour of its birth, let alone of the chick which can find the right seed almost as soon as it has broken out of the shell. In proportion as the human adult has become rich in original powers, has the human infant required a longer and longer period of tutelage; with the result of requiring of the human mother a longer and longer devotion of her strength, her mind, and, even more, of her time, to the rearing of her offspring. The difference between the female of genus *homo* and the female of other genera has therefore originated not in a longer period of gestation (for that of the horse, for instance, is nearly one-third longer), but in a longer period of education of her offspring. The different position of the female whom we call *Woman* is not due to a difference in psychological, but in sociological functions.

For the longer duration of human infancy, and, even more, the greater helplessness, the greater educability of the human infant, have made it difficult, and in some cases impossible, for the human mother to find food for herself, let alone food for her

growing and already weaned child. Hence, the continuance of the human race has called forth a personage who (save among birds, so oddly like human beings in many things) can scarcely be said to exist among animals: the Father—the Father, as distinguished from the mere begetter; the pseudo-father in many stages of primitive life (without ironical references to later stages of existence!), the uncle, the maternal male relative, the head of the tribe, the patriarch: the man who provides food for the child, and food for the woman who rears it; the man who procures, by industry, or violence, a home (cave, cabin, tent, or house) in which the woman remains with the children, while he himself goes forth to hunt, to tend flocks, to make captives, to till the ground, to buy and sell; and in modern times to do those hundred curious things which, producing no tangible product, come under the heading of "making money."

This all seems very simple; but the consequences are complex. The female *homo,* thus left to rear the children (and do what else she can), becomes, what the female of other animals is not, or only (in birds and certain lower creatures) for a very short time, the *dependent* of the male *homo.* The home which she inhabits is *his* home, the food she eats is *his* food, the children she rears become, whether father or only patriarch, *his* children; and, by a natural evolution, she herself, the woman thus dependent upon his activity and thus appropriated to his children's service, becomes part and parcel of the home, of the goods, of the children; becomes appropriated to the nursing, the cooking, the clothing, the keeping in repair; becomes, thus amalgamated with the man's property, a piece of property herself, body and soul, a slave (often originally a captive, stolen or bought), and what every slave naturally is, a chattel. By this process, therefore, we have obtained a primitive human group, differing most essentially from the group composed by the male and female of other genera: the man and the woman, *vir ac femina,* do not stand opposite one another, he a little taller, she a little rounder, like Adam and Eve on the panels of Memling or Kranach; but in a quite asymmetrical position: a big man, as in certain archaic statues, holding in his hand a little woman; a god (if we are poetical, or if we face the advantages of the case) protecting a human creature; or (if we are cynical, and look to the disadvantages) a human being playing with a doll.

III.

In his remarkable book, "*Division du Travail Social*," M. Emile Durkheim writes as follows:

"The female of those remotest ages was by no means the feeble being that she has gradually become as a result of increasing morality. Prehistoric bones make it quite plain to us that, in those earliest times, there was much less difference of strength than we find nowadays between the two sexes. And even now, we find that during childhood the skeletons of the male and female present but little difference; the characteristic being, on the whole, rather feminine. If, therefore, we admit that the growth of the individual reproduces, so to speak, on a small scale, the development of the species, then we may fairly conjecture that the same similarity between the sexes existed at the beginning of human evolution, and we may regard the feminine form as an approximation to that original single type of humanity, from which the masculine variety has gradually become differentiated.

"As regards the highest organ of physical and psychical life, it has been shown by Dr. Lebon, with mathematical precision, that the brain of both sexes must have originally presented just such a degree of similarity. The comparison of a large number of skulls, selected among the most different races and civilizations, has led him to the following conclusion: that, if we compare individuals of the same age, the same stature and weight, the brain of the male will be found to be considerably bulkier than that of the female; and that this inequality increases regularly with the increase of civilization; in such a way that the brain and, therefore, the mind of the woman is constantly tending to differ, to her disadvantage, from the brain and the mind of the man. For instance, the difference found to exist between the average skulls of modern Parisians of the two sexes is almost double the difference which exists between the male and female skulls of the ancient Egyptians. A German anthropologist, Bischoff, has come to the same conclusions on this subject as Dr. Lebon. This anatomical resemblance is accompanied by similarity of function. For, in those early civilizations, the feminine functions are not sharply marked off from the masculine ones; on the contrary, the two sexes lead very much the same life. There are even nowadays a considerable number of savage races where the woman takes her share in political life. This has been remarked more especially among the American Indians, like the Iroquois and Natchez; also at Hawaii, where the female shares the life of the men in a hundred ways; also in New Zealand and Samoa. Similarly, it is not rare to find the women accompanying their men on warlike expeditions, urging them on in the fray and even taking an active part in it. In Cuba and in Dahomey also they are as warlike as the men, and fight by their side. . . . Now, it is to be observed that, among all these peoples, the institution of marriage is extremely rudimentary. . . . We are acquainted with a type of family, comparatively near us in time, and which possesses only a germ, so to speak, of marriage: we allude to the *maternal family* . . . In this,

marriage, or what goes by the name of marriage, consists in but few obligations, frequently limited also in duration, which bind the husband to the wife's relations. . . . Whereas, the further we advance, and the nearer we draw to modern times, the more also do we see marriage take on in complexity. . . . And it is certain that, at the same time,we find a greater and greater division of labor as between the two sexes. . . . For ages past woman has withdrawn from warfare and public business and concentrated all her activities within the limits of the individual family. And the part which she plays has become only more and more specialized; so that nowadays, and among civilized nations, the female leads a life absolutely different from that of the male. It is as if the two great halves of the soul's life had become severed, and as if one of the two sexes had appropriated the emotional functions and the other the functions of the intellect."

I am very glad to have been able to give the readers of this REVIEW, instead of a *précis* of parts of "Women and Economics," the above quotation on the subject of that equality of faculties and community of functions which may (or may not) have originally existed between the two halves of genus *homo,* and upon that subsequent differentiation which resulted in what M. Durkheim has aptly and joyfully defined as a "stationary or even retrograde tendency in the female skull. For, to such readers as have reason (perhaps owing to their superior knowledge) for giving much weight to similar statements about prehistoric civilizations; and to such readers also as feel that the fact of having possessed any particular desideratum in the past constitutes a better claim to its possession in the future; to both these classes of readers, it must be much more satisfactory to be assured of the original and primeval importance of womankind by M. Durkheim, who jubilates at the "*stationnement et régression des crânes féminins*" as a splendid argument in favor of thorough-going division of labor, than to take it on the authority of Mrs. Stetson herself, who may be suspected of partiality for hypotheses redounding to the glory of our earliest mothers.

I am also glad to have devolved, so to speak, the *onus probandi* of the original equality of male and female skulls, of the primitive similarity of habits, functions, and powers of the two sexes, and particularly the responsibility for that uncertain spectre, the "Matriarch," on to an adversary of female emancipation; because I suspect that, in the undeveloped state of anthropology and prehistoric sociology, the alleged facts and cherished hypotheses of one day are sure to be upset the next. And also

because I have a very strong feeling that the desirability of any particular thing in the future has nothing to do with its existence or non-existence in the past; and that the question of the position of women, say, in the year 2000 A.D., will depend not upon the position of women in the year—well, the year 20,000 before the Deluge—but upon the condition of the world at large, the intellectual, moral, particularly the economical state of men and women, in our own times.

IV.

Now the really fine piece of work which Mrs. Stetson has done, has been to demonstrate—to me at least—that, although the exclusion of womankind from the world's active work, and her subordination to man, have been a sociological necessity—the price paid for the lengthened infancy, the increased educability of man, and also for that solid familial organization which alone permitted an accumulation and multiplication of human inventions and traditions; that, although the *regression,* or, at all events, the stagnation of one half of the human race has been inevitable and beneficial in the past, it has ceased to be beneficial, and is ceasing to be inevitable, in the present. A particular automatic arrangement of historical evolution has done its work; like slavery, like servage, like feudalism, like centralization (according to individualists), like competition (according to socialists), it has grown to be an impediment to progress. For the prolonged infancy and youth of genus *homo* can now no longer be endangered; and a large proportion of human education has, since thousands of years, passed from the care of the mother to that of the community as a whole, or of portions—guilds, priesthoods, universities, and so forth—of the community; while, on the other hand, the inventions and traditions have been stored, multiplied, and diffused far beyond the powers of family education. The benefit has long, long ago been obtained beyond all possibility of loss; but the price is still being paid for it.

Now, what is that price? The stagnation or regression, answers M. Durkheim, of the female mind. The removal, answers Mrs. Stetson, enlarging the same thought with a different intention, the removal of womankind from the field of action and reaction called "the universe at large" to the field of action and reaction called "the family circle"; the substitution, as a factor of adap-

tation and selection, of the preference of the husband or possible husband for the preferences, so to speak, of the whole of creation. In other words, the sequestration of the capacities of one half of the human race, and their enclosure inside the habits and powers of the other half of the human race. Briefly, a condition in which the man plays the part of the animal who moves and feeds freely on the earth's surface; and the woman the part of the parasitic creature who lives inside that animal's tissues. The comparison is exact; but we ought not to push the analogy to the point of considering the parasitism of womankind as the parasitism of a destructive microbe. The mischief lies not in the fact of parasitism, but in the fact that this parasitic life has developed in the parasite one set of faculties and atrophied another; atrophied the faculties which the woman had (or might have had, even if in lesser degree) in common with the man, and developed those which were due to the fact of her being a woman.

We have come to a point where a clear understanding is very necessary. Even admitting that chastity, devotion to offspring, tenderness, and that peculiar negative quality (called after the domesticated animal) *mansuetude,* let alone certain æsthetic graces which the ancients by no means discovered in womankind, have come to exist in the female as the result of her dependent position, [a theory which is seriously damaged by the coyness in courtship and the maternal passion observable already in animals where the female is not dependent], we must be careful to add this gain to the other advantages, and main advantages, of "feminine stagnation or regression," namely, the prolongation of childhood and the establishment of the family group. And we must not gratuitously argue that these virtues will disappear if the position of women is changed; since, whatever their origin, they have become so far common to both sexes that Christianity and Buddhism have for centuries been taking for granted that chastity, mansuetude, and tenderness are the most essential virtues of mankind at large, the "one thing needful."

But the question arises, What price has been paid for all these advantages?

The first answer which arises in the mind is naturally a direct one: the work which womankind might have accomplished during those hundreds and hundreds of years if she had not had a man to work for her; the work which might have been given by two

halves of the human race, instead of being given by one only. But here again we have need for a *distinguo,* though not a casuistic one. The woman did do work throughout that time. Not merely the essential work, direct and indirect, of rearing a new generation and, in a measure, keeping up the acquired standard of civilization; but also the work, less essential indeed to the race, which enabled the man not merely to seek for food away from the home, but also to be as idle as he required (or at least as he liked) while in it. The woman, save among the exceptionally wealthy, has always been a chief domestic servant; and even nowadays she is so, to a greater or lesser extent. The woman, therefore, has worked; but—and here comes the subtle distinction on which the whole economic and sociological part of the subject reposes—she has worked not for the consumption of the world at large, and subject to the world's selection of good or bad, useful or useless, work; but for the consumption of one man and subject to that one man's preferences. The woman has worked without thereby developing those qualities which competition has developed among male workers. She has not become as efficient a human being as her brothers; whatever her individual inherited aptitudes (and, as Mrs. Stetson aptly reminds us, women are, after all, the children of men as well as of women, and must, therefore, inherit some of their father's natural powers), she has not been allowed to develop them in the struggle for life; but has been condemned, on the contrary, to atrophy them in forms of labor which can require only the most common gifts, since they are required equally of every woman in every family.

But this is by no means the whole of the price which the human race has had to pay for the needful "division of labor" between its two halves. Negatively, the position of women has prevented their developing certain of their possibilities; positively, it has forced them to develop certain other of their possibilities; it has atrophied the merely human faculties, which they possess rudimentarily in common with men; it has, on the other hand, hypertrophied the peculiarity which distinguished them from man; hypertrophied their sex.

There is one particular sentence in "Women and Economics" which converted me to the cause of female emancipation: "Women are over-sexed."

V.

Women over-sexed! *Over-sexed!* There seems something odious and almost intolerable in that word. In the fact also—but odious and intolerable in a manner more subtle and more serious than mere scandalized modesty can ever understand. Let me try to explain the extreme importance of Mrs. Stetson's thought. *Over-sexed* does not mean over-much addicted to sexual indulgence; very far from it, for that is the case not with women, but with men, of whom we do not say that they are *over-sexed.* What we mean by *over-sexed* is that, while men are a great many things besides being males—soldiers and sailors, tinkers and tailors, and all the rest of the nursery rhyme—women are, first and foremost, *females,* and then again females, and then—still more females. It is a case for paraphrasing Danton; only that, alas! there is a considerable difference between "*de l'audace, de l'audace et encore de l'audace*" and "*de la femme, de la femme, et encore de la femme,*" which sums up the outspoken views of the Latin races, and the practice, alas! of the less outspoken but more practical Teutonic ones. And here we touch the full mischief. That women are *over-sexed* means that, instead of depending upon their intelligence, their strength, endurance, and honesty, they depend mainly upon their sex; that they appeal to men, dominate men through the fact of their sex; that (if the foregoing seems an exaggeration) they are economically supported by men because they are wanted as wives and mothers of children—that is to say, wanted for their sex. And it means, therefore, by a fearful irony, that the half of humanity which is constitutionally (and by the bare facts of motherhood) more chaste, has unconsciously and inevitably acquired its power, secured its livelihood, by making the other half of humanity less chaste, by appealing through every means, material, æsthetic and imaginative, sensual or sentimental, to those already excessive impulses and thoughts of sex. The woman has appealed to the man, not as other men appeal to him, as a comrade, a competitor, a fellow-citizen, or an open enemy of different nationality, creed, or class; but as a possible wife, as a female. This has been a cause of weakness and degradation to the man; a "fall," like that of Adam; and, in those countries where literature is thoroughly outspoken, man, like Adam, has thrown the blame on Eve, as the instrument of the Devil.

This is, of course, particularly the case among our Continental neighbors, more outspoken than we upon all sexual questions, and unhampered by the thought of Thackeray's Erubescent Young Person. The old, old story is repeated with slight variations from Schopenhauer down to Nietzsche, and from Michelet down to Dumas *fils*. I think it may be studied best in the works of this very humanitarian though amusing dramatist.

"Well, then," asks Mme. Leverdet in his "*Ami des Femmes*," "what conclusion have you come to as a result of your studies of womankind? You needn't mind telling me, for I am a *femme d'esprit*."

"My conclusion," answers De Ryons, the *Ami des Femmes*—"my conclusion is that Woman, such as she exists at present, is a creature entirely illogical, inferior, and harmful—'*un être illogique, subalterne et malfaisant.*'"

The admirable preface of the play, and the whole tenor of the author's works, show that the younger Dumas is making use of the personage of De Ryons to speak his own innermost convictions, and that these are the convictions of a very sincere and very disheartened moralist. As such, they are well worthy of our attention; and—in the light of Mrs. Stetson's words, "Women are over-sexed"—they ought to carry more weight than a cargo of "Woman Question" pamphlets. In the first place, Dumas *fils* is rebelling against the poetical lie, covering so much ugly prose, that "Love is enough." Rebelling, that is to say, against the narrowing of that great word *love* down to a single one of its possible meanings; rebelling against the notion that the power of loving, of giving one's self, body and soul, which is necessary for the efficacy and dignity of all human labor, of all human relationship, should be expended solely in the passion of a man for a woman. He sees and he preaches how small a part sex has a right to play in this big and complex world, how episodic a part in the wide and varied human life. And he sees that the danger and the evil come from what we have learned to call the over-sexed woman, but which he calls, like every Frenchman, merely *La Femme*.

For he is himself that *Femme's* first and foremost victim; he believes in that fearful neo-Latin abstraction as in an inevitable reality. Similar in this to so very different a man as Michelet, Dumas describes *La Femme* as if she were a single and invariable

type, and, moreover, also the type of a disease. It is altogether impossible to translate into English the particular words which either Michelet or Dumas (I forget which) has coined as expressive of the intimate nature of womankind. But in another place Michelet defines the object of his love and pity, of his very honest "*Frauendienst*"—as "*la femme, toujours faible et souvent furieuse.*"

Dumas, however, is not inferior to Michelet in physiological lore, particularly of the kind offered to the world by men of science rather hungry than scrupulous. In this preface of "*L'Ami des Femmes,*" we have a list of all the possible varieties of *La Femme,* with inventories of her peculiarities, from the lines in her hands to the shape and consistence of her calves, let alone the smoothness or crispness of hair, the flatness or sharpness of nose, the skin which is either always warm or always cold, and those curious olfactory details which prove that, so far as French writers are concerned, it is quite untrue that genus *homo* is inferior to the canine race in the faculty of scent. Physiologically and sociologically, Dumas believes unhesitatingly in the existence of *La Femme.* And believing in her as such, he sees in her a horrible danger to man's moral progress; he sees her attack him, grapple with him, destroy him, in her capacity not of human being, of competitor, of enemy, but in her capacity of woman, of mistress or wife. Against this danger man must eternally struggle; the creature made in God's image must be saved from this diseased piece of its own flesh. Man must diminish the power of woman by diminishing his own sensuality and folly. One feels all through this laughing cynicism a sort of priestly rage at the impossibility of finding out some better mode of continuing the race.

Meanwhile, there women are, and the only thing is to be exceedingly wise and consistent and austere with them; not to be unjust or angry with their miserable nature, which is not any fault of theirs; besides, and that is the worst of it, these sirens, these man-destroying monsters, do everything to make themselves agreeable; these dangerous wild beasts are, alas! charming.

VI.

All this is mere literary exaggeration. There have been an enormous number of most useful women in the world, Mrs. Fry,

Queen Elizabeth, Joan of Arc, the mother of the Gracchi; and, as a fact, it is these selfsame Latin countries, with all their filthy talk about *La Femme,* her ailments and powers, that bore us Anglo-Saxons almost equally with their talk about the miraculous virtues of *La Mère,* who is, after all, only *La Femme* —well, as the Latins would put it, when she is too old or too busy to be *La Femme.*

Doubtless. And it is not "Women and Economics," nor I, its converted expounder, who give so inordinate an importance to the influence of the over-sexed woman upon the moral cleanness, the chastity, of mankind; it is the very people, like Dumas, who believe, which we do not, in the universal existence and eternal duration of *La Femme.*

Mrs. Stetson has mentioned this aspect of the question, and I have followed her example, because it is certainly an important one. But Mrs. Stetson has taught me to see that there is another aspect, more important by far. The fostering of vices, especially of vices so harmful to the race as those presided over by *La Femme,* is a very grave mischief; but vices, from their very nature, are more or less exceptional and tend to die out. And a far more serious evil consists in the wasting and perverting of virtues, the systematic misapplication of healthy feelings and energies. Now, the chief point made by the author of "Women and Economics," the point which, as it converted myself, ought to convert many others from indifference to the Woman Question, is concerned with the misapplication and waste of the productive energies and generous impulses of men, thanks to the necessity of providing not only for themselves and their offspring, but for a woman who has been brought up not as a citizen, but as a parasite, not as a comrade, but as a servant, or—well, consider the word even in its most sentimental and honorable sense—as a lover. The economic dependence of women (however inevitable and useful in the past) has not merely limited the amount of productive bodily and mental work at the disposal of the community, but it has very seriously increased the mal-distribution of that work and of its products by creating, within the community, a system of units of virtuous egoism, a network of virtuous rapacity which has made the supposed organic social whole a mere gigantic delusion. Virtuous egoism, and virtuous rapacity; for *it is* virtuous on the man's part, husband or intending

husband, to sacrifice himself for another human being, and the consciousness of the virtue enables the sacrifice to be extended, with a clear conscience, to the interests of the community at large. A man has to be first a good father and husband, and then, with such honesty as remains over, a good citizen.

"Such honesty as remains over! Sacrifice of the community to the wife and children!" you exclaim. "Why, this accusation of yours against the modern man and the modern woman is far more really dreadful than any of that French rubbish about *La Femme* and her victims!" Exactly so; and a great deal more important, because it is a great deal truer and more sweeping. The very fact of its truth not being recognized merely goes to prove how extraordinarily our moral sense in economic matters has been perverted (or has failed to grow), owing to the fact of the man having to supply the material wants and satisfy the caprices not only of himself, but of that "better"—or worse—self who sees the world only through his eyes, and damages the world only through his hands. It is not a question of cheating or robbing; I am not a collectorist. I believe no more in the rights of labor than in the rights of property, and I have no reason for supposing that the author of "Women and Economics" does so either. Our moral obtuseness is, on the contrary, proved irrefutably by our always connecting the idea of dishonesty with such narrow and crass categories as cheating and robbery—cheating and robbery which can be practised only against individuals, and on very rare occasions; besides being severely, perhaps almost too severely, punished. What cannot be punished (but is on the contrary praised and admired, when successful) is exactly the chronic and all-pervading preference of the interest of the individual as against the interest of the community, the debasing of the standard of work and the quality of products. Now, this kind of dishonesty triumphs not merely in commerce and industry (perhaps almost least there, where most visible), but in all the professions which are exercised, and in many cases (bureaucracies of all kinds, civil and ecclesiastic, and who shall say how large a portion of our supposed necessary military system?) are kept in useless existence merely because men have to make a living. "*Je n'en vois pas la nécessité*": the minister might make that simple answer to the unmarried parasite, office-seeker, or journalist, or whatever he was; but no minister, however cynical,

would dare to question the married man's right—nay, his duty—to support his wife and family, or, more strictly, his wife.

I repeat: *more strictly his wife;* because it is, in reality, not the unborn children, or even the born children, who decide the "standard of living;" but the wife, extremely on the spot, and already accustomed both to a certain degree of expenditure as a reality, and, what is quite as important, to a certain expenditure as an ideal in the future. Even the poorest paupers contrive to rear offspring; and, by a melancholy irony, the greater part of the world's most necessary work happens to be done by people "whose dear papa was poor," as Stevenson makes the good little boy express it. No, no, it is not the children who ask for carriage horses, toilettes, and footmen, or (in more sordid spheres) for the Ibsenian "home for happy people," with its one overworked drudge and its preoccupation about the husband's dinner. It is not even the children who clamor for nurse-maids and governesses and expensive schools: it is the wife.

VII.

"*Tout cela a été fait pour casser,*" remarks Nana, after one of her bouts of destruction. Reputable women do not, usually, while away a dull morning like Zola's ingenuous courtesan; they do not set to tearing and smashing. But the only difference, very often, is that while the light lady destroyed in a couple of hours the product of many men's and many months' labor, the virtuous woman of the well-to-do classes, and of the classes (more numerous and important) aspiring or pretending to such well-to-do-ness, alters, discards, throws away more gradually those objects which are no longer consonant with "what one *has* to have," and whose continued use would therefore suggest the horrid thought that the family was not really well-off; in eminently business countries the thought that the husband's *business* was not thriving. "It is good for trade," remark the more responsible among these ladies, unconsciously echoing a reflexion of that same Nana. It is good for trade: and so is a town being burnt down, or swallowed up by an earthquake, or washed away by a tidal wave. It makes room for more objects (dresses, crockery, furniture, houses, or human beings); but, meanwhile, you have wasted those that were already there, and all the labor and capital they have cost to produce.

But the spirit of wastefulness is by no means the worst correlative among women of the spirit of rapacity, of "getting wealth, not making it," as Mrs. Stetson luminously describes it, which the economic dependence of the wife develops (as a virtue, too!) in the husband. An enormous amount of the hardness in bargaining, the readiness to take advantage, the willingness to use debasing methods (such as our modern hypnotizing advertisement system), the wholesale acceptance of intellectual and moral, if not material, adulteration of work and its products—correspond in the husband to what is honored as thrift, as *good management,* in the wife. It is more than probable that the time wasted, the bad covetousness excited, the futile ingenuity exercised by the women who crowd round the windows of our great shops and attend their odious "sales," are really the result of a perverted possibility of virtue.

For the man's virtue is to *make money;* the woman's virtue is to *make money go a long way.* And, between the two virtues, we are continually told that a business house cannot give better wages and shorter hours because it would be "crowded out of the market"; and we are told also, by more solemn moralists still, that nations cannot do without war, lest they lose their "commercial outlets," or fail to secure those they have not got.

Who can object? All these people are good husbands and good wives; the home is the pivot of our morality. And the most disheartening thing is, that all this is true.

VIII.

How do you propose to remedy it? By what arrangements do you expect to make the wife the economic equal of her husband, the joint citizen of the community?

I propose nothing, because I do not know. All I feel sure of is, that if people only want a change sufficiently strongly and persistently, that change will work out its means in one way or another. Which way? is a question often unanswerable, because the practical detail depends upon other practical details which the continuance of the present state of things is hiding from us, or even forbidding. And because, moreover, we are surrounded on all sides by resources which become available only in connection with other resources, and only under the synthetic power of desire. The lids of boiling kettles went on rising all

through Antiquity and the Middle Ages; but the notion of using that expansive movement of steam could not occur until people had already got roads and mariner's compasses and mechanical mills, and until people were beginning to find stage-coaches and sailing vessels and wind-mills and water-mills a little unsatisfactory. The integration of women as *direct* economic, and therefore *direct* moral and civic, factors in the community, is not a more difficult question than the question of the integration of the laboring classes into the real life of nations; and yet the "social question" will find, some day, its unexpected solution; and the "Woman Question" will, very likely, have to be settled beforehand.

Have to be settled? I would have said "settle itself," for that is more like my meaning, if it were not that I wish to insist that questions do not *settle themselves* satisfactorily, unless we wish and help them to do so. It is for the sake of such increase of wish for a change in the economic position of women, or, at all events, a diminution of the present very strong prejudice against such a change, that the discussion of ways and means appears, to me at least, principally useful. I do not agree with Mrs. Stetson's suggestion of our eventually living in a kind of hotel, or at least dining permanently in a restaurant; but the discussion of such a plan, odious as it appears to me, is infinitely useful in accustoming us to the thought that some arrangement will require to be devised for delivering women from the necessities of housekeeping. I see some similar usefulness even in discussions about the future of women (including the possibility of that famous "third sex" which haunts the imagination of the Latin believers in *La Femme),* such as I. H. Rosny has introduced (I scarcely know whether as a joke or not) into his "*Chemin d'Amour.*"

Besides this fact, the one thing certain about the future of women is, surely, that they ought to be given a chance, by the removal of legal and professional disabilities, if not of becoming different from what they have been, at all events of showing what they really are. For one of the paradoxes of this most paradoxical question is precisely that, with all our literature about *La Femme,* and all our violent discussions, economical, physiological, psychological, sociological (each deciding according to some hypothesis of his immature science), as to what women must or

must not be allowed to do, and what women must and must not succeed or fail in, we do not really know what women *are.* Women, so to speak, as a natural product, as distinguished from women as a creation of men; for women, hitherto, have been as much a creation of men as the grafted fruit tree, the milch cow, or the gelding who spends six hours in pulling a carriage, and the rest of the twenty-four standing in a stable.

One of the very great uses of Mrs. Stetson's most useful book is to accustom those who *can* think, to think in terms of change, of adaptation, of evolution; to free us from the superstition that the present is the type of the eternal, and that our preferences of to-day are what decide the fate of the universe. *Woman*—even letting alone *La Femme*—is, so to speak, the last scientific survival of the pre-Darwinian belief in the invariability of types; *Woman,* I may add, is almost a relic of the philosophy of the Middle Ages; for has not *woman* an *essence,* something quite apart from herself, an essence like the "*virtus dormitiva*" of opium (not always so tranquillizing), an essential quality of being—well, being a woman?

One word more. There is a notion, founded in the main on the facts of a period of struggle, segregation of interests, and general uncomfortable transition, that if women attain legal and economic independence, if they get to live, bodily and intellectually and socially, a life more similar, I might say more symmetrical, to that of men, they will necessarily become—let us put it plainly, less attractive to possible husbands. Of course they will; if they have changed, they will no longer realize the ideal of gracefulness, beauty, and lovableness of the particular men who like them just as they are; but then those particular men will themselves probably no longer exist. Moreover, there is, undoubtedly, a certain correlation between the qualities of the two sexes, due to the fact, which we are all of us (not only M. Durkheim with his "division of labor") inclined to forget, namely, that the woman is, after all, not merely the *wife* (since that noble word must be put to such mean use) of the man, but also his daughter, his sister, and his companion; and that, as such, he requires her to be not *unlike,* but *like* himself. There is, if we watch for it, a family resemblance, after all, between the men and women of the same country. I was very much struck, while at Tangier, by the fact that the husbands of those veiled and painted Moorish women

were themselves so oddly like women in men's clothes, those languid Moors lolling in their shops, with black beards which looked almost as if they had been gummed on to their delicate white faces: the ultra-feminine woman belonged, quite naturally, to the effeminate man. In a similar way, the "masculine" Englishwoman, fox-hunting, Alpine-climbing, boating, is the natural companion of the out-of-door, athletic, sporting, colonizing Englishman; she has been taught by her big brothers during their holidays "*not to be a muff*"; she has learned to be ashamed of the things "the boys" would be ashamed of. And, living as I do equally among Latins and Anglo-Saxons, I have got to guess that, if the Latins see a "third sex" in a portion of Anglo-Saxon womankind, the Anglo-Saxons, on the other hand, have a vague but strong feeling that a corresponding category might be found among the Latin males morally emasculated by belief in *La Femme*. For if *manly* be an adjective denoting certain virtues, and *effeminate* an adjective denoting certain weaknesses, you may be sure that the same civilization, the same habits and preferences, will produce more of the one than of the other in all the members of a race, just because they do belong to the same race.

And let me remind Mrs. Stetson's readers that it is just the most æsthetic, but also the most athletic, people of the past which has left us those statues of gods and goddesses in the presence of whose marvellous vigor and loveliness we are often in doubt whether to give the name of Apollo, or that of Athena.

VERNON LEE.

STRIKES AND THE PUBLIC WELFARE.

BY JOHN HANDIBOE.

A LABOR strike is a logical consequence of unswerving belief in the inviolability and preëminence of private rights. But it must be accepted as a political necessity that public welfare should always be placed above private interest. That it is not always so placed is due quite as much to public indifference and supineness as to the selfish prosecution of private enterprise. The truth of this statement is demonstrated by the organization and operation of great trusts and combines alleged to be lawless and rapacious; by the creation and maintenance of political "machines"; by the sovereignty of "bossism"; by the frequent prostitution of public office to party advantage or necessity, and by the corrupt use of public moneys for party and private profit. All of these, in a greater or lesser degree, are denounced as opposed to the public welfare; but the public seldom, if ever, interferes.

It is undeniable that society is still within the period of evolution, and it is quite as indisputable that a desirable rate of progression has not been attained in labor matters. The condition of civilized man has improved immeasurably in modern times. War, while always cruel, is less savage than formerly. A won battlefield is no longer a scene of inhuman butchery; a fallen city is not now given up to slaughter and rapine; the soldier is no longer brutalized by harsh treatment. The administration of the laws and the methods of punishing offenders alone mark a wonderful degree of progress. The cruel punishments that formerly were inflicted upon criminals are obsolete. There is no longer confinement in unspeakably foul dungeons, no myriad crimes of capital degree. But one relic of barbarism remains—solitary confinement, and this penologists will in time eradicate. The treatment of the insane, in older days, was essentially barbarous. They were

not regarded as human beings whose peculiar and pathetic ailments should have especially considerate treatment, but as creatures whose illusions and unreasonable deportment necessitated repression by violence. This has been changed, and the rare rumors of maltreatment in hospitals for the insane, and in charitable and penal institutions, simply prove the stability of the rule. In the intercourse of man with his kind, individual welfare is more carefully safeguarded than ever before; the privileges of even the humblest citizen are more generally recognized and accorded; the settlement of private disputes by the arbitrament of the strong arm is no longer a predominating proof of good breeding, and drunkenness and debauchery have become abhorrent to the great mass of the people. Notwithstanding this satisfactory improvement, a weak point in the social structure is still to be found in the relations between capital and labor.

These two elements of industrial life have never been in sympathy, and will probably never be wholly harmonious. Despite the assurances of eloquent orators to the contrary, capital and labor are not being brought closer together. The wars they wage upon each other will be continued so long as the public shall be content to permit its privileges to be violated and ignored, and so long as it shall refrain either from compelling the battling elements to settle their quarrels in such a way that public peace and general business shall not be disturbed, or from settling it for them. But it must not be assumed that only one side is at fault in the frequently recurring labor disputes. In too many instances, harsh measures have been resorted to by both sides. Upon the declaration of a strike, the workmen concerned have frequently taken practical possession of the industrial plants of employers, with the intention of preventing the operation of those plants by other workmen. On the other hand, employers have often, when a strike had begun, employed a force of special policemen for the avowed protection of the plants when no protection was required. While in many cases the necessity for protection quickly became patent, in others there was no really valid reason for the hiring of a private army. It is alleged, not without show of justification, that these special policemen have occasionally, by their own violence, precipitated the riots which it undoubtedly was the desire and should have been the business of the public to prevent, indeed to make impossible. In either case, whether hostili-

ties were begun by employer or employee, public welfare was ignored by private interest. The sudden strike has been matched by the lockout; intimidation of employees, by the anti-interference injunction; the boycott, by the blacklist. In whatever manner or direction the industrial disturbance may be manifested, the public is compelled to suffer. There has been too much of "the public be d——d" sentiment in these affairs, and it has now become the public duty to declare emphatically and definitively that labor disputants shall have no more right to disturb public tranquillity by recourse to a test of strength and endurance, than a pair of bruisers have to settle their differences in the street.

One point which many employers of labor do not consider with comprehensive appreciation of its importance is, that labor unions must be taken into all the calculations of industrial enterprise. Labor unions have come to stay; their perpetuity is assured; and their increasing importance, as a factor in social and industrial development, cannot be disputed. It would seem that in this connection such employers make a vital mistake; they refuse to treat with employees as a body of united workmen, and declare their determination to consider these men only as individuals. This error is the natural progenitor of the mistake of refusing to meet workmen in joint conferences as to wage scales or grievances, and declining to submit to arbitration matters in dispute. As an illustration of the bad effects of continued refusals of conferences, it is necessary only to state (and the writer is wholly impartial and disinterested) that these have been a source of irritation and disturbance in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania. Participation, by employers, in a joint conference would naturally be set down as recognition of the union, by the employer, who is determined to vouchsafe no such recognition; and by the union men, who would willingly relinquish other points for the one concession of recognition. On the part of employers, too, such participation is feared as an admission of willingness to arbitrate. It is to be regretted that the announcement that "we have nothing to arbitrate" has not been succeeded by a temperate acknowledgment of the paramountcy of public welfare, especially under circumstances which forebode the disruption of the peace of a community, a county or a State. This announcement, however, is equalled by labor's declaration that "we are opposed to compulsory arbitration." In such case, the public should protect itself.

A strike, whether forced by employer or employee, may, and usually does, affect many persons not directly concerned in the dispute. The strikes in the coal regions afford an apt illustration. The miners quit work; no coal is mined; there is none to be hauled; coal-train crews and railroad shopmen are suspended, there being no employment for them; coal becomes scarce and the prices are advanced; industrial plants cannot obtain supplies, are shut down and workpeople are forced into idleness; the financial loss becomes enormous and the distress of families deprived of income grows acute; there is rioting and men are wounded, perhaps killed; families are plunged into grief and mourning, where death stalks with want; the military are called out, and may be compelled to restore order by violent methods; the public must pay for this force in the field, for the rioting, for property destroyed, for the arrest, conviction and maintenance of imprisoned rioters; over a wide area all business is disturbed, and in some places it is completely paralyzed. Which party to the dispute may be the cause of all this loss and misery, is of no importance whatever. The important point is, that the public has too long submitted, too long uncomplainingly paid the price, too long aided and abetted in its own undoing.

It will undoubtedly be forever impossible for employer and employee to take the same view of unionism and labor disputes, internal or otherwise. Labor's real or supposed views upon these and correlated matters have been given repeatedly, by all sorts and conditions of men, and it must be said that labor's champions have not always placed it in the best light, for the union labor field has been long an inviting arena for the demagogue. On the side of the employer, though not at that time speaking as his especial advocate, President George F. Baer, of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, recently gave an interesting exposition of the anti-union view. In January, 1902, President Baer, in an address at Franklin and Marshall College, on the subject "Work is Worship," said that all labor is noble and ennobling, that to work is the duty of all men, and that the right to work must not be denied to anybody. Upon the latter points he said:

"Is liberty to work less desirable than liberty to worship? Can the one live without the other? Are we freemen in the sense of the Declaration of Independence, whose liberties are vouchsafed by the Constitution, if there be any power in this broad land to control our choice of labor?

Shall we be denied the right to work in the lawful vocations of man because we do not belong to a particular labor organization?

"Let it be said once for all, that it is, as it ought to be, lawful for laborers to organize; to use all lawful means to obtain higher wages and better conditions, and to quit work singly or in a body.

"This is their liberty. But has not every man a similar liberty of action? If he chooses to work at any vocation, and on any terms, is not this his liberty? And what moral or legal right has a labor organization to deprive him of his inalienable liberty to work? Yet, it is being done every day. Men are driven from work, threatened, abused, called all manner of harsh names, their wives and children are insulted, and a social ostracism is established, which compels good, honest workmen to bear the pangs of hunger rather than endure the threats and gibes of their fellow-workmen. In some trades employers are not permitted to employ workmen without labor-organization cards. Union men will not work with non-union men. Was ever greater tyranny practised by one set of men over their fellow-men?"

The speaker adverted to the futility of volunteer and amateur plans for the settlement of labor disputes, as follows:

"Our friends of the Civic Federation, perhaps realizing how impracticable it is to bring about good results by such a division of employer and employee into hostile camps, have suggested a plan to solve the whole problem. It is based on the delusive and impracticable idea that this stupendous problem can be adjusted to the satisfaction of all by a Board of Conciliation, not selected by the parties in interest, but created by the Civic Federation—a self-constituted Witenagemote—a Court without jurisdiction and without a Sheriff to enforce its judgments.

"Much allowance must be made for enthusiastic men who are willing to join in any movement that tends to benefit society. Nevertheless, no practical good can ever come from this movement; but just to the extent that it excites expectations never to be realized, it will work much mischief in the land."

It is thus made apparent that such disputes cannot be settled without recourse to a desperate struggle between the parties, except by a method which will take the matter out of their hands, or enforce a settlement with regard only for the rights and privileges of the public. When private or public right is invaded and nullified is a question upon which the parties to a labor controversy cannot be expected to agree. Certainly, union men have a right to strike. If conditions, present or prospective, do not please them, they cannot be prevented from severing all connection with the persons who had employed them. But the employer has an equal right to hire other men when his employees desert. With

equal moral justice it must be contended that, if the individual employee has the privilege of abandoning his employment and seeking service elsewhere, at his own convenience and without regard to the convenience or wishes of the employer, the latter can discharge any individual whenever he may desire and for any reason he may conclude is sufficient. No privilege, whether moral or industrial, can safely be accorded to one man or set of men and denied to another man or set of men. It is claimed by labor leaders that the employers, if not halted by the power of organized labor and a constant threat of a consequent strike, could discharge, singly, every union man in his employ and hire non-union men. The sufficient reply to this is, that whenever they find the plan practicable organized workingmen compel employers to discharge non-union men and employ union men in their stead.

The problem of preventing costly or sanguinary strikes, or of reducing to a minimum their recurrence, ought not to be altogether unsolvable. As a prerequisite, all labor unions, whether local, State or national, should be incorporated. Many labor men object to this, on the ground that incorporation would expose unions to dangers which they now escape—to frequent prosecutions as corporations, to mulctings in heavy damages for violations of injunctions by courts, etc. But the very fact that such objections are raised argues strenuously for incorporation and not against it. The two parties should be upon an equal footing somewhere, and the common ground should be equal responsibility for violation of contracts. At present, labor unions can abrogate a contract, real or implied, at a moment's warning, without the least fear of consequential punishment of any kind; and there is nothing to prevent employers from doing likewise. There must be created a responsibility for the performance of wage or work contracts as a basis for the elimination of all deterrents that now prevent cure of the strike evil. For this purpose, there should be a binding contract entered into by employer and employee, and he who violates it should be held accountable under the law. Such contract cannot be made, however, unless employers recognize the labor union, which many of them now refuse to do—and unless labor unions become incorporated, a step to which they have no inclination.

With this much accomplished, the next step would naturally be toward compulsory arbitration, where this should become neces-

sary. Although capital and labor are opposed to this, the public, which is the greatest sufferer when a great strike occurs, is not concerned with the predilections of either, but with the preservation of its own interests. The capital that "has nothing to arbitrate," even though it had been forced into an unfair and unwarranted dispute, is autocratically determined to ignore any contention that the public has anything at stake; while, on the other hand, labor leaders who oppose compulsory arbitration may be, to a certain extent, actuated by apprehension that it would deprive them of some of their immense power in the union and reduce their importance as manipulators of strikes and peace negotiations. Questions which are supposed to show that the proposed plan of strike settlement is subversive of private right are: Can the law direct what wages an employer shall pay, whom he shall employ, and how many hours shall constitute a day's work? Can the finding of a Board of Arbitration be made binding upon the parties at issue? It is argued that a law specifically designed for the adjustment of labor disputes would be unconstitutional, because it would invade the rights and privileges of the individual and take out of his hands the prerogative of controlling his own business. Theoretically, that is true; practically, it is not true. For the good of the community, laws are enacted and enforced which deprive men of thorough freedom of action and regulate even the degree of personal liberty which they may enjoy. In his own home, he must comport himself in such manner that he shall not annoy his neighbors. He must send his children to school, whether he wants to or not. He must build his house, his factory or his theatre as the law specifies. He cannot dress as he may elect, although he boasts that the contrary is the case. The employer should not be permitted to endanger the peace of any community by an appeal to the opinions of Mr. Bounderby; and the employee should be prevented from putting into practice the teachings of the ranting demagogue. A compulsory arbitration law need not regulate the wages paid by any man to any other man. But it would provide for the hearing and determination of a wage dispute, when the parties to that dispute are not inclined to end the matter peacefully for themselves.

The plan for compulsory arbitration cannot be belittled by arguments that it is visionary, revolutionary and impracticable. Institutions which were once so regarded have become civilized

man's greatest privileges, rights and safeguards. Trial by jury has been established instead of armed retaliation; liberty of conscience, once believed to be a heretical dream, has been won after the shedding of oceans of blood; the shameful and oppressive rights of nobles, once supposed to be inherent, have been nearly all destroyed, and the equality of men is nearing universal recognition. And, more to the point, a compulsory industrial arbitration law has been in successful operation in New Zealand for a number of years.

Unions having been incorporated, a system of contracts provided, and a compulsory arbitration law enacted, the plans for preventing strikes could be said to be well advanced. Such a law need not be invoked in all cases, but only when all other efforts toward the settlement of a dispute shall have been exhausted. The employer and his employee should endeavor to adjust matters at issue between them without the interference of anybody else, walking delegate, union official or other functionary. And it is obvious that, with a compulsory arbitration law enacted, such adjustments would be reached with growing frequency. In no case should a "sympathy" strike, or a strike in a whole labor district where only a local grievance is to be determined, be permitted under a law of compulsory arbitration. Unless the dispute of itself spread beyond a local area, the district officers of a union should not be called upon to conduct negotiations or direct the actions of the workingmen. The smaller the area of disaffection shall be, the greater will be the probability of a peaceful settlement. But if, as is now too frequently the case, neither side is inclined to give ear to the other, the preëminence of the public should be demonstrated. Then compulsory arbitration should be invoked and enforced, and recalcitrants should be punished for violation of the orders of the Board. With the unions, as well as the employers, incorporated, this could be done. With compulsory arbitration operative, we should have closer relations between capital and labor; fewer disturbances of business; the elimination of private armies; less marching and intimidation; less rioting and bloodshed; less financial loss to the community; fewer strikes; and the placing of real public welfare above supposititious private right.

JOHN HANDIBOE.

CECIL RHODES.

BY H. CUST, M.P.

"Every expansion of civilization makes for peace. In other words every expansion of a great civilized power makes for law, order and righteousness. . . . In every instance the expansion has been of benefit not so much to the power nominally benefited, as to the whole civilized world."

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT,
"The Strenuous Life," "Expansion and Liberty."

THERE are very few among the sons of men who, born not in the list of kings and warriors and philosophers, have power within them to change profoundly the maps and minds of humanity. They are yet more rare and happy to whom it is given to see in large measure their work accomplished while they live. The savage selfishness of Napoleon could ransack Europe with a sword; but when the storm had thundered past, the crops that ripened to harvest were none of his sowing. From the high serenity of Bacon flowed streams of thought that have fertilized and beautified the lives of generations. But it was the work of the generations themselves which made those thoughts to move and have their active being. Force and ambition are common enough in history. Power and ideas are seldom allied in their highest quality. If to create, if to make two blades of grass grow where but one grew before, be to exercise the highest faculty of man, you will find very few indeed who, unaided from the outset by birth, fortune, or any save their own support, have reached the height of that achievement. Fewer still are men who have done these things unselfishly and done them so that they shall lastingly endure. Amongst that chosen few I do not hesitate to write the name of Cecil Rhodes.

It is not my purpose to tell anecdotes of Rhodes. I would seek

rather to consider whence he came, what he aimed at, and what he achieved. Lastly, I would try to measure the probable results of his great, strange life.

With the exception of clean and gentle breeding, Rhodes started with nothing. He had no position, no money, no backing and no health. Like Clive, he was a millionaire at thirty-four; like Clive, he died before he was fifty. Like Clive, though far less gravely, he transgressed against the common morals of men; and like Clive, but far more extensively, he did famous things for the greatness of his country and for the good of humanity. In the sins of blood and money, which are apt to make the currency of great men's crimes, Rhodes is answerable to no heavy reckoning. In laying the foundations of human happiness, his personal achievement is, I think, unequalled. "Homes, more homes; that's what I want!" he said suddenly, as he gazed at the beautiful fertilities of Rhodesia. That "homes" in his mind included strong, working, fighting Englishmen and healthy breeding Englishwomen, did not exclude that passion for human well-being which was one of his deepest if unheralded inspirations.*

Rhodes was not a man of culture in any sense. His Oxford experience had left, I think, rather an impression of value than the value itself. He was older and more versed in the world than those who were with him. He perceived imaginatively, but very vividly, how potent might be the influence of such a setting and such a training upon young and plastic minds, especially if those minds came fresh from a wholly alien and almost hostile environment. But I do not think that, saving a tag of Aristotle and an appreciation of Gibbon, he owed anything intellectually to Oxford. In Gibbon he found imperturbably recounted the stately process of the centuries through which the Empires and Religions rose and fell, and men were as naught, except, and this was rare, when they stood or maybe fell for character or ideas. And in pondering that majestic ebb and flow of mortal things, it pleased him, I think, to place himself among those who stood for much and for good in the unfolding story of an Empire greater still and of a race more dominant. For never within the

* I am, of course, aware that to those who mistakenly and ignorantly attribute to Rhodes the massacre and ill-treatment of natives and the main responsibility of the Boer War, these words will seem absurd. But if space allows I will return to this point later.

British Empire alone did Rhodes reckon the numbers and the power of the Anglo-Saxon race.* I think, too, from what I have heard him say, that to the scope and the restraint of Gibbon he owed something of that hope and patience and out-reaching foresight which made thoughts and plans, fantastic and unsane to others, to his mind's eye not probable but certain.

What, then, was the equipment and endowment which led from so simple a launch in life to a voyage of fame and power and achievement such as few have sailed? To myself it has always seemed, since I have had any means of judging, that the primary power, the mastering faculty, of Rhodes was Imagination. Elaborate analysis of those we live with is mainly idle, but the passion for explanation or even suggestion is rooted deep in modern men. The imagination of Rhodes was not that of a poet. He dreamed, indeed; but his dreams were not presences to be put by, they grew to purposes. His seeing, perhaps, was rather that of the mathematician. His imagination was prehensile. What he imagined clearly, he actually saw, and what he saw he touched, and in time it was. "Imagined clearly," I say; for nothing is more astonishing in the man than the deliberation and method he employed in the use of his wonderful vision. The very reality of the fancied fabric he would build brought a cold, hard sanity to choose the means by which he would approach it. He would neither haste nor rest. If one plan failed, another must be found, until the Thing was done. At first we know he fancied freely around the uses of his life, tried this and found that wanting, and sought another way. For it lay in his early wisdom to know that to one man is only one work given, however great and wide that task may be. A man may help or hinder many things: one great thing alone in one short life may he do. Rhodes, like Goethe, set his own limitations and built bounds to the sea.

There exists a Confession of Faith written in the wildness of the African veldt by one who was little more than a boy. It is dated 1877. Therein is recorded the searching and the separating of the ways, therein the weighing and the balance of the values. Therein the careful and final choice from which till death the man should neither wince nor waver. To understand Virtue as "the highest activity of the soul living for the highest object in a

* Rhodes provided in his will 60 scholarships for the British Empire, 60 for the United States, and 15 for the German Empire.

perfect life"; to set his life, with whatever force it might contain or generate, on the lines of what seemed to him the plainest purpose of the power that governs or guides the world: thereto to work, thereto to live, thereto to die: this was his plain intent. And, as the mists of thinking cleared, to Rhodes at the end both choice and course were clear. He saw, as he thought, in the Anglo-Saxon race the appointed means by which the kingdom of freedom, justice and happiness should be enlarged on earth. The history of the British Empire and of the United States seemed to him to urge imperatively his peculiar task. He was to widen the bounds of light and make the skirts of darkness narrower.

I do not think that the formula of his purpose can be more clearly laid than in the words written by President Roosevelt, which I have set forth at the beginning of this article. And indeed that remarkable book, "The Strenuous Life," seems again and again to breathe the very spirit and the words of Rhodes.*

"Every expansion of civilization makes for peace. In other words every expansion of a great civilized power makes for law, order and righteousness. . . . In every instance the expansion has been of benefit not so much to the power nominally benefited, as to the whole civilized world."

Rhodes then had found his allegiance. It rests to see how he applied his powers to fulfil the service of his life. He must be armed for the battle. The chosen weapon of to-day is money. He wanted not luxury but a lever. "What's the good of having big ideas if you have not got the money to carry them out?" he said to Gordon when the latter with complacent pedantry told of his refusal of a room full of gold. But even in the quick necessary money-making, his imagination saw and won the shortest way, though it seemed impossible. So he amalgamated the diamond output of the world.

Then to his truer work. England was small and crowded. Men, women and commerce waxed and overflowed. The Islands were full. The very Empire would not hold its children in the years to which Rhodes's outlook reached. Rivals were busy, enterprising, unscrupulous. "More homes" was already the call within him. Northward, he saw lands far and fertile, reaching, it

* Compare "The Strenuous Life," p. 113, "Character and Success," with portions of Rhodes's will.

might be, to the shores of the Mediterranean. They were unknown, indeed, unmapped and unexplored. The dream was monstrous. But Rhodes's sane imagination saw them English, ("all red" he said, almost a boy, laying his hand upon the map), and English they are almost to an acre on this day,—English but open on equal terms to every race and every trade on earth, as was his national tradition and his will. It is unnecessary, even were it possible, to relate at length the various long-drawn methods and unfailing resources by which his dreams were done into facts. But in every case the same imaginative quality inspired the motive and dominated the execution. In his life-long struggle against the influence and ambitions of President Krüger, the struggle, as the world is slowly growing to understand, between progress and reaction, between freedom and bondage, it was, I think, imagination that decided the result. At many times Krüger held all the cards. But Rhodes could imagine himself into the Boer point of view, and Krüger could imagine nothing but a Boer, and indeed of the Boers not all. So that it fell later that many of the pick of the Transvaal Boers left their homes and their Republic to follow Rhodes to his new pastures, and I have seen a thriving township of above a thousand such together, who were impenetrable and deaf to the loud recalling voice of their old President.

Throughout the whole of what we may call Rhodes's foreign policy, his strength and his victory lay in his vision of what the other side desired and of how they hoped to achieve it. Hence the success of his first political enterprise, the maintenance of the open door to the North. The Boers were beforehand, the English Government behind. The way of the future was saved by Rhodes and Rhodes alone; and though a little British army came to back him, no shot was fired.* For he felt that had he been a Boer he would have desired and done as they did. That knowledge taught him the counter-stroke to meet them with; and his young wisdom made them feel in turn that there was a more excellent way. But he knew, too, that, though policy was good and persuasion powerful, the force of the fist was the last and determining judge. "For the *ultimate* success of your policy," wrote Sir Robert Morier, Ambassador at St. Petersburg, to Sir William White, Ambassador at Constantinople, "you would require to

* The Bechuanaland Expedition under Sir Charles Warren, 1884.

have at your back a *man,* with the very newest repeating rifle, very sharp balls and very dry powder, and not a Philistine carrying a blunderbuss loaded with cow dung." Rhodes would have agreed. He sought peace and ensued it. Only he knew that a bad peace is worse than a good war, and that war can be good. But his resources to win by peace were infinite. When Krüger blocked the railway and tried to shut away Cape Colony and England from the Transvaal, Rhodes in a moment organized a swift service of wagons. Krüger, in defiance of the Convention, forbade their entry and closed the drifts or fords across the Vaal. War threatened and, as Rhodes foresaw, Krüger gave way. When there was no hope that the British Government would even accept the gift of seven hundred and fifty thousand square miles of rich and fertile territory beyond the Limpopo and Zambesi, Rhodes after long travail imagined the Charter, imagining saw and touched, and made it and paid for it and brought a new Empire to birth.

Only once did his judgment fail or seem to fail him. No man could wish for a worse gift than whitewash, and Rhodes had ever the courage to stick to the intention of his mistakes. That the Jameson Raid was a gross (but not in the least a fatal) blunder, he willingly admitted. It would need too much time and too little discretion to tell all the story of that misbegotten undertaking. Rhodes took the main responsibility. Once again his imagination of the minds of other people served him truly. There is a wind which the biggest tree is wise to bow to. Rhodes yielded for the moment. He was ever, it may be, over-careless to contradict or to justify. He trusted to time and his work. I do not think that those great agents will play him false.

But though for a moment the cloud was upon him, it was not in Rhodes to bate one jot of heart or hope. He still "bore up and steered right onward." He was to act at the back of the stage for a while and not in the glare of the footlights. But, though unseen, he was never idle. His relentless labor made men feel sometimes that he knew his day was not a long one, and that he heard time's winged chariot hurrying near. I remember last November in Italy my wonder at the silent unknown work he was carrying through. His mind was building what his hand should do. Despite the drive of health, and though he knew that much he purposed was beyond his span, he neither hastened nor delayed, but worked and waited the appointed day. There, lying around him,

were the maps and plans of the Railway from the Cape to Cairo; there the plan and elevation and estimate of the Girder Bridge across the Zambesi at the Victoria Falls; there was the planned and half-completed programme of the Trans-Continental Telegraph; there the reports of the dozen or more exploring parties working for him north of the Zambesi and throughout Barotseland. It seemed that life and death, praise and blame, reward and disaster were alike indifferent, so that his vow of service was fulfilled and his work, as in his power lay, accomplished.

But perhaps there is no side of Rhodes's life which better illustrates the power and elasticity of his applied imagination than the story of his dealing with the Dutch of Cape Colony.

It is true that there was, deep down in his English nature, a sympathy with some of their primary instincts. To myself, though the idea seems a very contradiction of his life's work, Rhodes seemed a feudalist. He loved the land, the mere brown fertile mother soil, with all the curious passion of a Boer. He loved the wide spaces and the bath of sun and the wash of air. I doubt if he was ever happier than when he was farming on a giant scale and laying out his properties as a colossal country gentleman in the Colony or in Rhodesia. He liked, too, I think, the quasi-feudal hierarchy which property in the land sets up, the graduation through a common interest from the owner of the soil to the man who handles the earth itself. He believed in the influence of the land on men. When first he imagined a "Westminster Abbey" for South Africa, whether amid the mysterious immemorial temples of Zimbabwe, as he at first determined, or in the rugged recesses of the Matoppo Hills, the choice of the great dead, worthy so great a sepulture, was to rest with a two-thirds vote of the landed proprietors of South Africa. In his Will he writes: "And whereas I humbly believe that one of the secrets of England's strength has been the existence of a class termed 'The Country Landlords,' who devote their efforts to the maintenance of those on their own property. And whereas this has been my own experience. Now therefore I direct, etc." These are strange thoughts and words from the revolutionary, the gold grubber, the diamond hunter, the capitalist, as Rhodes has been so frequently and falsely called. But, to those who know anything of the Boers, it need not be told that this rooted sentiment in and for the land clothed him with a sympathy, an understand-

ing and an attraction for them which no other English leader in South Africa has ever possessed. But Rhodes knew from the outset that this sympathy, though it found him opportunity, did not give him power. And power was necessary to his purpose. To win his battle, he had to make the enemy his soldiers.

The relations of Rhodes with the Dutch have been very widely and very naturally misunderstood; indeed, some personal knowledge of South Africa is almost imperative to render them intelligible. In 1882, the year after the Majuba settlement, which we may take as a starting point, the Dutch were undoubtedly in the majority in Cape Colony. The Transvaal was autonomous, if not independent. England was despised, and rightly despised. She had done and undone, she had blustered, tried, failed and retreated. A policy and a propaganda were openly and officially set up by the Dutch leaders, the aim of which was to establish a united South Africa under the Dutch flag. At this moment Rhodes entered the field with an equally plain policy and creed, which he formulated in the Cape Assembly in 1883: "I believe in a United States of South Africa, but as a portion of the British Empire." The lists were fairly set, and the issue and the antagonists declared. But each side owned a trouble. For neither side was ready. The Bond, as the Dutch political organization was called, had, before the discovery of the Transvaal Gold Fields, neither money nor armaments. Rhodes had no party, no position, and no support from the Home Government. Hofmeyer, the leader of the Bond, saw that to build up and develop the resources that he needed English wealth and English enterprise were of first necessity. Rhodes saw that to lay the foundation of his work and to expand Northward was impossible without the Dutch majority to back him. There was little or no disguise and little or no deception. Each party held a proper faith in the rightness of its purpose, and in its ability to carry that purpose through. There were moments of tension and clash, but each was loyally disloyal, consoled by the abiding certainty of ultimate triumph.

In 1878, Rhodes (aged 25) said to Dr. Jameson that he meant "to have the whole unmarked country North of the (Cape) Colony for England, and I know I can get it and develop it at present only by the co-operation of the Cape Dutch Colonists, and I am perfectly willing to pay the price." The price to be paid was mainly the humoring of Dutch prejudices in (Cape Colony)

domestic affairs. But, whatever he may have so yielded, he never bated one jot of his perfect loyalty to his ideal of Imperial expansion and Anglo-Saxon supremacy. To quote old speeches is almost as wearisome in a magazine as in the House of Commons. But this point is important, as it has been widely told that Rhodes aspired to a Federation of independent South Africa under his own control, and used the Dutch to win it. We have heard his words in 1883. In 1890, as Prime Minister he said at Kimberley, speaking of the union of South Africa, "I know myself that I am not prepared at any time to forfeit my flag. If I have to forfeit my flag you take away everything." Again, at Kimberley in 1891, speaking to the Dutch Bond itself (to which he owed his position) and discussing the feeling of the English Colonists, "Remember," he said, "that we have been trained at home; we have our history and our nation to look back upon, and we believe that, with your help, it is possible to obtain that union (of South Africa), fulfilling in every respect your ideas of self-government; and yet, you will not be asking us to forfeit our full loyalty and devotion to the Mother Country."

Despite immeasurable patience, policy and pertinacity in his desire to fuse and unite South Africa by peaceful methods, Rhodes failed. I think myself it was well he failed. The upstart wealth of the Transvaal, the contemptible record of successive English Governments and the perfectly legitimate aspirations of Dutch enthusiasm combined to make blood and iron the only and the final arbiters. The Johannesburg conspiracy which was right, the Jameson Raid which was wrong, determined the way of issue. Rhodes acquiesced. But when the final settlement is adjusted, the name and the work of Rhodes will, I think, be one of the few English ideas—for throughout South Africa Rhodes is an *idea*—which will inspire confidence in the curious nature of the Boers. For their fear of him, which was not far from hate, wavered ever to and from an awe which was not far from love.

The death of Rhodes found much done, but much left to do. Immediately after the Raid, when darkness and discredit seemed closing upon him, he said publicly, with splendid optimism, that his political career was only just beginning. It may be that he foresaw the war as then inevitable, though there is no doubt that he was wholly mistaken in his estimate of the fighting strength of the Boers. It is, rather, likely that he felt that the founda-

tions of his work were well and truly laid. Men less insatiate of progress might well have died content. He had mastered half a continent; he had made a new world.

The highest triumph of most modern men of state has been to destroy or at most to preserve. To Rhodes it was given to build and to build greatly. And he loved completion. He did not dip into the future. He abode within its gates. His greatest work, that Empire of Rhodesia, was, as he knew, for good or evil, never to perish except with the history of the world. But a father loves to see the manhood of his son, and that was denied. His prevision and provision in this regard were very striking, and I will give one more instance of that applied imagination which to me characterized the man. The point is somewhat technical, but it will at least interest statesmen; and, though wholly, I think, ignored by biographers and critics, I know that Rhodes valued the achievement as among his best. We have seen that the crown of Rhodes's labor was to be the federation of an autonomous South Africa under the British flag. Every step he took led thither: to this was every other end subservient. But his imagination flashed further yet. The dream beyond death was the federation of the Empire, and ultimately of the Anglo-Saxon race. ("Do you ever feel *murderous?*" he wrote when young: "I do when I think of the English politicians who threw away America".) But he knew the modern world and the growing tendency. "I have tried," he said, to a meeting of the Chartered Company, to which no penny of dividend had ever been paid, "I have tried to combine imagination with commerce"; just as he had insisted on inserting in the Articles of the Diamond Amalgamation a power to spend money on the northern expansion of the Empire. At the time of the second settlement of Rhodesia after the Matabele War, the question of the Rhodesian tariff was forced by Rhodes upon the Imperial Government. It has been a principle of the Empire that an autonomous Colony with constitutional government should have the power of imposing whatever import duty it pleases, even as against the Mother Country whose trade is free to all. The result has shown no great evil, though the theory was and is grotesque. But the system cannot be said to have helped the unity of the Empire, and to Rhodes it was preposterous. In fixing, therefore, the Rhodesian tariff he suggested to the Government that the *maximum* import duty ever to be charged in

Rhodesia on British goods should be 12½ per cent., a figure roughly based upon the existing rates in the Cape Colony. To the English Government it seemed that profane hands were clawing at the holy vestments of Free Trade. They seemed to see a nightmare of differential and preferential duties flooding in, treaties denounced and most favored nations turned to hostile powers. The struggle was long, and arduous. But Rhodes was fighting for a live idea, Downing Street for a dead theory. Rhodes forced his point, and the maximum tariff for British imports into Rhodesia was embedded in the constitutional foundations of the State. The point seems small and incidental enough. But now consider the far-off meaning and value of it in Rhodes's mind. Consider also the faith and vision of the mind which looked so far and saw so clearly. He believed that in the United South Africa under the British flag, a body politic which in his thought was as sure of existence as his well-loved Table Mountain, the key State, the greatest, the richest and the most populous would be formed of the 750,000 miles of Rhodesia. There would be railways and probably a port; there would be the great central waterway of the Zambesi; there would be gold and coal, and all climates, all soils and illimitable space. The destiny of Rhodesia would *finally* control the destiny of South Africa. By fixing in the very constitutional foundation of Rhodesia a maximum tariff on British goods, he made the acceptance of that maximum by the other States an absolute condition of federation with Rhodesia. The new great Colony was bound and could not raise her rates. To federate with her, the other States must assimilate her system, and, if needs must for revenue's sake, the Federation must introduce differential rates on goods that were not British. But further yet. When the day of Imperial Federation should in due season dawn, the tariff question both inward and outward of the Federating States would be of all questions the most difficult and dangerous. Let us suppose that ere then Federated South Africa has accepted the Rhodesian maximum. Let us suppose too, as seems most probable, that the wealth and power of South Africa exceed those of any other Colony or group of Colonies. Is it not possible that the influence of South Africa might have upon the Federating States of the Empire the same influence as, by hypothesis, the influence of Rhodesia will have already had upon the Federating States of South Africa? And

further yet again. The entire Empire once federated as a commercial whole, and commerce being more and more the cause and cure of modern wars, would there not be an inevitable, almost mechanical, attraction, acting automatically, to draw the other mighty family of Anglo-Saxons to the desire of closer and at last perfect union? And if to the desire, thence to the achievement? And in that crowning achievement lay, as Rhodes believed, the guarantee-paramount for the peace and happiness of the world. It may be a dream, but Rhodes's dreams had a trick of coming true. But in any case, consider the far foresight and imagination. As with all his work, it was not for himself or for his life-time that he built. He built for the *idea* of Anglo-Saxon expansion; but it was for the sake of human happiness.

And without the life and thought and work of Rhodes, would it have been conceivable for the Prime Minister of England to have said, as he did a few weeks ago:

"We are at the commencement of a movement of causes, of opinions and of feelings, which will end in changes largely modifying the present distribution of power and allegiance. There is arising a state of things perfectly new to the world, a condition in which an Empire, depending not on any territorial contiguity, but merely upon the action of its naval defences, is slowly arising out of the sea, an Empire which has behind it the feelings and the affections of some of the most effective, some of the most vehement races in the world."

It is hardly too much to say that Rhodes's death first revealed him to the world at large. There was wide, vague knowledge of a great dim figure, spasmodic, convulsive, almost monstrous, moving about in worlds half realized, or in some colossal labor towards an unimagined birth. But the man was unknown. He wrought by thought and deed, and not by word of tongue or pen. His speeches are uttered thought, not ordered arguments or expositions. With him, as with Faust, "*Im Anfang war die That.*" After his death, Rhodes spoke directly to the world for perhaps the first time, and the world, listening, seemed to see for the first time what manner of man he was, and all the broken arcs of his life formed a full circle. In his will, the lifelong habit of applied Imagination reaches almost to applied Idealism. The old ideas of England, of the Empire, of the Anglo-Saxon race, form still the axioms of thought. But the new search is not the using of man's life, but how to make a man's life useful. And the method he de-

liberately chooses is as imaginative as it is unexpected. Rhodes, the millionaire, the Empire-maker, the Pioneer, the Man of Action would breed and train a race like unto him to follow after in his steps. And he chooses not the modern side, not the technical college, not a business training and the school of the self-made man. He chooses rather that age-old University, that "home of lost causes and forsaken beliefs, and unpopular names and impossible loyalties." He chooses that the makers, the builders, the engineers, the strenuous men of the future should learn life where Oxford "whispers from her towers the last enchantments of the Middle Ages." To this he dedicates his millions, as to the last, the greatest and the most enduring way by which he may fulfil his service to his race, and to the race of men.

A dream again: but as before, it is a dream informed with practical and careful wisdom. He will have no pedant, he will have no loafer, he will have no weakling to walk in his steps. He will search and scrutinize through two vast Empires to find wit and strength and character to do his work. Crammed knowledge and negative virtues and unblamable mediocrity are not for his money. Let him tell his conception of human promise for himself:

"My desire being that the students who shall be elected to the scholarships shall not be merely book-worms, I direct that in the election of a student to a scholarship, regard shall be had to:

"1. His literary and scholastic attainments.

"2. His fondness of and success in manly outdoor sports, such as cricket, football and the like.

"3. His qualities of manhood, truth, courage, devotion to duty, sympathy for the protection of the weak, kindliness, unselfishness, and fellowship, and

"4. His exhibition during school days of moral force of character and of instincts to lead and to take an interest in his schoolmates, for those latter attributes will be likely in after-life to guide him to esteem the performance of public duties as his highest aim.

"As mere suggestions for the guidance of those who will have the choice of students for the scholarships, I record that (1) my ideal qualified student would combine these four qualifications in the proportion of 3-10 for the first, 2-10 for the second, 3-10 for the third, and 2-10 for the fourth qualification, so that according to my ideas if the maximum number of marks for any scholarship were 200, they would be apportioned as follows: 60 to each of the first and third qualifications, and 40 to each of the second and fourth; (2) the marks for the several qualifications would be awarded independently as follows: the marks for the first qualification by examination, for the second and third qualifications respectively by

ballot by the fellow-students of the candidates, and for the fourth qualification by the head-master of the candidate's school."

Let us consider for a moment the double result of this immense experiment, the effect upon the Empire and upon the United States, and therefore, upon the world: the effect upon Oxford and upon England, the Mother Land of men and women who speak English. Rhodes tells us, as was his wont, with sheer simplicity, the motives of his bequest. He desired that all young men who spoke English should acquire "breadth of view, and instruction in life and manners." This for the human individual. On the political side, he desired that the same youth should have faith in the "Unity of the Empire" and "the union of the English-speaking people throughout the world!" He had had himself to storm the estranging walls of ignorance. He knew that a hair which separates two points of view is as strong as armored plate. Surely were there found, in every family however far, sons of one English mother, who had lived and learnt together amid the irrefragable memories of youth, there would arise in time an ever-present influence, not so much leavening and explanatory as dominant. To understand is peace. Rhodes wanted peace and the power to enforce it. To his idea the understanding of the Anglo-Saxon race meant the necessary peace of the world. Nor will the effect upon Oxford and upon England be inconsiderable, though perhaps less marked. England, by the nature of her position and her history, is more cosmopolitan and has a wider outlook than any given Colony or inland State of the Union. There are few Colonists or Americans, who own the means to travel, who do not know something of England and the English. And yet you may almost say that of all lands beyond the seas England knows least of her great Colonies and of the United States. Even what knowledge there is, is largely superficial and therefore dangerous, for the very community and kinship of English-speaking men and women make a nearer knowledge and sympathy of immeasurable value and importance.

Oxford has no need to change her tradition or her training. Rhodes, whose joyful pride it was to be a son of Oriel, expressed no such desire. Incidentally he speaks of the medical school, but that is hardly more than a suggestion. The professors are busy as to whether he intended the maintenance of the Classics. Probably he did, but the discussion is plainly vain and the question

lies for his executors and the University to decide. The essential purpose is that, during the years of keenest impression and most moulding influences, young men speaking English and gathered from all the world will live in comradeship with one another and with the young men of the motherland, working, playing, thinking, talking, comparing, competing together, and at last understanding. Rhodes did not look for technical education or profound scholarship. He wanted character, association, tradition, a bond of race. He desired that, a generation hence and through all generations, there should exist in Alaska and Australia, in the Transvaal and Tasmania, in Newfoundland and Natal, a brotherhood of men who knew each other and had taught and learnt from each other, who knew England and had taught and learnt from England: who by their very being and by their unceasing and increasing common influence should drive, further even than his vision showed him, the paths that should lead to strength and union, to understanding and to peace. In a speech in January, 1894, Rhodes told a story. He said:

"Never hurry and hasten in anything. I remember in the impetuosity of my youth I was talking to a man advanced in years who was planting —what do you think? He was planting oak-trees, and I said to him very gently that the planting of oak-trees by a man advanced in years seemed to me rather imaginative. He seized the point at once, and said to me: 'You feel that I shall never enjoy the shade?' I said, 'Yes,' and he replied: 'I have the imagination, and I know what that shade will be, and at any rate no one will ever alter those lines. I have laid my trees on certain lines; I know that I cannot expect more than to see them beyond a shrub, but with me rest the conception and the shade and the glory.'"

I have tried to give some idea of Rhodes and Rhodes's achievement. No reader of this article can feel more profoundly than myself how insufficient is the result of my endeavor. The story of his life may be found in a hundred books. To seize the elements of his mind and nature and present them coherently to those who did not know him is, I find, too hard a task at least for contemporary pens. Great strength, great power, great courage, these he had to the full. For great mistakes, though few, he may be answerable. If epitaph were needed, perhaps the truest and the simplest would be that he did great and famous things in life and death, and that he did them not for himself.

Agonistes indeed he was, and like him, "with plain heroic magnitude of mind" endowed supremely. In an age when kings and statesmen and the peoples yield willingly or not yet increasingly to the power of gold, not the lightest lesson that Rhodes bequeathed to the world was the right spending of money, alive or dead. The clogged and impotent discomfort of the common millionaire was as abhorrent to him as it was unintelligible. His personal needs would have been covered by a clerk's income. But for him there were no impracticable hours. Each day must hew and shape and set though it be but the smallest stone in the vast palace of his dream. From the first diamond of his digging to the last pompous pathos of the lonely grave, he taught men the right spending of money for ideas and for the happiness of men. The world was slow in seeing and he was but hardly and dimly understood. His own Empire that he loved knew him but in time to say farewell. But to no dead man of these generations have leave-takings been given as those upon the wild rocks of the Matoppos and beneath the domed mosaics of St. Paul's. At the same hour, in far-off Africa rough pioneers and black Matabele warriors were weeping for their dead father, and in the temple of the heart of the world the statesmen, the rich men, the plain men of England were sorrowing for England's greatest son.

If indeed the Happy Warrior be

> "the generous spirit who, when brought
> Among the tasks of real life, hath wrought
> Upon the tasks that pleased his boyish thought,"

then most assuredly was Rhodes a Happy Warrior. From the days of devout dreaming among the sun-washed spaces of the veldt to the last heroic endurance in the cabined breathless shanty at Muizemburg, he never wavered.

Rhodes labored, and his race has entered into his labors. Ideas do not die. So long as a great mind and an unselfish heart, so long as faith and courage, shall count among the nobler splendors of the Anglo-Saxons, so long will the memories and works and thoughts of Rhodes endure. And at the appointed season, among those that shall come after, will their renewing be seen.

HENRY CUST.

DEFECTS AND ABUSES IN OUR POSTAL SYSTEM.—II.

BY HENRY A. CASTLE, AUDITOR FOR THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

THE line of demarcation between evils that are inherent in the postal service, as now administered, and those which are avoidable by the exercise of stern integrity in framing and executing the laws under which it exists, is not always plain and definite. Certain defects partake of characteristics of both classes and are not strictly assignable to either. But, as a rule, the distinction can be seen.

Which of the two is the more dangerous it is difficult to determine. Sometimes the necessary evils of which we are warned, and which we are thereby prepared to minimize, cause less uneasiness than those which are wholly inexcusable, but which we have no power, without impossible extraneous help, to reduce or remove.

We have discussed a few leading defects and abuses which seem within reach of remedial action either by law-making or executive authority, and we shall now consider others which appear to be more solidly grounded in the general structure, inherent, unavoidable, necessarily incident to the adoption under national auspices of a money-making and money-spending enterprise.

Some of these matters may seem trivial; but nothing is really trivial that impairs the efficiency or menaces the integrity of this potent factor in the maintenance of modern civilization. Still less can anything be deemed trivial which, even slightly and indirectly, helps to throw a sidelight on the mechanism of this vast and complicated structure, exposing the dangers which lie concealed within, and eloquently warning us against its undue expansion.

One apparently unavoidable abuse of the postal service consists in the ever present temptation to postmasters to swell their emoluments by illegitimate increase either of their cancellations or stamp sales, through fictitious showings of business or false returns. In former years, the salaries of postmasters in all grades were based on the revenues of their offices, which were realized principally through the sale of postage-stamps. Up to a certain point, the so-called "commission" on sales amounted to forty, fifty or seventy-five per cent. thereof. Under this system, country postmasters could, and many did, pay for city purchases of provisions, clothing, etc., in stamps, thereby enormously increasing their own emoluments without performing any official duty in return therefor. This notorious abuse led to a change of system, under which fourth-class postmasters, or those receiving less than $1,000 each a year, were paid not on sales of stamps but on the "cancellations" thereof, the latter being supposed to represent the actual business done at the office—that is to say, the actual work performed.

If honestly carried out this plan would be perfect, but in unscrupulous hands it is subject to abuses which, in fact, are constantly occurring, many of them being detected and punished, others undoubtedly escaping detection. The knavish postmaster, to illustrate, holding a small office near a large city expands his income by arranging with heavy patrons of the city mail to send bags full of their catalogues, circulars or letters by express to his office, whence they are forwarded to their destination, the mailing postmaster securing thereby an unwarranted addition to his compensation. Other postmasters, still more flagrantly dishonest, systematically pad their returns, constantly exaggerating the amount of business transacted, complacently swearing to their reports quarter after quarter, and eagerly pocketing the proceeds of their perjury.

"Presidential" postmasters, that is to say such as receive over $1,000 a year, are paid on a different basis; their emoluments depend upon the income or revenue received, being, as stated, almost wholly derived from the sale of postage-stamps. Here comes in the same temptation which formerly assailed the small postmasters, to extend these sales beyond the legitimate demand for local consumption, spreading them by outside sales or large remittances as currency to other localities. There the imported

stamps operate to reduce unjustly the revenues of offices where they are actually used in the payment of postage. This species of imposition is continually practised, much of it being done so cunningly as to escape detection. In other cases little concealment is attempted.

An extensive firm of seedsmen, located in a town of 10,000 inhabitants, has for several years annually contracted with a printing-house in a neighboring city to print, wrap and mail an edition of 800,000 catalogues, each requiring a four-cent stamp. These stamps are purchased at the post-office in the home town at a cost of $32,000, transmitted to the printing-house in the city, affixed to the mail, delivered at the city post-office and mailed therefrom. The result is that the revenues of the smaller post-office are improperly increased by $32,000, more than fifty per cent. of the total business of the office; while the larger office, which actually performs the immense labor incident to cancelling stamps, distributing and forwarding 800,000 pieces of mail, receives no compensation therefor, and practically suffers a loss of $32,000 by the transaction. The office gaining this large increase of revenue is by the Department rules entitled to six additional clerks and as many carriers, by reason of this sale of stamps for which it performed no service. The other office which does all the work receives no additional allowances therefor, because it derived no revenue therefrom.

The postmasters in several large cities have been convicted by the Department of unduly swelling their revenues by improper means, and have suffered the consequences. Last year the postmasters at two of the leading cities of our Central States claimed from the Department an increase of their salaries from $4,000 to $5,000 each, on a showing that the revenues of their respective offices during the preceding year had reached the $500,000 mark. Newspaper publications had unwittingly disclosed the existence of a spirited competition between these offices for weeks before the close of the period, each urging all patriotic citizens to patronize the local post-office lavishly in order that the great desideratum might be accomplished. Official investigation convinced the head of the Department that this competition had been carried on to an unjustifiable extent and that reprehensible methods had been employed to inflate the receipts. In both cases he refused to permit the increase of salary, although the $500,000 limit had

been passed. The postmasters insisted that the law guaranteed them the increase and threatened to compel the Department to allow it, but the Postmaster-General piquantly retorted that the law also gave him authority to remove postmasters, and there the matter rested.

A perennial tribulation of the Department, of Congress and of the courts is the pressure for payment of old claims for services alleged to have been performed decades or generations ago but refused recognition at the time, and coming up persistently, in increasing volume and with augmented energy as the years go by. When the War of the Rebellion began, contractors for carrying mails in the South found their business interrupted, and most of them were entitled to pay for the fraction of a quarter previous thereto. The Confederate Government as a rule assumed these contracts and paid the amount previously earned from the United States. Fortunately, among the Confederate archives records were found which are now preserved in the Auditor's Office at Washington, showing what payments had been made. Notwithstanding this, hundreds of the ex-contractors, or their heirs and executors, annually present these ancient claims, secure the introduction of bills in Congress for "relief," which are only prevented from passage by a reference of the cases to the Auditor and an examination of the books.

About twenty-five years ago, an industrious Washington attorney conceived the idea that the Post Office Department had made an incorrect ruling as to salaries of fourth-class postmasters, which had reduced the compensation to which those worthy officials were entitled. This attorney organized a bureau for the prosecution of these claims, received contributions from many thousands of ex-postmasters or their representatives, prepared his schedules showing indebtedness to 50,000 ex-postmasters, aggregating $3,000,000 or more, and moved on Congress for an appropriation to pay the same. The movement has not yet been a success, but the 50,000 claims are still pending, and the industrious attorney or his successor solicits periodically additional contributions from the claimants, on the encouraging assurance that their "reimbursement" is now only a question of months or days.

In 1858, a citizen of the far West contracted with the Department to transport the mails by a difficult and dangerous route

across the plains and mountains at the stipulated price of $130,000 a year for a weekly service. He fulfilled his contract for one year and received his pay. Then the service was cut down to twice a month, and the compensation fixed at $80,000 a year by mutual agreement. He continued on this schedule eleven months and received the contract price with $4,000 additional for extras. The contract was then annulled by the Department on the ground that its stipulations had not been complied with, and temporary service was secured through other parties. The ex-contractor, after several years' meditation, considered himself aggrieved, pushed his grievance vigorously, and finally in 1869 secured a pretended "readjustment" of his claims by the Postmaster-General, which resulted in the amazing decision that, though he had confessedly been paid all and more than his contract called for, and had forfeited it through his own inefficiency, the Government was indebted to him in the sum of $443,000. Congress at one time passed a bill appropriating this money, but a reconsideration was had before actual payment was made. The claimant died many years ago; the claim has passed into the hands of others, but it has not died. It is being solemnly considered by a Committee of the present Congress under unusually strong pressure for its belated recognition.

A necessary consequence of doing business under Government auspices will always be great confusion in the public mind as to profits on certain elements or features thereof. Notwithstanding their manifest absurdity, claims are still put forward on behalf of certain cities that their respective post-offices pay large "profits" to the Government. There can, of course, be no profit at any office while the aggregate transactions of the Department are conducted at a loss. Collections of revenue at city offices are not only drawn upon to pay the necessary expenditures of those offices, but also to pay for the transportation of mails to their destination and their delivery to addresses.

Because a large amount of mail happens to originate at the New York post-office, for example, entailing correspondingly large sales of stamps and collections for newspaper postage, it does not necessarily follow that the New York office pays any profit whatever. The box-office of a theatre would not be called "profitable" to the extent of the excess of its receipts over the salaries of the men employed to sell tickets. A railroad station

would not be held to yield a "profit" simply because the amount of freight bills collected and passenger tickets sold there exceeded the salaries of its employees. A moment's reflection shows that the money received must be really earned outside the post-office, the box-office or the railroad station; and all expenses incident to the entire business must be paid before any profit can be realized. It may be stated parenthetically, however, in the case of the New York office, which has been specially put forward as exceptionally profitable, that the total revenues of that office would barely pay the loss on second-class mail matter originating there. New York furnishes more than twenty-five per cent. of the whole second-class mail of the country, or about 100,000,000 pounds per annum. As the loss on this mail is seven cents a pound, the deficit in that item is approximately $7,000,000 a year, while the so-called "net revenues" of the office were $6,549,764 12.

One glaring evil incident to the present system and requiring early attention is the use of postage as currency for remittances. This use or abuse was not contemplated when stamps were authorized for the prepayment of postage, which is their only legitimate function. Postal regulations prohibit the exchange of one denomination for another, which would not be the case if they were to be used as currency. But they are now constantly employed in making remittances, and their sale in large or small quantities is a flourishing industry in all cities. A market is thus created for stamps obtained by burglars from rifled post-offices; their prompt conversion into cash is assured and the chances for detection are greatly reduced. Much of this loss could be avoided if the temptation to post-office robberies were minimized by a law restricting the private sale of postage-stamps to amounts not exceeding one dollar. The enterprising burglar knows that post-offices always carry a liberal stock of stamps, so that his labors are sure to be rewarded even if the actual cash found should prove to be of small amount. If he could not so readily dispose of his plundered assets, he might be led to seek more praiseworthy outlets for his energy.

The evil of the use of stamps as currency for remittances has other injurious effects and elements of loss. Salaries of postmasters and their allowances for help are based on the revenues of their respective offices. The receipts of many offices are unduly reduced by the sale at a discount within their jurisdictions

of postage-stamps which have been received through the mail as currency in direct opposition to the law's intent, or which are the result of thefts and burglaries. Many large mail-order houses receive from customers thousands of dollars' worth of stamps in excess of requirements for the prepayment of postage on their own mail. These stamps are sold at a discount of five to fifteen per cent. and thus reduce the revenues of the offices where they are used but not purchased, not only affecting the salaries of postmasters, but also those of clerks and carriers who perform the work of collecting and forwarding mail for which their office receives no revenue.

It is claimed on behalf of those who find a convenience in the use of stamps as currency that, if this practice is to be discouraged or abolished, the Government should furnish some acceptable substitute. Accordingly, a measure is now pending in Congress embodying what is known as the "post check" system, which is intended to furnish something more simple and accessible than money orders for ready use in making small remittances. It provides that $75,000,000 in United States notes of larger denominations than ten dollars shall be replaced with an equal amount in fractional notes in denominations of 5 to 50 cents, and regular notes of one, two and five dollars. The dimensions of the fractional notes will be uniformly four inches long by two and a fourth inches wide; the others of present standard dimensions.

To adapt these notes to their purpose it is provided that the words "payable to bearer on demand" shall be eliminated, and the words "payable to the payee named herein or order of said payee; payable to bearer if the spaces are not filled," be substituted. These notes will thus pass from hand to hand as currency until the blank space is filled. Thereafter they are payable only to the payee or order; they can be redeemed at any money-order office or national bank, and they will not again be used as a circulating medium. They will find their way by legal channels to the United States Treasury, where they will be handled and destroyed as mutilated currency.

This plan seems on its face to be practicable, to accomplish several desirable results simultaneously and to afford accommodation to the entire public at a minimum of labor and expense. There is no obvious reason why the denominations should not extend to ten or twenty dollars. The saving that would be effected

by treating the paid and cancelled notes as mutilated currency instead of vouchers; the intricate reports and interminable columns of figures that would be abolished; the simplicity of accounting and certainty of correct adjustments that would supersede present complications and uncertainties, can only be appreciated by those familiar with the crude methods employed in the Auditor's office for bringing forty millions of money orders annually into dubiously accurate relations with the thirty thousand postmasters who issued and paid them.

That postal facilities have been used in the past and are now being used, in spite of all precautions and all reforms heretofore inaugurated, for the promotion of innumerable frauds and swindles, is too notorious to admit of denial or even to excite comment. The war against lottery schemes, waged vigorously for twenty years by the Department, has been measurably successful in excluding that gigantic swindle from the mails. Equally vigorous but less effective campaigns have been made against green goods games and other extensive fraudulent enterprises. But frauds of various kinds, great and small, are yet carried on through this medium to an alarming extent. They are inaugurated by all classes and denominations of tradesmen, by publishers of doubtful periodicals, by cigar and tobacco dealers, compounders of quack medicines, organizers of bogus mining companies, and inventors of financial pitfalls *ad infinitum*.

The law, which authorizes the Department on satisfactory evidence to exclude these concerns from the use of the mails, is so arbitrary that it must be enforced with great caution, and impartiality as well as firmness must be exercised if the law is to be executed without hardship or injustice. Many persons thoughtlessly adopt experiments to stimulate their private business and unexpectedly find themselves within the domain of fraud. In such cases they are dealt with as leniently as possible. But in other cases, where the promoters have adopted schemes with the manifest intent of obtaining money or property on false representations, they are not only put out of the mails by the issue of "fraud orders," but are also handed over to United States Attorneys for prosecution under the penal statutes. Vigilant as the Department is, it cannot possibly reach all these illegitimate enterprises in time to prevent great loss to the unwary from inconsiderate investments in bond enterprises, tontine schemes,

certifying coupons, or debentures on the instalment plan, which promise enormous returns impossible of realization on any reliable financial basis.

If reports are true, the cupidity of postmasters is now undergoing the test of a clever device in the old familiar green goods line, originated in New York and worked from Jersey City to Chicago. The dupes are second, third and fourth class postmasters who dare not complain to the authorities, which is a feature of the subtle ingenuity of the plan. It is stated that within six months more than a thousand postmasters have been swindled out of sums ranging from $250 to $1,000 each. Only postmasters are invited to participate, and they are offered counterfeit stamps manufactured from "the undestroyed plates of the Government—undistinguishable from the genuine." When the rendezvous is reached, all the old-fashioned bunco games of substitution, etc., which have been repeated in green goods enterprises for a generation, are practised, and the credulous postmaster retires from the scene a heavy loser, with no one to pity him should he dare make known the details of his discomfiture. It is a sad commentary on the integrity of public officials that so many have been tempted by this rascally bait.

A leading source of danger lies in the multitude of defects inherent in the widely ramified accounting system made necessary by this colossal postal enterprise. Few stop to consider into what the accounting feature of such an institution has already developed, much less to imagine the tremendous proportions to which it must expand should a tithe of the proposed new elements be added. By necessity, this accounting must all be concentrated in Washington. Every money-order office in the United States issues orders on every other office; before the accounts of any office can be settled, these orders must be concentrated as vouchers in one central bureau, where they are checked against the accounts of both the issuing and paying postmasters, each being necessarily handled several times before that essential function can be accomplished.

This bureau of concentration and checking is the Office of the Auditor for the Post Office Department. All other branches of the postal service require a similar concentration of responsibility; reports must be received, carefully examined, audited, verified as to additions, posted and strictly correct accounts kept with every

agent of the vastly ramified system, including 76,000 postmasters, many thousands of contractors, special agents, inspectors, etc. Millions of vouchers must be handled and examined; interminable columns of figures must be footed up; unceasing vigilance must be exercised to prevent imposition, check embezzlements and defalcations, to collect unpaid balances and, generally, to exercise financial scrutiny over all the enormous transactions of the Department. No scientific system of keeping these accounts has ever been devised; methods have been evolved from the pressure of necessity as new branches have been added; work has been done as best it could with inadequate means, insufficient force, and at times crude ideas of what the protection of the public interests requires. Those best acquainted with the process see its manifold defects most clearly and deprecate most sincerely the engraftment of untried excrescences which will still further elaborate and complicate the menacing attributes.

Notwithstanding the exorbitant rates paid to railroads for transporting mail, there is good reason to fear, from the occasional detection of successful attempts in that direction, that extensive frauds are perpetrated, especially by some of the smaller corporations in the quadrennial weighings on which the advance estimate of tonnage to be carried by the roads for the coming four years is based. Unscrupulous managers or subordinates have been known to arrange for large additional bulk and weight of mail matter, such as public documents, old newspapers and the like, to be transported to and fro over their lines during the thirty days devoted to weighings, thereby increasing the reported volume from 25 to 100 per cent., and enlarging the compensation accordingly during the entire quadrennial period ensuing. The utmost watchfulness of the Department is unable to prevent this fraud entirely. It is a temptation constantly presented to the railroads, and detected often enough to justify a belief that large numbers of similar attempts are undetected. How much of the $36,000,000 paid annually to railroads for carrying mail is represented by this fraudulent inflation of weights, can only be a matter of the blindest and wildest conjecture.

The fallacy of calling our postal system self-sustaining, even if on the face of the books and on its present foundation it should fail to show a deficit at the close of some fiscal year, does not occur to casual observers but is recognized by all who study the

subject. A railway company doing a business of nearly $1,000,000,000 a year, which was required to pay no interest on bonds or dividends on stock would be a financial phenomenon. It is conceivable that the mail service might be so managed by a corporation as to yield satisfactory results and pay a small dividend, provided it performed no gratuitous services for the government as a condition of its existence. As now managed, the Post Office Department has no "plant" whatever. All it owns in the way of personal property is mail bags, mail locks, letter boxes, carriers' satchels, and a few similar inconsequential items of equipment. Even in public buildings it is the tenant of the Treasury Department.

Here is disclosed a very large expenditure which never figures in computing a postal surplus or deficit. In all cities the United States owns imposing structures, where the local post-offices and other branches of the Department have their capacious and luxurious homes without cost to the postal revenues. The buildings are constructed and paid for by appropriations expended under the direction of the Treasury Department, no part of which is charged against postal revenues. No rentals are ever collected or computed. More than this, all expenditures for heating, lighting, repairs, janitor service, and supplies, are paid for from other appropriations. The aggregate of all these items, including a fair rental for quarters occupied, would amount to several millions of dollars annually, none of which would be expended or needed if there were no mail service. In addition to this should be mentioned the cost of the Post Office Department at Washington and of the Auditor's office, embracing salaries of more than a thousand officials and employees, which are paid from appropriations for what is termed the legislative, executive and judicial service, and never appear in postal estimates, accounts or balances.

Five million dollars a year would be a small allowance for the undebited expenditures of the Post Office Department, along these lines.

An evil necessarily incident to business ventures conducted under Government auspices is the difficulty with which money due from defaulting and embezzling postmasters, failing contractors, and other delinquents is collected. Every contractor, every postmaster and many subordinate employees give bonds which are supposed to secure the Department against loss through their mis-

conduct or inefficiency. But when a loss occurs the trouble begins. The delinquent himself is seldom able to make good the deficit, and no bondsman ever signs an obligation with the expectation of being called upon to pay it. When the call comes he naturally feels that a rich nation better than himself can afford to lose the amount, and he instinctively resorts to every possible means of evading payment. It is one duty of the Auditor's Office to prosecute suits against bondsmen in these cases, and obstacles in the way of recovery are specially disclosed to that official. Juries take advantage of every conceivable excuse to relieve the bondsmen of a postmaster, contractor or other delinquent, from his legal obligation. Only the most specific instructions of a judge will, as a rule, secure reimbursement for money which the Government has actually lost through the malfeasance of its agent, and which every dictate of common honesty and political purity demands should be reimbursed by those who voluntarily assume the risk.

Even some judges of United States courts before whom these cases are tried seem sublimely indifferent to the interests of the Government, and strangely merciful toward the sureties of inexcusable delinquents. In a Western district the judge ruled that the Department is bound by an alleged settlement made by an Inspector on the spot at the time a post-office defalcation was discovered, in face of the fact that the law expressly vests the sole authority to settle postmasters' accounts in the Auditor, and of the further fact that the Inspector could know nothing of the state of the accounts except from the postmaster's own books, which are presumably falsified in such cases as an integral part of the general misdemeanor. Another Western judge held a certificate defective and dismissed an important case because the title of the Auditor was different from that used in statutes twenty or twenty-five years old, although the designation of the office had been changed by law more than fifteen years before and was correctly given under existing statutes. An Eastern judge, overruled by a higher court on a legal question connected with the responsibility of a postmaster who had flagrantly violated his instructions, causing a loss of about $1,500 of public funds, proclaimed from the bench that it was an "outrage" for the Washington authorities to insist on collecting from the innocent bondsmen of the delinquent.

In spite of leniency of juries and indifference of courts many judgments are obtained against bondsmen by the zealous representatives of the Department of Justice throughout the country. Then, when all else has failed, complaisant Congressmen are readily induced to present bills for the relief of their unfortunate constituents, and if these bills are pressed with sufficient energy and persistency, they are usually passed; the relief is granted; the indebtedness is wiped out, and the tax-paying proprietors of this vast business concern are finally left to suffer the loss occasioned by the faithlessness of their recreant servants.

Upon the whole, then, we have assimilated into our governmental structure an institution wearing all the aspects, containing all the defects, subject to all the abuses of a private or corporate enterprise, and we are, as a body politic, more poorly equipped for dealing with those evils than would be a corporation animated solely by business instincts and capable of acting strictly on business principles.

Our consolation and our hope lie in the fact that the average man is always more reliable than his opportunities and temptations to go wrong give us any right to expect; that the average public official is of higher grade morally and intellectually than our hap-hazard methods of appointment through political influence entitle us to anticipate; that the average subordinate employee—upon whom, after all, the burden and responsibility rest—is, under our present merit system of selection, training and retention, immeasurably superior to the type that formerly was evolved by the "spoils" policy.

Many of these evils are of long standing, but in spite of them the American postal service has attained its present exalted standard of efficiency and usefulness. A determined, intelligent public opinion, aware of the existence of these defects, alive to their perils, ever alert to expose and thwart them, must be relied on in the future, even more implicitly than in the past, to guard jealously this all-powerful instrumentality of enlightened progress and Christian civilization.

HENRY A. CASTLE.

WHY IS AN ISTHMIAN CANAL NOT BUILT?

BY LEWIS M. HAUPT, FORMERLY MEMBER OF THE NICARAGUA AND ISTHMIAN CANAL COMMISSIONS.

THE American people are demanding an answer to this question, which has been pending for over four centuries and which, ever since the promulgation of the Monroe doctrine in 1823, has been a diplomatic and political football. International jealousies, trade competitions, vested interests, partisan politics, selfish aggrandizement, rival concessionnaires, wilful misrepresentation and venal influences have all been allied to defeat the ends of progress and delay the consummation of one of the world's greatest opportunities.

South America, lying as it does entirely east of the meridian of Florida, constitutes the greatest barrier to commerce on the face of the globe, and its circumnavigation necessitates an annual waste in ocean transportation of not less than $200,000,000, for which there is no equivalent return—a sum more than sufficient to build an isthmian canal each year; and yet action has been deferred these many years, for political purposes or lest it might be charged that the best route had not been selected or the best bargain secured.

The multitudinous phases of this question cannot be considered in a brief paper. The attempts of the Great Powers to secure control of the world's highways and particularly of the "Key to the Pacific," and their successive failures; the forcible seizures of its termini during the Mexican War, which almost involved the United States in a third contest with Great Britain; the diplomacy which debarred this country from taking an actual initiative as a nation for half a century; the opening of other routes in competition, which antagonized the concessions secured by private enterprise; the herculean yet scandalous efforts made by foreign pro-

moters to secure exclusive control of the isthmian transit, and many other features of the question must necessarily be ignored for lack of space.

Having no other interest than that of aiding in advancing civilization by the introduction of great possible economies in the distribution of the world's products, and having had the benefit of some five years of personal contact with all the conditions of this problem, the writer still adheres to the conclusion reached in both the preliminary and the final reports of the Isthmian Canal Commission, of which he was a member, that "the most practicable and feasible route" for an isthmian canal, to be "under the control, management, and ownership of the United States," is that known as the Nicaragua route, although in the supplemental report the Commission found in favor of Panama. So firm is he in this conviction that he has frequently stated the measure of the superiority of this route to be so great that, even if the Panama route, works and concessions could be secured gratis, it would be wiser to decline them and adhere to the more northern transit. On the question of signing the supplemental report, the writer was confronted by the argument that if a divided opinion were presented to Congress the opposition to an Isthmian Canal was so influential as to be able to defeat legislation entirely on that ground. Being unwilling to be made the sole cause of obstruction to the building of any canal, even though it might not be the best practicable, he consented to sign the report, with the following statement of his reasons for so doing entered upon the minutes:

"He still believed that the Nicaragua Route was the better of the two, but that the scope of the investigation had expanded beyond the mere question as to which route had the superior advantages, in view of the political situation and the great probability, if not certainty, of a divided report being used by the opponents of any canal to defeat legislation. It was a question, therefore, of Panama or nothing, and, as he believed firmly in the necessity of an isthmian waterway for the general good, he had concluded that his duty to his country would be best fulfilled by waiving his objections and signing the report, with the understanding that this statement of his reasons be entered upon the minutes."

As the choice of routes is the vital issue at present, and is being emphasized by the interests which are allied against an American canal, it will suffice to confine attention to some of the physical and engineering facts which bear directly on this question.

The contest over routes has eliminated from consideration all but those of Panama and Nicaragua.

It has been persistently claimed that Panama has good harbors while Nicaragua has none, and that it would be very difficult if not impossible to create harbors in Nicaragua; that the level of Lake Nicaragua is subsiding rapidly; that the northern route is much longer; that neither of them would be available for sailing craft because the Suez Canal is not; that the recent eruptions in the Windward Islands have sounded the death knell of the Lake Route; that its climatic conditions are unfavorable as compared with those at Panama; that the cost of construction, operation and maintenance would be much greater for Nicaragua; that the traffic would not justify the expense and the tolls would be prohibitive; that a railroad, under private management, would afford greater facilities; that Panama is exempt from earthquakes, and is already well known; that the canal there is partially constructed, and that this route contains no doubtful engineering problems. These and many other considerations, real and imaginary, have been scattered broadcast as arguments against the inauguration of a work so necessary for the welfare of the world at large. They are stated by pseudo-scientists, who generalize from special cases and insufficient and imaginary data.

The factors which should have greatest weight in the choice of routes are those most intimately connected with the economics of transporation—such as the volume and destination of the traffic, which is in turn a function of the distribution of population; the strategic position of the waterway; the physical and engineering advantages for all classes of vessels; the possibilities of local development, regulation, control, sanitation and police, and the relative freedom from seismic influences.

In all these particulars the writer finds that the Nicaragua Route has the advantage, for the northern hemisphere contains about 88 per cent. of the population of the globe, and the shortest route between the populous centres of the North Temperate Zone lies along the circles of latitude. The nearer, therefore, the trade routes approach these lines, the greater will be the economy.

The problem is not merely concerned with the cost of traversing the isthmus from sea to sea, but with the total cost of the movement from port to port; hence, it is a delusion to assert that because the Panama route is but 49 miles long and the Nicaragua is

183, the former is the better, since that statement omits entirely the greater length on the sea route by Panama for about three-quarters of the traffic, the presence of the lake and river which compose more than half of the waterway through Nicaragua, and the still more important fact that the general direction of this route lies along the most direct line while at Panama it is almost at right angles thereto. Moreover, there is the insuperable meteorological disadvantage attaching to the Panama route, due to position, since the Southern route lies in the region of equatorial calms which debar sailing vessels from access to Panama, without great expense for towage, while the northern location lies in the region of the trade winds, which also contribute greatly to the salubrity and comfort of this transit-way. To meet the objection due to the "doldrums" in Panama Bay, it is urged that the sailing vessel is doomed to be superseded by steamers. The present outlook would not seem to justify such a conclusion, since more than half of our registered tonnage is sail, and the tendency is strongly towards larger schooner-rigged craft. The great cargo capacity and economy of the six-masted and seven-masted vessels of this class, as well as their relative immunity from danger of fire, make them the cheapest known instrument of transportation, and this fact insures their continued existence and guarantees them a patronage by all freights not demanding great speed. In a fair wind, however, they readily hold their own with the twelve-knot steamer, and they carry a larger cargo for a given displacement and with less than half the crew.

The rapid increase in the size of fore and aft rigged vessels is shown by the trebling of their net tonnage during the decade ending in 1894, and its doubling since that date. To ignore the sailing vessel as a factor in interoceanic transit would be a serious discrimination against one of our greatest economic possibilities, and would greatly retard the restoration of our merchant marine.

The difficulties of navigating the Bay of Panama are such that during the past year no sailing vessels entered or cleared there, and the detentions are so notorious that they would not be mentioned here but for the purpose of inviting attention to the fact that the obstacles to the transit of the isthmus are not limited to *terra firma*, but extend through and beyond the bay region, even to the Galapagos Islands on the Equator. It has been officially reported that, in rare instances, sailing vessels have been longer in

beating out of the bay than is required to make the entire trip from New York to San Francisco by Cape Horn. The use of this route by sail would, therefore, be attended by a charge for towage a long distance to sea at certain seasons of the year, for which no estimate has been made in calculating the cost of operations.

Concerning the matter of harbors, upon which much stress has been laid, it is important to note that the estimates submitted by the Commission give the cost of securing equally good and capacious harbors as being $6,549,777 less on the Nicaraguan route than on the Panama; and in the judgment of the writer the problem at Greytown is one of great simplicity because of the prevailing direction and constancy of the forces forming the bars. Here the north-east trade winds, striking the salient cape, drive the waves obliquely to the westward and transport about 600,000 cubic yards of sand every year to the bight of the bay beyond. This movement may be readily intercepted and the drift impounded by a single jetty extending to deep water, and a channel may be dredged in its lee, as was done by the Maritime Canal Company after the Panama failure.

The Panama Railroad Company has recently completed a landing pier at La Boca, costing $2,200,000, which is accessible only at high tide, through a channel dredged for three miles into the bay, so that vessels would be obliged to wait for high tide to enter and leave the proposed canal. No allowance is made for this delay in the comparison of the times required to navigate the routes, as should have been done. At Colon, on the Atlantic terminus, the piers are so directly exposed to the "northers" that during such storms the vessels are obliged to run to sea, and the last Commission estimated that a suitable entrance and harbor at this end of the line would cost $8,057,707.

Prior to the construction of the new pier at La Boca, all the freight transported across the isthmus was lightered out to vessels anchored over three miles from shore, at a cost of about $1.50 per ton, with additional charges for port dues and storage.

The estimated cost of creating harbors on the Panama route is $10,257,707, as compared with $3,707,930 for Nicaragua; and the difference is the measure of the physical advantages in favor of the latter route in the single matter of its harbor facilities.

Moreover, it has been objected that the great regulating Lake of Nicaragua is subsiding at a rapid rate, and fears are expressed

lest it disappear entirely from the face of the earth. This agitation is based upon some loose and erroneous statements of elevations, and on rainfall data recorded at a single point in the dry region on the west side of the lake. From these meagre data it is asserted that

"Lake Nicaragua has undergone marked shrinkage during the past 25 or 50 years. The shrinkage is a progressive one, and there are no known conditions by which the loss incurred can be made good. The assumption is well founded that the earlier measurements of the altitude of the lake surface, made by Galisteo and Bailey, indicating an abasement of the waters by 15 to 20 feet, were accurate. . . . A region subject to the changes which have been indicated would offer serious obstacles to the construction of a canal of the magnitude of the one proposed or to its permanency after completion."

This conclusion is based upon such assumptions as these:

"Not knowing the amount of outflow through the San Juan River for the different years from 1880 to 1898, but assuming it, for a simple convenience of measure, to be not more than one-half the amount, 84 inches, that was found for the year 1898, and taking the annual evaporation at 55 inches, we arrive at the following interesting analysis of the table of rainfall," showing "a loss of 363 inches as against a gain of 114 inches, or a net loss of 249 inches (20 feet 9 inches)."

In short, in these 19 years the lake is stated to have subsided nearly 21 feet. At this rate it should have fallen 55 feet 3 inches since 1851. Had this author of the "Defence of the Panama Route" examined the Report of Col. O. W. Childs, which is a well recognized and accurate survey of the Nicaraguan route made for Mr. Vanderbilt, in 1851, he would have found the altitude of the lake at high level to be 108 feet above the Atlantic Ocean, which elevation is confirmed by all the subsequent surveys, and especially by the line of precise levels run by the Nicaragua Canal Commission in 1898, as its present height.

Had the lake subsided at the rate above stated, it would long since have fallen below the bed of the outlet and have ceased to discharge into the sea. The Rio San Juan would have become a dry ravine, and the canal projects, whether great or small, would have been desiccated.

Such unguarded and erroneous statements have done much to retard the development of the general welfare of our country and have no justification in fact upon which to rest.

The cost, character and distribution of the work are also matters of moment in the choice of a route; and on these points it may suffice to state that, although the cube of excavation at Nicaragua is about 230 million cubic yards, as compared with 100 million remaining to be excavated at Panama, the work is so well distributed that, it is estimated by the Commission, it can be completed in two years less time than at Panama. Of this large amount, sixty per cent. consists of material which can be removed by dredging, the cheapest kind of mechanical work not sensibly affected by rains. Taking the average unit prices for which materials have been removed by hand in the tropics, the Nicaragua Canal should be built for $153,746,323, if handled by a syndicate under ordinarily good management and conditions.

But the most important of all is the question of constructing a safe dam, which is the vital element in the execution of either project. The borings made by the Isthmian Canal Commission at Bohio on the Panama line revealed a continuous rock foundation only at an unprecedented depth below sea level; and, in a recent discussion of this subject, a member of the Commission has stated that this dam "involves novel and untried features, and few engineers, even among those who feel that they can construct it, would be ready to say in advance how the work could be done. The difficulties taken in connection with the climate and other surroundings are enormous."

The Nicaragua Route, on the contrary, presents no exceptionally difficult problems, and it has been exploited more fully than is usual in works of this character. It has many advantages which must necessarily be omitted from this limited review.

The character and amount of the tonnage, as well as its influence on railroad rates and traffic, are closely related to the question as to why the canal is not an accomplished fact, but they apply equally to both routes. They cannot be analyzed here; but economists generally concede that the effect of the canal will be to colonize remote sections, distribute low-grade, raw materials which cannot now be moved overland, stimulate manufactures and develop a much larger movement of high class freight for the railroads, which will far more than compensate for the slight diversion which may take place in their overland traffic.

The real obstacle to the construction of the canal, however, is located in the Capitol at Washington, where the subject has been

discussed for generations. The current outlook indicates that the political clouds are not yet dissipated, and the legislation is still so framed as to make this great issue a factor in the next political campaign. It is believed that the House will not recede from its overwhelming majority of over 300 in favor of the "Hepburn Bill," and would not accept as a compromise measure the "Spooner Amendment" in case it, or its equivalent, should be passed by the Senate, in which event there will be another deadlock, with the probability of the failure of any relief measures and the lapsing of the protocols which have been executed with the Nicaraguan and Costa Rican Republics.

Representative Mann, of Illinois, recently remarked:

"It is a question of canal or no canal. If the Senate should adopt the Spooner substitute, the House, which passed the Hepburn bill with only two dissenting votes, would not yield. It is a desperate fight between legislation and no legislation, and I do not think that the Senate appreciates the situation. Nicaragua means a certainty of completion. Panama means uncertainty of beginning. Nicaragua means a clear title, freedom from scandal. Panama means legal and diplomatic clouds, and the possibility of almost endless scandal."

The vote of the House may be regarded as a fair expression of the desire and conviction of its constituency, and it is believed that the policy of further procrastination would be an irreparable evil inflicted upon the industries and commercial interests of the whole country. The responsibility for failure, if so it be, must necessarily be assumed by Congress, which alone has jurisdiction and which is provided with a plethora of material facts for its information.

It would appear, then, that in the interests of humanity, civilization, economy, international intercourse, national development, or even of local self interest, this country owes it to its citizens, as well as to the world, to inaugurate this great undertaking, since it has virtually notified all foreign nations of its purpose to prevent any intervention on their part on this continent. The work should be commenced under the present administration, when all conditions appear so favorable.

LEWIS M. HAUPT.

THE PUBLIC DEBT OF PRUSSIA.

BY DR. ADOLPH WAGNER, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY IN BERLIN UNIVERSITY.

THE kingdom of Prussia, as at present constituted, forms the most important part of the German Empire, of whose territory it embraces nearly two-thirds and, roughly speaking, three-fifths of the population.

The Prussian State Debt as it stands to-day has been incurred almost exclusively for the State railways, either in their construction or in the purchase of private lines; but the net proceeds of these railways not only entirely cover the exigencies of the debt, both as to interest and sinking fund, but yield a very considerable surplus, which serves instead of taxation to cover other State expenses. Thus Prussia has, strictly speaking, no State Debt, but mainly a State Railway Debt which is covered by the earnings of the railways themselves. This eminently satisfactory state of affairs dates from the end of the seventies, when Prussia began to extend her then inconsiderable State Railway System by the purchase of all the important private lines.

The earlier history of the Prussian State Debt runs parallel with that of the political development of the country.

When, at the end of the Napoleonic wars, in 1820 affairs came to be regulated the Prussian State Debt was found to have increased fourfold. The King thereupon declared the State Debt account finally closed; should further loans become necessary they would only be raised, he promised, with the consent and co-operation of the future representative Parliament. As the institution of this Parliament was not effected either under Frederick William III. or Frederick William IV., fresh loans could not be raised during their reigns, nor was it necessary under the then prevailing financial and political circumstances. But, between

1830 and 1840, the question of railway construction came up, and in Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Würtemberg, Baden, etc., the building of railways soon began to be carried out at the expense of the State. Prussia could not do this without raising loans, and therein lies the chief reason why so many of the Prussian lines were originally in private hands. The sum total of the Debt reduced itself during this period by the action of sinking funds, and the interest was cut down by conversions and the lowering of the rate from 5 to 3½ per cent. The chief part of the Debt consisted in the 3 per cent. State obligations of 1842, which had a very heavy sinking fund that has operated almost till the present day. Issued originally for 501,000,000 marks, these obligations have remained a special category of the State Debt, and were not included in the later consolidations. In 1899, there was still a residue of 6,250,000 marks, which was paid off on January 1st, 1900. Thus, this Debt, the largest item of the old War Debt, has been wiped out.

The course of political events from 1848 onwards, combined with the unfavorable financial situation and the construction of the State Railways, necessitated an increase of the State Debt by loans, which could only be obtained at a much higher rate of interest. The events of 1864 and 1866 led still further in this direction. On the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein, part of the Danish National Debt (65,250,000 marks) had to be taken over by Prussia, as were the State Debts of the other territories annexed by Prussia at that period.

By far the greater part of these Debts, however, had been incurred for the construction of the respective State Railways; consequently, as these railways now came into Prussia's possession and were in many cases yielding excellent returns, this addition to her State Debt in no wise increased her financial burden.

Under the old régime in Prussia, the Debt was divided into innumerable separate categories, each fresh loan since 1848 forming a distinct one by itself (the majority at 4½, some at 4, some at 5 per cent.) and subject to different conditions as to their repayment. Besides this, there were remnants of old Provincial Debts, chiefly from the Napoleonic wars, which had been taken over by the State, each again under a separate heading, not to mention shares and debentures of the various private railways acquired by the Government and now treated as State Debts. This naturally

led to a most confusing diversity of categories, besides which most of the loans had, by contract and statutory regulation, heavy sinking funds. Thus, about 1870, the "General State Debt" of Prussia and its additions since 1866 had, on its capital sum (minus the floating debt) of 1,046,520,000 marks, a steadily increasing yearly sinking fund of 20,760,000 marks. To this were now added the Debts of the new Provinces, which were subdivided into numerous groups, each subservient to the regulations of its own particular State and having different rates of interest and sinking funds; for, up till then, all German Government Debts, more especially those incurred for the new railways, were invariably charged with a definite sinking fund.

The desire to bring all these innumerable debts under one heading and the financial advisability of reducing the heavy sinking fund which the constant increase of the Debt by fresh loans rendered purposeless, led in 1869 to the adoption of Camphausen's scheme of conversion into the "Consolidated Rentes Debt." The Government offered the holders to convert the Bonds of a number of older loans with sinking funds (seventeen in all, with a yet undischarged capital of 670,200,000 marks) into new obligations of a uniform Consolidated Loan, without sinking fund, at 4½ per cent., granting at the same time small premiums on conversion. The new Debt was not redeemable by the Government before 1885. The measure was on the whole successful, and though its complete accomplishment was somewhat retarded by the war of 1870, it was carried through afterwards all the more easily owing to the rapid improvement in State credit and the rise of the rate of interest, and to the fact that the older loans awaiting conversion were threatened with notice of re-payment or reduction of interest through the French War Indemnity now at the disposal of the Government, whereas the new Consolidated Loans could neither be redeemed nor the rate reduced before 1885. Down to August, 1870, old loans to the amount of 338,280,000 marks had been converted, and later on some 105,000,000 more—443,280,000 marks in all. By a new enactment on December 20th, 1871, however, the right of conversion was to terminate on January 15th, 1872, this being more advantageous to the Government.

The victorious course of the war and the founding of the Empire had brought Prussia an immense increase in funds. On the settlement of accounts between Prussia and the Empire, the former re-

ceived, among other sums, 90,000,000 marks for the transfer of her State Reserve; 72,000,000 marks in "*Reichscassenscheine*" for the redemption of the old Prussian paper money, which only amounted to 60,390,000 marks; and an indemnity of 29,720,000 marks for the transfer of the Bank of Prussia to the Empire and its re-creation as the Imperial Bank of Germany. Besides this, Prussia, as a member of the North German Confederation, received various sums for her war costs and for her private State expenses (361,910,000 marks) out of the French War Indemnity. Thus, Prussia was in a position to spend largely without raising fresh loans even for the railways, and to re-pay a portion of her out-standing debts. In this manner, the State Debt was reduced after the war, while the improved State credit, the rise in the rate of exchange, and the fall in the rate of interest facilitated fresh conversions, a reduction of interest and the raising of new loans at lower rates.

The minimum point of the Debt—921,000,000 marks including 30,000,000 in Treasury Bonds, but exclusive of the capital sum of 1,320,000 marks for the payment of special annuities—was touched at the end of 1875. After that, it began to rise again, but chiefly for productive purposes, namely the State Railways—the purchase of the most important lines from the great companies. These were bought up in rapid succession between 1879 and 1884, the purchases continuing as called for up to the present day. At the same time, the Railway System was extended and thoroughly equipped at enormous expenditure.

Besides the loans for this purpose, smaller additions to the State Debt for other necessary improvements, or for covering a deficit here and there in the Budget, were inevitable. The present high figure of the Prussian State Debt is largely the result of former conditions, but is financially completely justified by the excellent returns yielded by the railways for which the debts were incurred.

The purchase of the great private lines was effected at a time when railway receipts were at a decidedly low ebb and the dividends on shares much reduced, therefore under relatively favorable conditions for the Government. The general, though not universal, method adopted was to exchange the shares at an agreed amount for obligations of the 4 per cent. (some, later on, of the 3½ per cent.) Consolidated Debt, all liabilities and debentures

(mostly at 5, 4½ and 4 per cent.) of the companies being taken over by the Government under the already existing conditions as to interest, notice of withdrawal and re-payment. In time, however, these Debentures, in so far as the agreements permitted, were converted into State Loans. Neither the old nor the new Railway Debts come under any special heading in the Prussian State Debt, but as the expenses for the State Railways were for the most part defrayed by the issue of consols—first at 4, then at 3½ and 3 per cent.—the total Consolidated Debt was naturally very much increased.

The rise in quotations during the eighties and nineties made conversions and a reduction of interest feasible, to the Prussian as to the Imperial Government. A beginning was made in 1885, when, without the slightest hitch, the interest on the old Consolidated Debt of 1869, which through further issue had risen to 545,750,000 marks, was reduced from 4½ to 4 per cent. as soon as the term arrived at which the Government was entitled to give notice of re-payment.

In the same year, the interest on the Railway Debentures—mostly at 5 and 4½ per cent.—was reduced to 4 per cent., to the amount of one milliard marks without, for the moment, converting the debentures into consols. This conversion took place in 1889 and 1890, the interest being reduced at the same time to 3½ per cent.; in 1897 there came a further reduction—from September 1st, 1897—of the old Consolidated 4 per cent. Debt and also of the newly issued 4 per cent. Consolidated Debt (chiefly raised for the purchase of the private railways) to 3½ per cent., to the extent of 3,589,800,000 marks. By reason of the then prevailing state of the money-market and the level of quotations, this operation was easily accomplished, and the Government relieved of close upon 18,000,000 marks in charges for interest. The Government has guaranteed, however, not to give notice of re-payment or further reduce the 3½ per cent. interest on this Consolidated Debt before April 1st, 1905. But since 1898 and 1899, the state of the money-market and the quotations have not been so satisfactory.

The intimate connection between the Prussian State Debt and the extension of the State Railway System inevitably called for special legislative regulations. It became obvious that the Debt, which was now practically a Railway Debt, must be reduced and

the railways converted by degrees into a free asset, like the domains and forests, unburdened by a Debt, so that greater freedom might be gained in the tariff policy of the railways. By the law of March 27th, 1882, the capital sum of the State Debt up to April 1st, 1880, was fixed at 1,498,858,100 marks, and the whole of it considered as originating in the State Railways, which to all intents and purposes was the case. Under the denomination of the "State Railways Capital Debt" this sum was now charged to the State Railways and the interest fixed at 63,914,324 marks. It was settled at the same time—always supposing no fresh legislative measures should be passed meanwhile—that any new Debts arising out of the Railway Credits or Railway Debentures taken over by the Government, should, after April 1st, 1880, be added to the Railway Capital Debt, but that the legal charge for sinking fund should be deducted from it. Any surplus in hand at the end of the year was to be applied after April 1st, 1881, first to the interest on the Railway Debt, then, if need be, to covering any deficit in the Government's home accounts, and finally to re-payment of the Railway Debt itself. These amounts have been regularly written off ever since, the State Railways standing in consequence at a much lower valuation on the Government books. But an actual amortization of the Debt has occurred only to a much smaller degree. This was the fault of the Law of 1880. The large surpluses of the State Railways have gone, for the most part, to cover various Government expenses for which otherwise loans would have had to be raised.

The great financial advantage of nationalizing the railways was, however, that in the surplus of these railways Prussia obtained the wherewithal to meet very large expenses without having recourse to increased taxation. This circumstance goes far to explain the low rate of taxation in Prussia and the German Empire, in spite of the great increase in their respective expenditure. Thus—a point to be noted by social politicians—in Germany the State, and not private shareholders, draws the large revenues accruing from the railways.

The three-fourths of one per cent. amortization or deduction from the Railway Debt, in accordance with the law of 1882, amounted in the seventeen years between 1882 and 1899 to 687,600,000 marks. The nationalization of the railways had, in spite of the saving effected by the subsequent reduction in the rate of

interest, swelled the Prussian State Debt to such an extent that this merely budgetary amortization, by writing off the amounts from the Railway Debt capital, was very properly deemed entirely inadequate. The interest-bearing State Debt had risen from 921 millions in 1875-6, to 1,395 millions in 1880-81, 2,640 in 1883-4, 4,457 in 1889-90, up to which time the major portion of the debentures of the nationalized companies still stood on the accounts of the Railway Administration. After the conversion of these debentures into consols, and the transfer of nearly all not yet converted debentures to the State Debt Administration (April 1st, 1891) the Debt rose, 1891-92, to 5,835,000,000 marks with 18,460,000 marks annual sinking fund, and again, 1897-98, to 6,498,000,000 marks. An actual amortization of the capital only occurred in the case of the few loans which were redeemable and not yet converted into consols; besides this the amortization of the Railway Debentures was carried out as per agreement.

But this did not suffice to bring about a really effectual diminution in the capital of the debt. To this end a law was passed (March 8th, 1897) making amortization compulsory for the Budget. It was decided that for the year April 1st, 1897-98, at least one-half per cent. and for the following years at least three-fifths per cent. of the State Debt capital should be cleared off, a deduction of the amount from the newly-issued loans to be considered equal to amortization. To those half and three-fifths per cent. sinking funds are reckoned the sums already paid off systematically, or in accordance with legislative measures. Moreover, any surplus in the Government Budget was no longer to be accounted as revenue for the coming year, but to be applied to further amortization or as deductions from issued loans. This plan has been adhered to ever since. Nevertheless, seeing that the Prussian State Debt partakes so largely of the character of a Railway Debt, it would seem in every way desirable to increase the amount of these amortizations, the great surpluses from the railways providing ample means.

The sum required for interest does not come to nearly one-half of the annual surplus from the State Railways—half a milliard marks; to which may be added another surplus of about 74,000,000 marks from the State Domains, Forests and Mines which is more than sufficient to cover the interest on Prussia's share in the German National Debt. The total sinking fund for

1900 amounts to 39,550,000 marks which is also easily covered by the railway surplus. It follows, therefore, that Prussia need not apply one penny of her taxes to her State Debt—a wonderfully gratifying piece of "State socialism."

This being the favorable financial position of the German Empire, Prussia and the other German States, there would be no difficulty in providing for a much greater outlay on the Army and Navy and yet leaving enough to cover the most exorbitant demands of the Civil Administration without having recourse to over-burdening taxation.

The methods employed in the administration of the Prussian State Debt are practically identical with those of the Empire, and a "Book of the Debt" was instituted as far back as 1883. The management is in the hands of a special office, the "Central Administration of the State Debt," and the Parliamentary control is exercised by a State Debt Commission, composed in part of members of both Houses of the Diet. The administrative expenses in 1900 were 1,010,032 marks, to which the Empire contributes 126,800 marks for the administration of the Imperial Debt; the fees in connection with the entries into the State Debt Book come to 47,300 marks.

In this category of the State Debt must be included annuities, amounting in all to 1,443,650 marks a year in connection with charges on real estate. With the addition of this sum, the total annual charges of the Prussian State Debt amount to 272,751,506 marks.

This sum, and consequently that of the State Debt itself, is, however, somewhat increased by the inclusion of certain liabilities which belong neither to the Budget of the State Debt nor to that of the Central Administration. Thus the Budget of the State Railways is debited with a sum of 286,078 marks in interest, and 241,922 marks sinking fund on a 4½ per cent. loan taken over by Prussia with the acquisition of the Brunswick Railway, as also (in connection with this Railway) with an annuity of 2,625,000 marks to the Duchy running till 1932. With these sums and further smaller items, another 3,150,000 marks is added to the annual charges of the State Debt and a corresponding increase in the capital sum.

Again, liabilities occur in various other departments of the Administration which may, broadly speaking, be reckoned in

the State Debt. In the Budget of the Ministry of Finance, for instance, there are various time and life annuities (2,418,000 marks in 1900) mostly as indemnities to certain Princes and repsentative peers; then, in the Domains and Forests Department, there are various Redemption Funds amounting to about 1,500,-000 marks and smaller items in certain other departments. Therefore, reckoning all these liabilities at 150 to 160 million marks, they raise the capital sum of the State Debt to about 6,750,000,-000 marks, and its annual charges to about 276,250,000 marks. Not that this affects the general aspect of the Debt, similar liabilities outside the actual National Debt occurring in other countries likewise.

To sum up then: Prussia's State Debt, including her share in the Imperial Debt, amounted for the year 1900 to about 8,200,-000,000 marks, entailing an outlay of about 321,000,000 marks (not reckoning the sinking fund of the Imperial Debt). That is to say, it represents about 244 marks of capital and 9.5 marks of annual charges per head of the population, against 314 marks and 12.5 marks in Great Britain, and 629 marks and 21.2 marks in France. But, in these latter countries, both the interest and the re-payment of the Debt have to come almost entirely out of the pockets of the people; whereas in Prussia, as in the whole of Germany, this is entirely achieved by the surplus from the State Railways and other Government property—a surplus so large that it suffices besides to cover nearly half the expenditure for the Army and Navy, so that only the other half and the charges of the Civil Administration have to be provided for out of the taxes.

ADOLPH WAGNER.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

O. H. Platt

was born at Washington, Connecticut, in 1827. He studied law at Litchfield, and on being admitted to the bar in 1849, he entered on the practice of his profession at Meriden. At an early stage in his career, he began to take an active interest in political affairs. In 1855-56, he was clerk of the State Senate, and in the following year he was secretary of the State of Connecticut. He was a member of the State Senate in 1861-62, and of the State House of Representatives in 1864 and 1869, serving during the latter year as Speaker of the body. In 1879, he took his seat in the United States Senate, to which he was re-elected in 1885, 1890 and 1897. Senator Platt was the author of the resolution, known by his name, which was passed by Congress at the outbreak of the Spanish war, to the effect that "the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said island (Cuba), except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and the control of the island to its people."

Sydney Brooks

was the subject of a note in the Review for March, 1900.

John Charlton

was educated in the United States, having been born near Caledonia in the State of New York in 1829. When a lad, he removed with his parents to Canada, and after working for four years on his father's farm, he opened a general country store at Lynedoch. He embarked in 1861 in the lumber business, in which he met with immediate success, and he has long been counted as one of the "lumber princes" of the province of Ontario. In 1872, he was elected a member of the Canadian House of Commons, and he has retained his seat in that body since that time. During his parliamentary

career he has initiated much useful legislation, and for years he has held a prominent place among the leading statesmen of the Dominion. He is a member of the Anglo-American Joint High Commission which was appointed some years ago in the hope that Canadian questions at issue between Great Britain and the United States might be settled by amicable discussion. Mr. Charlton has been a consistent advocate of extensive reciprocity of trade between Canada and the American Union.

Comte S. C. de Soissons

was the pioneer of Sienkiewicz's fame, having written many articles on the great Pole when his genius and his work were very little known. He has translated three volumes of Sienkiewicz's writings. The Count can boast of belonging to the oldest nobility on the continent of Europe, one of his ancestors in the tenth century having been an independent ruler. He was born in Paris in 1859; in 1880 he graduated at the University of France, and his post-graduation studies embraced law, languages and the history of art. He has travelled through many countries—Austria, Hungary, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Russia; and in 1890, he visited Canada and the United States, and, as a result, published two books, one on American Art, and the other on America, its customs, manners, and political and religious institutions. He has been a frequent contributor to English periodicals, and he is the author of many short stories and essays on art and literature.

H. R. H. Prince Alfonso de Bourbon et Autriche Este

is the younger brother of Don Carlos, the pretender to the Spanish throne. He is a scion of the ancient house of Bourbon. Several of his ancestors were rulers of France, notably Henry of Navarre, who became Henry IV. on ascending the French throne. The Spanish branch of the Bourbon-Anjou family, to which Prince Alfonso belongs, was founded by the grandson of Louis XIV., Philip, Duke of Anjou, who, renouncing all rights of succession to the French throne, became King of Spain in 1700 under the title of Philip V. Prince Alfonso was born in London in 1849, and lives for the most part at the Château d'Ebenzweier in Upper Aus-

tria. He married the Portuguese princess, Marie of Braganza.

Rear-Admiral G. W. Melville, U. S. N.

A note regarding this distinguished American was published in the number of the Review for April, 1901.

The Rt. Hon. Leonard Courtney

entered the House of Commons in 1876 as member for Liskeard, a constituency which he represented till 1885, when he was returned to Parliament by the Bodmin Division of Cornwall. He was Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department in 1880-81, and for the Colonial Office in 1881-82, and Financial Secretary to the Treasury from that time to 1884. From 1886 to 1892 he was Chairman of Committees and Deputy Speaker. Mr. Courtney was Professor of Political Economy in University College, London, from 1872 to 1875. He has been a large contributor to *The Times* and the *Nineteenth Century,* and he has recently published a scholarly and comprehensive treatise on "The Working Constitution of the United Kingdom and its Outgrowths" which is, in a smaller compass, a reproduction of the scheme of Mr. Bryce's "American Commonwealth."

The Hon. Alfred Lyttelton

has represented Leamington, Warwick, in Parliament since 1895. He was educated at Eton and Cambridge, and from 1882 to 1886, he was Legal Private Secretary of the Attorney-General, Sir H. James. A short time ago, he was sent to South Africa by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, to investigate on the spot the claims which had been made by foreigners against the British Government for compensation for damages. Mr. Lyttelton's name is familiar to those who are interested in outdoor sports. He has captained the Eton and Cambridge elevens; and he has represented Cambridge in cricket, football, tennis, racquets and athletics, and England in cricket and football.

Gertrude Atherton

is well known to readers of American fiction, and those who have perused her latest work, "The Conqueror," will read the account of her hunt for Hamilton's mother with uncommon interest. Mrs. Atherton, who is a great-grandniece of

Benjamin Franklin, was born and educated in California. She has lived much abroad. Among her writings may be mentioned "The Californians," "A Daughter of the Vine," "Senator North," and "American Wives and English Husbands."

James Raymond Perry

was born in Northfield, Massachusetts, and educated in the public schools in Winchendon in the same State. He was employed in various offices in the latter town till 1890, when he went to Chicago to take a position with a large Illinois corporation. In 1892, a short poem from his pen was accepted by Mr. Howells during that gentleman's brief editorship of *The Cosmopolitan;* and since then he has contributed fiction and verse to a number of the leading periodicals.

L. S. Rowe

was the subject of a short note in the Review for July, 1901.

Charles Morawitz,

a Director of the Anglo-Austrian Bank in Vienna, is a European financier of the highest standing. He is thoroughly informed upon all matters and transactions of the Ottoman Government, with which he has been in constant contact ever since the construction of the lines of railway in European Turkey.

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CUBA'S CLAIM UPON THE UNITED STATES.

BY O. H. PLATT, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM CONNECTICUT.

A LITTLE more than four years ago the United States declared war against Spain; it also declared the purpose of the war in which it was about to engage. It gave notice to the world that its object was not conquest or acquisition, that it proposed to liberate the people of Cuba from unendurable oppression and to assist them in the establishment of an independent republic. In all the history of mankind no other instance of a war for such a high, noble, and unselfish purpose can be found. The national conscience asserted itself, and the people were of one heart and one mind. The war was over in a hundred days, but its consequences will last for generations. As a nation we were strong and resourceful; we put forth our strength and used our resources with no thought of repayment; a free Cuba, a new republic were to be our sufficient reward. The world approved and admired our course. The question which now confronts us is whether we shall go forward or turn back; whether we shall complete our success, or permit our effort to result only in ignominious failure.

The doings of nations are like the acts of individuals; motive and action make character both in men and in nations. It is the man of pure motive, of brave deeds and steady purpose who builds for himself a noble character. If the motive, the deed and the purpose are but feeble and soon abandoned, the resultant

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character is ignoble. So with us as a people. Though our purpose was lofty, though our triumph was striking, if we fail now in accomplishment we shall be either pitied or despised. Nations, like men, incur honorable obligations. If fulfilled to the letter, true growth is the result; if ignored, by men or nations, the just contempt of mankind is incurred. Our obligation did not cease when Spain was driven from Cuba, or when years of careful and unselfish administration resulted in the establishment of the Cuban republic. When we undertook to put an end to bad government in Cuba, we became responsible for the establishment, and the maintenance as well, of a good government there. The world will properly hold us bound in all honor so to treat the republic which we ourselves have set up that it shall be both prosperous and stable. The United States, if true to its history and its character, must train up its child in the way it should go, so that when old it will not depart from it.

If these words had been written when we set foot on Cuban soil at Daiquiri, they would have met with universal approval, and the exceptional individual who might have predicted that we would tire of our work, and leave Cuba to struggle on unaided by us as soon as its government should have been created on paper and established in name, would have been denounced as nearly akin to a traitor. He would at least have been told that he understood neither the purpose nor the spirit of our people.

In transactions between nations we hear much in these days about "spheres of influence," and perhaps no better interpretation of that phrase is to be found than in the relations which should exist between the United States and Cuba. We are great and strong. We have had a century and a quarter of republican experience. Cuba is small and weak, without experience, a new beginner in self-government. The Island lies within a hundred miles of our shores. It is bound to us by location, by helplessness, and, until now, by the sentiment of gratitude. Thanks to the United States, it is a free and independent government. It is in no sense a dependency, and yet in the truest sense it is a dependent neighbor. Cuba committed her future to us when, in the depth of her misery, she accepted our intervention. We as truly assumed her care when we proffered that intervention.

The United States must have a policy with regard to Cuba. The present question is, what that policy shall be. In the solu-

tion of this question, not only our good name and character, but our own interests are most intimately involved. The fate of the United States is interwoven with the fate of Cuba.

There are three policies, any of which may be pursued by the United States. First, we may treat Cuba with indifference and neglect; second, as a commercial rival to be feared and curbed; third, with a friendly consideration which shall insure her prosperity, stability and gratitude. Until Congress met in December last, the people of the United States entertained no doubt as to which of the three policies should be pursued. We were in honor bound not to neglect Cuba. We had never thought of her as a commercial rival to be feared, but rather as a constituent part of our commercial system. Every obligation of duty and of self-interest demanded our friendly consideration. It may well be doubted whether one per cent. of our people, before the assembling of the last Congress, would have tolerated the idea that Cuba should be treated in any other way than as a neighbor and a close friend. And yet there developed during the winter and early summer a sentiment, founded on misapprehension and prejudice, which was strong enough to defeat for the time being any remedial or beneficent legislation in her behalf. During all the period of our military occupation, leading up to Cuban independence, it was understood that the economic relations between Cuba and the United States were as important as their political relations. When the United States required of Cuba that her constitution should contain guarantees which should forever place her in a position of intimate relation to us, it was universally understood that we, on our part, would aid her by providing such reciprocal commercial advantages as would enable her to be self-reliant and self-supporting. The Monroe Doctrine, which we had declared three-quarters of a century ago and insisted upon as our right, was wrought into a compact between the two countries, so that thenceforth, as to Cuba, it was no longer to rest upon assertion alone but upon constitutional agreement. While we did not ask of Cuba in form that she should not enter into commercial arrangements with other countries to our disadvantage, the natural currents of trade made it a practical impossibility for her to do so, and a Commission sent to us from her Constitutional Convention returned home with the just expectation that a compliance with our desires as to her constitutional guarantees would

be followed by the establishment of mutual trade relations which would prove to be of great economic advantage to her. The Constitutional Convention of Cuba asked, as a return for their acceptance of the provisions which we had requested, that there should be some promise given by the United States of the establishment of advantageous relations with us. In the nature of things such a promise was impossible, but the Convention was asked to act in the premises and to trust the United States. It did incorporate into its constitution provisions which we thought essential for us, and it did trust us to provide by legislation, or treaty, commercial advantages which she could not obtain from other countries. So, up to the opening of our last Congress, all was well. The Cuban constitution was adopted. Complete independence awaited only the necessary successive steps for its establishment. Its merchants, its planters and laborers, waited in trustful confidence that the United States, through its Congress, would provide for the industrial as it had already provided for the political independence of Cuba. Not only was this anticipated in Cuba, but here as well. No one could have foreseen that the United States would deliberately refuse to discharge its obligation. The United States had never been a faith breaker; its worst enemy could not have predicted that it would become one. And then a strange thing happened.

The principal crop of Cuba is cane sugar, or, rather, it may be said that the two principal crops are sugar and tobacco. Until its industries shall have become more diversified, the prosperity of the Island depends upon these crops, and upon its ability to produce them with profit. By reason of the over-production of sugar in the world, of the indebtedness accumulated by planters in Cuba and their losses sustained during the war, it may be asserted without fear of contradiction that, on the whole, sugar production had become unprofitable in the Island. The same was true, though in a lesser degree, of tobacco. The United States could well afford, in return for trade advantages to be secured by us, to make such reductions in the tariff upon sugar, tobacco, and other products of Cuba as would place its industries on a profitable basis, and it was well understood both in Cuba and the United States that such action would be taken. President Roosevelt in his message had recommended such "substantial tariff reductions" as were necessary to insure industrial prosperity.

Then arose a cloud in the sky. We had begun in several States to produce sugar from beets, and for many years we had been producing in one or two States sugar from cane. All at once, and without reason, the cry was raised that any reduction of the duty on sugar coming from Cuba would injure, strike down, and destroy the beet and cane sugar industry of the United States. Members and Senators from States in which these industries were established became first timid, then needlessly frightened, lest their assent to legislation favoring reciprocal trade relations with Cuba would lose them their seats. Most of these Senators and Representatives were Republicans. They were few in number compared to the whole body of Republicans, but they were numerous enough, by joining with the Democrats who were ready for any action which should divide Republican forces, to prevent wise and necessary legislation; and so the contest began.

As time went on facts were ignored, fears were magnified, prejudice invoked, until reason and cool judgment seemed to have entirely departed. Two assertions, neither of which could be sustained by proof, formed the controlling basis of action by the few Republicans who have been spoken of. First, the assertion that, to reduce the tariff on Cuban sugar by twenty-five or even twenty per cent., would take away the protection enjoyed by beet and cane sugar producers in the United States—an assertion which is absolutely groundless, as is shown by the fact that we take into our country, free of duty, 500,000 tons of sugar from Hawaii and Porto Rico, while maintaining the duty against all other countries, without in any way interfering with the protection of our own sugar producers. Second, the assertion that the so-called Sugar Trust would derive all the benefit resulting from any reduction of the duty on Cuban sugar—an assertion which is equally groundless, as is shown by the fact that Hawaiian sugar and Porto Rican sugar, though duty free, have brought the same price in American markets as sugars from Cuba or Germany. The prejudice against the Sugar Trust was continually, and most successfully, appealed to. It was so apparent that any reduction of the duty upon Cuban sugar proposed would not reduce the price of home-produced sugar, that it is not probable that this argument alone could have resulted in defeating the suggested legislation, and so the plea that the Trust, rather than the Cuban planter, was to be benefited was the objection most relied upon.

It is a curious fact that, while there is a popular belief that combinations and trusts control legislation in Congress, it is nevertheless true that the most effective means of preventing legislation is to assert that a combination or trust desires it. Even staid legislators lose their heads when the statement is made that a trust is favoring a measure. The Sugar Trust is, perhaps, the most unpopular of all capitalistic combinations in the United States, and the apprehension excited by continual reiteration that the legislation in question was being supported and would inure to the benefit of the Sugar Trust, was most potent. In the opinion of the writer it was utterly fallacious. That it was successful in defeating for the time being the performance of our plain duty with regard to Cuba, must be admitted. Nowhere in the United States is public sentiment so liable to be misunderstood as in the city of Washington while Congress is in session, and the fear that the beet-sugar industry might possibly be injured, and that the Sugar Trust might possibly reap some benefit as a result of the proposed legislation, was so skilfully manipulated, so cunningly fostered, and so persistently and vigorously reiterated, that the main question was practically obscured. Many members took counsel of their fears rather than of their judgment; fear developed into frenzy; suspicion usurped the province of fact; prejudice was more potent than reason; the well-considered policy of two administrations and an overwhelming sentiment of moral obligation were ignored. Pledges were sought and obtained, until it became apparent that no legislation looking to the relief of Cuba and the extension of our own trade was possible, except such as might be dictated by the Opposition for party advantage without reference to the interests of Cuba or ourselves. The President, in a special message, endeavored to call back the attention of the Congress to the real issue, but without effect, and so Congress adjourned with nothing done.

Meantime, notwithstanding the assertions of the beet-sugar representatives that Cuba was in no need, there is serious financial depression there. How acute it will become, time only can demonstrate. But, worse than financial depression or distress, there has grown up in the minds of the people of Cuba a feeling that the United States has deliberately determined not to keep faith with them. Economic disturbance in a country just starting on the experiment of self-government, with little experience

in that line, is bad enough; but a settled belief on the part of its people that a nation upon which they have placed their reliance has tricked them, is more sadly to be deplored. The people of Cuba will scarcely understand that the few representatives who have been able temporarily to thwart the will of the people of the United States, do not represent its real sentiment. The respect of Cuba can only be regained when the people of the United States shall have once more passed upon this question, and demonstrated that our real purpose is thwarted only for the time being, and that our "plain duty" is yet to be thoroughly and generously performed. Friends of Cuba in the United States have appealed from the mistaken sentiment of a few of its legislators to the American people. That the appeal will not be in vain there are many hopeful signs. There is such a thing as public conscience in this country, and when once aroused it is all-powerful. The Republican conventions of those States from which objections to this legislation were most strongly urged, have shown, by resolutions adopted by them, that even in those States the heart of the people is right. Wherever our true-hearted and courageous President speaks for justice to Cuba and the performance of national obligation, the people respond as to no other sentiment which he utters. It will only need a re-assembling of Congress to demonstrate that our policy with regard to Cuba is not to be finally obstructed by groundless fear or senseless prejudice; that our plighted faith is to be observed; that the United States is still to be the generous friend, the strong protector and unselfish guardian of the Cuban people; that the republic of Cuba is to be permanently maintained; that the pledge of the United States is not to be violated, either in letter or in spirit; that no movement for the annexation of Cuba is to be started or supported here; but that, as time goes on, Cuba, free and independent, guided and aided by us in the realization of her dream of liberty, will continue and remain an object lesson to all nations of the high purpose and noble action of the United States.

O. H. PLATT.

LORD SALISBURY.

BY SYDNEY BROOKS.

LORD SALISBURY was the first British Minister of the nineteenth century to combine the office of Premier with that of Foreign Secretary. The Prime Minister, it may be as well to remind American readers, has no legal position in England. He is the man commanded by the Sovereign to carry on the government, but the command brings with it neither title nor office. He is therefore obliged to legalize his status and qualify for the service of the Crown by accepting some office known to the Constitution. As a rule, Prime Ministers have contented themselves with one of those numerous posts, like that of First Lord of the Treasury or Lord Privy Seal, of which the honor is great and the duties merely nominal. It was thought something extraordinary, and another proof of his demoniacal love of work, when Mr. Gladstone added the Chancellorship of the Exchequer to the exacting duties of the Premiership. But Lord Salisbury went even further. He undertook the control of what is beyond all comparison the most burdensome and responsible post in the gift of the Sovereign. The mere routine business of the Foreign Office—the interviews with ambassadors, the reading of the dispatches that flow in at the rate of a thousand a week, the forwarding of instructions to British representatives abroad—is enough, on Lord Rosebery's testimony, to keep a busy man fully employed fifteen hours out of the twenty-four. Add to this that much of the work—all the important work, in fact—must be done by the Foreign Secretary himself and cannot be delegated either to his Under-Secretary or the permanent officials; that, more than the chief of any other department, he has a personal grip on the direction of affairs, acts largely on his own responsibility and relies on his own clearness of head, good temper and knowl-

edge of the subject; add, further, a consciousness of the immensity of the interests he represents and of the world-wide dangers a single hasty word or the slightest false move may involve, as well as, somewhere at the back of his mind, a haunting wonder of what the people will think of it all; and it would be hard to conceive a more nerve-straining post than that of British Foreign Secretary.

Nor are the duties of a Prime Minister, when properly grasped and carried out, much less absorbing. The functions of a Prime Minister under the British system are not only to dispense a certain amount of ecclesiastical patronage and act as a sort of intermediary between the Sovereign and the people and originate and expound the government's policy, but also to play the rôle of an active managing director in the Cabinet councils. This last, indeed, is his most important duty. The ideal Premier, in the current argot of English politics, should be "the foreman of his gang." His business is to keep all the threads of administration in his own hands; to supervise, without intruding on, the work of his colleagues in the Cabinet; to let nothing of any great significance happen in any department without his being informed of it, and generally "to pass up and down the line, as it were," giving to each worker the stimulus or corrective that only detached outside criticism can supply. That such an ideal is not impracticable was shown by that model administrator, Sir Robert Peel. Sir Robert made it a rule to give audience to each important member of his Cabinet every day. In this way he not only kept all his men up to their work, but knew exactly what each was doing. He shared in their responsibility, as a Prime Minister should, and they benefited by his general counsel and superintendence. Sir Robert's common-sense in such matters almost reached genius. He knew to a nicety where the line should be drawn, and, while he never degenerated into the fussy busybody, frittering away his talents on small details, he always contrived to be himself the final arbiter on all cardinal points of policy. The consequence was that the machinery of government ran with a smoothness and success that no other régime has even approached.

I cannot help sympathizing with the remark of a very observant French critic, M. Augustin Filon, that to write of Lord Salisbury one needs simply the commonest intelligence and one particular sort of courage—the courage to go on saying all the

commonplace things that have been said a thousand times already. Lord Salisbury has been on the stage of public affairs for now nearly fifty years, and always in the foreground. He has been canvassed from all possible standpoints and analyzed down to the last corpuscle. One cannot hope at this time of day to add anything to the volume of criticism that has gathered round his commanding figure, or discover a phase of his personality or an action of his career not already explored and dissected. But one may, as a sort of comment on the commentators, permissibly wonder that so many able pens should have so largely failed to rouse popular interest in him, and altogether failed to impress any firm image of his character on the public mind. For this is undeniably the case. Americans who insist on having the limelight on their statesmen from the breakfast table to the council room, can hardly conceive how few Englishmen know anything or even care to know anything about Lord Salisbury. The feeling of the bulk of the nation, I should judge, was that of almost supreme confidence in him as a statesman, tinctured with a quite frank indifference as to what manner of man he might be in private life. His habits of reserve and seclusion seemed to have killed popular interest in his personality. I am not in the least regretting this; a statesman who in these days can direct an empire and yet make no parade of himself or his private life or give a single opening to the inquisitiveness of the "incorrigible mob," is a phenomenon rare enough to be doubly attractive, and not less rare in England than in other countries. There are English statesmen to-day whom the common people feel they know through and through, whose intimate doings they follow with the closest curiosity and in whose presence they are comfortably at ease. Sir William Harcourt is such an one; Mr. Chamberlain is another; even Lord Rosebery, a far more many-sided and elusive character, the public has some inkling of; but the Marquis of Salisbury dwelt seemingly in a world of his own, remote from theirs and beyond their speculation. He never was and never could be a popular idol, as Lord Palmerston was. He had none of those little arts and graces that endear a man to the multitude. He did absolutely nothing that Englishmen like their leaders to do. He was not a golfer, like his nephew, nor a sportsman like Lord Rosebery, nor an orchid grower like Mr. Chamberlain. His pet hobby of which rumor has gone abroad—electrical engineering—is not of the sort

to kindle much general enthusiasm. Lord Salisbury filling Hatfield House with electric light was always a poor electioneering card to play against the appealing figure of Mr. Gladstone cutting down trees in the grounds of Hawarden Castle. And this, no doubt, was just as Lord Salisbury or any other man of sense would have it. From the lonely, self-sufficing life he led, apart from his colleagues, apart from society, the veil was never lifted. Platform oratory was his abomination. His position forced him now and then to yield to the demand for speeches, and he went through with his part vigorously and always ably, but his heart most plainly was not in his work. As a rule when he had anything to say that could no longer be kept to himself, he was content to address the nation from his seat in the House of Lords.

All this was a severe damper on popular enthusiasm. Lord Salisbury stood forth a towering, unadorned pillar of sound Tory principles, conspicuous to the nations; to be admired or not, as you please; but in either case to be judged simply for what it was, and not for its adventitious trappings. The average man in any country cares a good deal more for politicians than for politics; and this chilling simplicity of carriage does not attract him. No one ever thought of hanging round the Foreign Office on the off chance of being able to cheer Lord Salisbury as he got into his brougham. On the other hand, no one ever hated him enough to mob him in the streets, as some twenty-five years ago Mr. Gladstone was mobbed by a crowd of boisterous jingoes. Mr. Gladstone was perpetually the mark of passionate admiration or passionate dislike. You could not be neutral on the subject of Gladstone. But passion of any kind never entered into any one's estimate of Lord Salisbury. It was so obvious that he did not care what was thought of him that no one took the trouble to get angry. The stiffest Radical would applaud his foreign policy—was it not Mr. Labouchere who claimed that Lord Salisbury and himself were the only genuine Little Englanders in Parliament?—and think him nothing worse than an indispensable joke in domestic affairs. When they called him "a feudal baron," or "a capital fossil" or "an Elizabethan relic," their ferocity was exhausted. And this reticence was not due to any corresponding bashfulness on Lord Salisbury's part. It was not one of his characteristics to soften down the rigidity of his political principles or modify his caustic criticisms of what he disliked in order

to conciliate an opponent. He took, too, a most human pleasure in invective, "not being," to quote Disraeli's comment of twenty-five years ago, "a man who measures his phrases." The almost ferocious cleverness of some of his personal attacks on adversaries used to be one of England's most delightful annual scandals; and his tongue can still on occasion be as vitriolic as in the days when he compared Mr. Gladstone's policy to that of a pettifogging attorney, and apologized in the House next day most handsomely —to the attorneys. The real reason of the neutrality and colorlessness of the general attitude towards him was that he did not care one atom whether he was popular or unpopular. He made not the slightest effort to catch the applause of the many-headed; their approval did not inspirit him, for he knew it to be uninstructed; their disapproval did not disconcert him. What the people might be saying or thinking of him he had schooled himself to regard as a matter of complete, sarcastic indifference. He had possibly some of the disdain of his Elizabethan ancestors for "persons who live in small houses." He certainly had all the contempt of a man of strong intellectual qualities for the ignorance of the multitude. Somebody once said of Mr. Gladstone, "Ah, Oxford on the surface, *but* Liverpool below." Lord Salisbury was Oxford above, below and all through. Indeed, as it showed itself to the world, the essence of his character is the two-fold pride which Oxford most inculcates—the pride of birth and the pride of brain. And this, while it made him impatient of dulness and apt at times to treat stupidity as a sort of crime, while it goaded him now and then into a position or utterance not easily distinguishable from intellectual Pharisaism, had always the virtue of raising him above the clamor of the hour and accustoming him to prefer his own deliberate opinion to the uninformed and irresponsible advice of the multitude. And that is the hall-mark of strong statesmanship.

This strength to pick out a line of his own and hold to it has always been Lord Salisbury's "note." The second son of a marquis, with no reasonable prospect of succeeding to the family title and estates, he had need of some such quality to disentangle himself from a position which has led many a weaker man into a life of idle discontent. He was educated at those two famous seminaries of English statesmanship, Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. He left the 'varsity without presenting himself for a degree, and

made a tour of the colonies at a time when to have been in Canada and New Zealand and Australia was to have "travelled." He married early, and notoriously against his father's wishes. The young couple, left for a while without means, set themselves to live by work like any other professionals. It is not mere fancifulness to attribute at least part of his sense of the needs and sufferings of democracy to the days when he was one of the ablest and most vivacious of the regular contributors to the *Saturday Review* and *Quarterly*. In 1853, being then in his twenty-third year, he entered the House of Commons as M. P. for Stamford, a Lincolnshire borough, practically in the gift of his family. The Conservative party, still rent by the shock of the Free Trade movement, gave a capital opening to a capable and earnest politician, and Lord Robert Cecil quickly won his spurs. I do not propose to go over the details of his political career. They are to be found set forth with a quite extraordinary detachment of mind in Mr. H. D. Traill's volume in the "Queen's Prime Ministers" series. But one or two of the more conspicuous incidents should be touched on. It is, for instance, worth noting that in one of his earliest speeches he criticised the closing of the Black Sea to the Russian flag of war—that impossible prohibition which survived his strictures hardly twenty years. It is also worth noting that he supported the claims of the two Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia to effect the union denied to them by the treaty of 1856—thus anticipating by two decades the arguments in which he defended the emancipation of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia from Ottoman rule. There are some, too, who think that in introducing, as he did in 1857, a bill to amend the procedure of elections by substituting a voting-paper system—bringing the poll to the elector instead of the elector to the poll—Lord Salisbury showed equal prescience in forecasting the future. He came early to his beliefs, and can hardly be said to have parted with any of them; and this curious consistency of thought and policy, which in a smaller man might be mere petulant stubbornness, is in Lord Salisbury but another sign of that reasoned devotion to the few essential principles of statesmanship that is the touchstone of his whole career. We find him while still in the twenties opposing the total abolition of church rates as he would oppose it now. We find him thirty odd years ago confessing in the House of Commons that the sentiment in favor of an Established

Church "still exercises a hold over me which I regard as sacred." If Lord Salisbury were to say the same thing to-morrow, not a critic could point to a single action or utterance in the interval of these three decades that would vitiate his right to repeat in 1902 the expression of 1868. We find him in 1869, when the deaths of his elder brother and father had transferred him to the House of Lords as Marquis of Salisbury, bringing in a bill to enact that any measure which had passed one House might, subject to the assent of the Crown and the two Houses, be considered by the other House in the ensuing session. By the present arrangement bills are obliged to pass both Houses in the same session, and much valuable legislation is thereby lost. When the methods of transacting public business are revolutionized along practical lines, as they assuredly will be, Lord Salisbury's plan will not be forgotten. We find him, once more, supporting Lord Russell's bill to create life peers with the object of strengthening the upper House by an infusion of a more purely business element, and twenty years later proposing a bill to the same effect himself. We find him setting his face like a flint against the absurd Public Worship Bill of '73, just as he refused later to interfere with the Bishops' handling of the Ritualistic agitation.

It was this steadiness of conviction, animating his instinctive and unfaltering Toryism, that gave Lord Salisbury his hold over the country and the party he led. In all his speeches you find what you do not find in Mr. Gladstone's speeches, the presence of a fundamental motive, a settled and rational consistency. The student who searches Mr. Gladstone's orations for the principles and intellectual mainspring of Liberal policy will assuredly be disappointed; for Mr. Gladstone's mind worked in flashes along the surface of things; he was destitute of the restraining guidance of a coherent political creed; his enthusiasm was all for projects, not for principles But from Lord Salisbury's speeches one could easily compile a luminous and authoritative Conservative text-book. He hardly touched a detail without showing its relation to the whole, without lighting it up with those far-reaching speculations, those sudden openings of long vistas of thought that mark the master-mind in politics; and it is just this cohesion of thought and policy that made him the greatest Conservative since Burke. Toryism is not with him a passive belief, a mere decoration to the marquisate. He has an intellectual passion for

it; he has rigorously convinced himself of its efficacy. Early in his career he broke away from his party and sacrificed the Indian Secretaryship—his first office and opening chance of brilliant distinction, which he was as brilliantly seizing—sooner than deny one particle of his faith. He fought down to the last ditch, almost single-handed, and against the very men who should have sided with him, the final battle of the old order of Conservatism. That was on the memorable occasion when Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, after turning out their opponents for proposing a mild measure or reform, "dished the Whigs" by bringing in another that went infinitely further. Lord Salisbury probably did not then imagine that he himself would live to be the bulwark of the new order, and that under his guidance Conservatism was to regain all and more than all it had lost, take on a fresh spirit of activity and usefulness and in its revivified form become the dominant creed of the country. Lord Salisbury was continually described by his detractors as an "Elizabethan." If by that it is meant that he had an intellectual inclination towards a semi-autocratic system, based on a limited suffrage and gathering to it such counsellors as his ancestor, Lord Burleigh, they are probably right. One may easily understand that his clear-sightedness rebelled against the modern ministerial necessity of having to explain things to a lot of people who are quite unable to profit by the explanation and would far rather be watching a football match. In that sense "the modern spirit" was not in him.

But no one accepted more fully and with less reserve the inconveniences of popular government. His attitude towards democracy seemed to be that of a determination to make the best of regrettable facts. He acknowledged its advent to power as a man of science and good sense, but without foregoing his belief in the right of the few to rule the many, and without appearing to derive the smallest inspiration or comfort from its backing. At the same time, he would probably have agreed that "the rule of the people" is a bubble that bursts in the hands of the man bold enough to grasp it. It is indeed very easy to underrate the humility of King Demos. He knows well enough his final incapacity for the work of government, and will admit it once it is firmly charged upon him. He was wild for political rights so long as they were withheld, but now that he has them his disposition is still as malleable as ever, and the need of ninety-nine men

out of a hundred to be strongly governed just as great. The tremendous revival of the monarchical idea during the last thirty years all over the world—of which "bossism" is the American reflection—is at once a proof of King Demos's weariness with his new plaything and a hint of the reward that awaits the statesman who has the sense to stand up to him, snatch the ferrule out of his hand and place him on the pupil's form. The one defect in Lord Salisbury's adjustment between the theoretical omnipotence of democracy and the actual rulership of such men as himself is that it was too negative. His general attitude towards the vaporings of the populace, whether they chanced to be favorable or adverse to the business he had in hand, was one of disregard. But, whether from sheer intellectual scorn for "the plain, dull man," or from a horror of display or from a sort of lingering suspiciousness, he did not come boldly forward, as he might have done, to *coerce* the confidence of the people. From whatever cause there was noticeable a lack of driving-power in his leadership; and it is this, really, that gave color to the accusation of his being "unsympathetic." He preferred trudging along his path, unmindful of criticism and trusting to time to prove him right, rather than taking the trouble of stopping to explain at once whither he was going and why he chose that particular route. Walter Bagehot, in one of his essays, foreshadowed the inner feelings of a man of the Salisbury temperament on getting up to speak in public. "What is the use," he says to himself, "of talking to these people? They are very well as they are; they believe what they have been brought up to believe, and I shall only bore myself and them if I talk platitudes and only disturb and unsettle them if I talk anything else. Look at that bald-headed man in spectacles. How can one argue with bald-headed men in spectacles? What does he know about foreign politics or anything else? Much better leave him alone and not confuse his mind with a lot of outlandish names." There was always a suspicion that some such critical scepticism was moving at the back of Lord Salisbury's mind; and the suspicion had its share in creating a gulf between him and the people and robbing his leadership of some of its due influence. On the other hand he was untiring in educating his party up to the opportunities of their new position, and especially in claiming for the House of Lords its proper weight as an integral part of the constitution and a thoroughly repre-

sentative chamber. Under his auspices Conservatism has ceased to be a policy of mere resistance. It has developed a surprising constructive ability, broadened out into the field of "social legislation," and so effectually knit class with class that the temptation to tamper with the constitution has vanished, and the House of Lords and the Established Church have been saved from attack for another generation at least.

It is only within the last twenty years that Lord Salisbury has built up that largeness of authority from which alone such results could flow. It took people a long while to get over his disquieting reputation for maladroit sarcasm, and the half-mocking, half-impetuous asperity that broke through his harsh reserve. "A great master of gibes and flouts and jeers," said Disraeli of his colleague, adding thereto that his invective lacked "finish." The finish that it lacked was not that of artistic or literary completeness; nothing could well exceed the mordant polish of some of Lord Salisbury's ventures in the gentle art; the defect came rather from a failure to gauge the temper of his audience. The "pettifogging attorney" incident is the stock example of his inability to refrain from pushing a point too far; and at the time when it happened it was no uncommon thing for Lord Robert Cecil to be invited "to reconsider the vocabulary in which he has addressed the House." Only four years ago Lord Salisbury publicly jeered at Spain as "a dying nation," and seemed on one occasion to liken the Irish to Hottentots and on another laughed unmercifully at the electors of Central Finsbury for sending a Parsee, whom he described as "a black man," to represent them in Parliament. A certain very general mistrust of him, as a man of great parts who would not be disciplined, grew out of these indiscretions and did not wholly die away until about the middle of his first Premiership. It was, for instance, the popular belief that Disraeli took him to the Berlin Congress because he did not dare to leave him at home. When he represented England as plenipotentiary at the Constantinople conference of 1876, the *raison d'être* of which was the prevention of war between Turkey and Russia, the opinion of the man in the street was that the government had made a very hazardous choice. Some said that he would fail, others that he would be the mere dupe of Russia, others that he would exceed his instructions, and that there would be no holding him in. It is true he did fail, not from any fault of tem-

per, but simply because success was impossible. Nevertheless, the sense of insecurity provoked by his too reckless excursions in debate, the cordon of mistrust which hedged him round, was not really broken into till Lord Derby's curious failing of nerve when the cabinet seemed on the brink of war with Russia translated Lord Salisbury to the Foreign Office. Within twenty-four hours the new Secretary had launched the vigorous and most capable circular that ultimately forced Russia to submit the Treaty of San Stefano to European verdict. That was an achievement of incalculable value, and the country gladly recognized the nerve and comprehensive judgment that brought it about. Nevertheless, a single incident was enough to revive the old doubts. On the eve of the Berlin Congress a London paper printed what purported to be the *précis* of a secret agreement reached between the British and Russian governments. Questioned as to its accuracy, Lord Salisbury described it as "wholly unauthentic and not deserving of the confidence of your lordships' House." It turned out that the journal was correct in every particular, and the moral sense of England was gravely, though I think very foolishly, shocked to find that a great English nobleman could condescend to such diplomatic arts. Lord Salisbury, it was said, had developed an Italian cast of mind, had fallen under the spell of Disraelian trickery and ambiguity, and forfeited his high reputation for holding fast to principle at any cost. The question lies, of course, quite outside the realm of private ethics, and may be argued indefinitely. The Radicals made a great deal of it, far too much of it in my opinion, and in the long run the common sense of the people revolted against their efforts to enrich the vocabulary of politics with the phrase "to tell a Salisbury." But I think the incident had its share in prolonging the vacancy left by Lord Beaconsfield's death. The mantle fell eventually on the shoulders best fitted to wear it, but only after an interval of not very complimentary hesitation.

I have left myself little space to deal with Lord Salisbury as Foreign Secretary. The keynote of his conduct of that office was a large and luminous patience. As the last surviving actor in the heroic drama of the Berlin Congress, he had a prestige of authority and experience in the chancelleries of Europe such perhaps as no statesman in the world can now call his own. To that reflex and half-inherited advantage he added the reputation of

being a man who never loses his head, who had schooled himself not to expect too much, who was always open to bargain in a spirit of good feeling and common-sense, and instinctively preferred the middle part of moderation and compromise. From Little Englandism he was as far removed as from the monopolizing spirit of advanced Jingoism. No one had a keener sense of England's position and responsibilities, yet no one warned his countrymen more often or more impressively against the dangers of undigested empire. It is this perfect sanity and detachment of outlook that made England repair to him as to an oracle, whose calm, sagacious utterances had the impersonal quality that only the highest statesmanship can command. The utterances, it is true, were occasionally disappointing. After the black week of December, 1899, when the British met with three severe defeats in less than six days, and the people were looking for some word of comfort from their leaders or at least some acknowledgment of past mistakes and promise of future reform, it was, to say the least, disconcerting to find Lord Salisbury languidly complaining that the British constitution was not a good fighting machine. That time he missed the mark, but there have been moments when his knack of taking fanciful views of the gravest situation brought an explosion of reassuring laughter; as when, for instance, he argued that the popular fear of a Russian invasion of India was simply due to the use of small maps. Lord Salisbury's talent for sweeping aside irrelevant details and holding fast to the few central facts was never perhaps seen more clearly than in his Chinese policy. The future will do justice to that, just as we of the present day do justice to his handling of British interests in Africa—Zanzibar, Uganda, Mashonaland, the reconquest of the Soudan, the safeguarding of the Nile and Niger and the quietus placed on foreign interference in South Africa are monuments enough for one man —to his masterly rescue of Crete, and his attitude during the Spanish-American war. So quietly and with so complete an absence of self-advertisement were these triumphs accomplished that people hardly realize Lord Salisbury's share in them. They came, indeed, to look upon him rather as a force than a personality, as a something in the background, very cool and unhurried and grim and wise, that managed somehow to direct the foreign affairs of the country with dignity and credit.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

BRITISH PREFERENTIAL TRADE AND IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

BY JOHN CHARLTON, M. P., MEMBER OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN JOINT HIGH COMMISSION.

For several years the question of Preferential Trade within the bounds of the British Empire has received attention from public men in Great Britain and in the Colonies. For a few months past, it has been prominent, and discussions in the press and in the Imperial and Colonial Parliaments have led up to a practical consideration of it, and of the question of Imperial Defence, at a Conference of the Colonial Premiers and Imperial Authorities, which was called to meet in London in connection with the Coronation ceremonies. This Conference is, as I write, in session, and the outcome of its deliberations will be known officially, when the Parliaments of the self-governing Colonies again convene.

That widely divergent views prevail as to the features of the Preferential Trade policy is certain. Each one of the Colonies will have its own particular views to urge, while the Imperial authorities will, in all probability, stand strongly for the extension of the free trade principle to all parts of the Empire. The character of negotiations as to the position of the Dominion of Canada in trade arrangements with the home government, is of more interest to Americans than that of the other Colonies. Canada desires preferential entry into the markets of Great Britain for her wheat, flour, oatmeal, animal products, lumber, mine products, and fish; and she desires this preferential treatment without surrendering the essential features of her own tariff policy, which is a moderately protective one. She would readily grant to Great Britain preferential treatment to a greater extent than at present, but she would probably decline to permit this

preference to reach a point that would threaten her own industries established under the moderate protection inaugurated in 1878. It may be assumed with confidence that neither Canada nor Australia can accept absolute free trade with Great Britain. The dream of certain classes in these Colonies is that preference, to an extent that would give them material advantage in the British markets over foreign countries, can be obtained, while they will be allowed to retain the distinctive features of their own policy at present in force.

Imperialistic sentiment unquestionably prompts to a movement for a zollverein within the Empire, based substantially upon the present conditions of the British tariff. It is measurably certain that any broad scheme of preferential trade which falls short of this will not be accepted by British statesmen, and it is doubtful whether even the proposition for a zollverein within the Empire, accompanied by duties which would discriminate sharply against foreign countries, and would naturally invite tariff retaliation from such countries, would be accepted by the Government of Great Britain.

A scrutiny of the British Trade returns for 1901 will show why this policy will probably be rejected. The import and export trade of Great Britain for the fiscal year 1901, stated in dollars (one pound sterling being counted as equal to five dollars), was as follows:

BRITISH EXPORTS, 1901.

Total British Exports	$1,739,321,000
British Exports to Canada, as per Canadian returns	43,018,000
British Exports to all British Colonial Possessions and Protectorates	565,591,000
British Exports to Foreign Countries	1,173,729,000
Percentage of Exports to Canada	2½ per cent.
Percentage of Exports to Colonial Possessions	32½ per cent.
Percentage of Exports to Foreign Countries	67½ per cent.

BRITISH IMPORTS, 1901.

Total Imports	$2,609,950,000
Imports from Canada, as per Canadian returns	105,328,000
Imports from all British Colonial Possessions and Protectorates	527,868,000
Imports from Foreign Countries	2,082,082,000
Percentage of Imports from Canada	4 per cent.
Percentage of Imports from all Colonial Possessions	20¼ per cent.
Percentage of Imports from Foreign Countries	79¾ per cent.

The portion of this trade which Great Britain would most naturally desire to retain, and would be most reluctant to imperil,

is the export trade. The percentage of total exports to Canada in 1901 was 2½ per cent., and to all British Possessions and Protectorates 32½ per cent. Absolute free trade with Canada would not be likely to more than double her proportion of exports, or in other words would not increase it beyond 5 per cent. of the total present amount, and free trade with all the Colonial Possessions would not be likely to increase their trade to more than 50 per cent. of the total amount. England will hesitate long before she will endanger what at the present time is 67½ per cent. of her total export trade, by entering into any preferential arrangement or zollverein with her Colonial Possessions, and it may be reasonably asserted that no such step will be taken. With regard to English imports, Canada at least would not consider a preference of less than 10 per cent. as an inducement of very great importance. A preference of this amount as against the United States, Russia, and other food-export countries, would give to Canada and to the wool-growing and to the mutton and beef raising interests of Australia very important advantages. But this advantage conferred upon the Colonies would cost Great Britain, according to Sir Robert Giffen, a recognized financial and trade authority, an increase of $205,000,000 a year in taxation and enhanced cost of supplies, and an addition of $55,000,000 to the cost of Colonial goods to the British consumer, while the Colonies would pay only $17,500,000 in increased taxation.

The moderate taxation upon food stuffs recently imposed as a war measure by the British Government, which amounts to less than four per cent. *ad valorem,* is unpopular in England, and a significant indication of public feeling has been given in the only bye-election held since the imposition of this tax, when a constituency which gave a Conservative majority of 849 in the last general election returned a Liberal in the bye-election in May, by a majority of 414. No taxation can be so unpopular in Great Britain as a tax upon food. The Corn Laws were a subject of great agitation in the early part of the century, and were swept away before a storm of public indignation in 1846. The white heat of that contest would again be aroused by the imposition of a bread tax. Great Britain is pre-eminently a manufacturing and commercial nation. Her agricultural interests are of minor importance. In the sharp competition between her own manufacturers and those of Germany and the United States, which is

growing more acute every year, the command of raw products at the lowest possible cost is a necessity, for without this England cannot successfully maintain her struggle for the leading position in the open markets of the world. Food is a raw product. Increase in its price means increase in cost of manufacture, and the manufacturing and commercial interests of England cannot and will not consent to an increase caused by import duties.

The political parties in Canada differ in the attitude they respectively take with regard to Imperial Preferential Trade. The Conservative Party has dwelt upon the importance of securing Preferential Trade in the British markets, and has asserted the practicability of obtaining this concession, and at the same time it has belittled the importance of reciprocal trade arrangements with the United States. The Liberal Party, which came into power in 1896, has always desired broader trade relations with the United States, and has entertained doubts as to the practicability of securing any such preferential treatment in the British market as the Conservatives thought procurable. The Liberal Party, when it came into power, was pledged to a reduction of the tariff. It was speedily found that promises made in opposition might be difficult of fulfilment when in power, and the only material step taken in the direction of the fulfilment of these promises was to grant a preference to goods of British manufacture. This preference was at first 12½ per cent., then it was increased to 25 per cent., and for the last two years it has been 33 1-3 per cent. The increase to 33 1-3 per cent. has proved to be disadvantageous to the woollen interests and some other manufacturing interests of Canada, and these manufacturing interests object not only to the increase of preferential duties from 12½ per cent., but to the application of the principle of preference at all, except in return for corresponding advantages granted by the British Government to Canada, which is an eminently reasonable position. Canada, at the present moment, occupies exactly the same position with regard to the entry of her products into the British markets as is occupied by the United States and all other countries. She has no preference in the British market whatever, while she gives British manufactures the preference above mentioned. When moderate duties were recently imposed upon grain by the British Parliament—amounting to threepence per cwt. upon wheat, and fivepence per cwt. upon flour—it was sup-

posed that Canada, in return for the preference of 33 1-3 per cent., would be relieved from the operation of this taxation upon her grain products. This supposition was ill founded, and no recognition of Canada's preference was deigned by the British Government. The result has been a slight soreness of feeling, which could easily be made more acute by injudicious action in the future on the part of the Imperial Government.

The marked manifestation of Imperialistic sentiment in Canada at the present moment is due to several causes. During the period when the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 was in force, extending from that date to 1866, the trend of public sentiment in Canada was towards sympathetic feeling and community of interests with the United States. Canadian trade was chiefly with the United States. Canadian exports of farm products to the United States were to some extent included in the exports from that country to Europe. The direct exports from Canada to Great Britain were very light, and the United States, while acting as Canada's factor, assumed that the passing of the products of our farms through her avenues of communication to her seaports for shipment, was a cause of interference with the markets of her own products for domestic consumption. Canada was anxious to renew the Reciprocity Treaty, and was ready to propose modified conditions which would admit a considerable list of manufactures free. All propositions were dismissed by the American Government with scant courtesy. Had the Reciprocity Treaty been permitted to remain in force its influence upon the destinies of both countries would have been in the highest degree advantageous to each. The United States would have attained much more complete ascendency for her manufactures in the Canadian market than she now enjoys, and the Canadian farm products and lumber which would have come into the markets of the United States for consumption would have borne so small a proportion to the products of that country as to have produced no effect, or a most insignificant one, upon prices. At the same time, the importation of wheat, flour, cheese, and all other articles of which both countries had a surplus for exportation, whose prices were governed by the prices received abroad, would have had no material influence upon the interests of either, except in so far as United States routes of transportation would have carried Canadian products and United States merchants would have handled

them, while Canada would have had the advantage of the competition of American buyers in her own markets for her farm products exported to Europe.

The Reciprocity Treaty was abrogated. The drift towards closer trade, and social and political relations, was arrested. The United States adopted a severely repressive policy towards Canada. Probably one of the reasons was the belief that that policy would force Canada into annexation. At first, the belief in Canada was that the American market was essential to us, and this belief would have continued, and have made it our chief market up to the present time, if the United States policy had not interposed and rendered it impossible. Thirty-five years have passed away. Canada has smarted during that time under the sense of unfair treatment. She has been compelled to seek other outlets for her products. She has found them. Her sales of farm products to England last year were eight times as much as to the United States. Her people have nearly lost sight of the fact that the American market would be advantageous to them. With this broadening of relations, and drawing closer of the ties that bind Canada to the Mother Country, has naturally come a marked development of Imperialistic feeling.

Here, then, are two reasons for the growth of Imperialistic sentiment—the shrivelling of our export trade to the United States, and the enormous expansion of our export trade to Great Britain. To these two reasons another one of much potency has been added. Nearly three years ago, England entered upon a struggle in South Africa for the maintenance of her Empire upon that continent. While Canada had small direct interest in the question, so far as her trade with South Africa was concerned, she felt instinctively that the British Empire was passing through a crisis, that the loss of British possessions in South Africa would mean loss of prestige and indefinite disaster. She felt the necessity of preserving the great market which absorbed four-fifths of her farm products; and, acting upon instinct rather than upon deliberate calculation, she reached forth a hand to aid the Mother Land. She sent her sons to the battle-field. She contributed large sums of money. In due time, her soldiers in the field displayed a degree of gallantry which received recognition from the Imperial authorities, and from the military critics of the world at large. Over this agreeable page in her history,

the country naturally went wild with delight, and the tide of Imperialism rose rapid and strong, a movement which was unfortunately accompanied by an increase in the spirit of militarism. Thus the Imperialistic spirit has been developed, and the United States has unconsciously offered all the assistance that lay in her power to produce this result.

But, notwithstanding the pronounced development of this feeling in Canada, and in Australia and New Zealand as well, a zollverein within the Empire based upon absolute free trade may reasonably be considered an impossibility now. Canada would cheerfully offer substantial preference to Great Britain, but cannot reach the limit of absolute free trade. Still, matters move in that direction. One of the great obstacles to this arrangement confronting Canada at present, would be the loss of revenue. With the rapid settlement of her great Northwest and the natural development of a feeling in favor of cheaper manufactures in that great region which will soon hold the balance of political power in Canada, the wishes of the manufacturing interests in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec may in the future be overborne, and free trade within the Empire may be an attainable result within the near future. Meanwhile the United States still continues a fatuitous trade policy towards Canada.

Absolute free trade between all the States of the American Union, since the adoption of the Constitution, has been productive of results unmixed in the slightest degree with anything to the detriment of the country or any section of it. This policy extended to the Provinces of the Dominion would produce similar results. It cannot of course be extended to these Provinces in its entirety, and dwelling under one form of Government cannot be one of the features of this arrangement. Canada must of necessity retain a moderate revenue tariff to meet revenue wants; but the nearest possible approach to the condition existing between the various States of the American Union in the arrangement of the trade relations between the United States and Canada is desirable and necessary. Canada would find in the United States, under an arrangement opening the markets of each country reciprocally to natural products from the other, a market for a great variety of the products of her soil, forests, mines, and fisheries. The United States, on the other hand, would find an enormous market in Canada for farm products. At the present

moment, Canada imposes duties upon nearly all American food products, except corn; and yet her purchases from the United States of the products of the soil are two and a half times greater than her exports of farm products to that country. With free trade, Oregon, Washington, and California would furnish the vast Canadian region west of the Rocky Mountains with wheat, flour, meats, and other food products. The 1,000,000 inhabitants of the Maritime Provinces, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, would buy their food supplies almost exclusively in American seaboard cities. Ontario and Quebec would largely add to their imports of corn, meats, and other food products, for mining and lumbering operations, and, with the Canadian Northwest, would largely increase the exportation of wheat and other farm products to the United States. The balance of trade between the two countries, in the interchange of the products of the soil for consumption in either country, would be but slightly in favor of the United States; and the tendency to ship the products of Canada through the United States to foreign countries would be greatly increased, because the restrictions of bonding and other Custom-House hindrances would be removed.

Canadian trade with the United States is now on a most unsatisfactory basis, as far as concerns Canada, and the same is true with regard to nearly all foreign countries except Great Britain. The total imports of Canada from the United States in 1901 were $119,306,000, the total exports to the United States $72,382,000, the nominal balance against Canada being $46,924,000. In the statement of exports, however, is embodied $28,331,000 gold and silver coin, nuggets, gold dust, and precious metals; and from the imports from the United States are to be deducted $3,365,000 in coin and bullion, leaving an actual balance of trade against Canada and in favor of the United States, of $71,890,000, and placing the exports of natural products, aside from precious metals, at a figure less than that of 1866. The manufactures imported into Canada from the United States for the year 1901 were $65,559,000, of which $21,941,000 were upon the free list. The importation of manufactures from Great Britain for the same year was $37,270,000, of which $6,906,000 were upon the free list. The United States, it will thus be seen, has the lead on the Canadian market for the sale of manufactures. Canada imported from all the world in 1891, of manufactures, at

least $10,000,000 less than from the United States. Canada gave to the United States in 1901 a free list of $53,449,000, exclusive of coin and bullion, which was 74½ per cent. of her total free list. Embraced in this free list, in addition to $21,941,000 of manufactures, were corn, flax-seed, wool, hides, hemp, broom corn, tobacco leaf, and other farm products to the value of $14,775,000. In return, the United States gave Canada a free list covering nickel matte, sawlogs, and a few minor articles. We would prefer refining the nickel and converting the sawlogs into lumber ourselves. This condition of things, in conjunction with the fact that Canadian producers are practically excluded from the markets of the United States, and so from supplying food for the operatives who produce the goods they buy, is unsatisfactory.

Canadian trade returns with other countries besides the United States are similarly unfavorable, as these tables show:

CANADIAN TRADE WITH GERMANY, 1901.

Imports from	$7,020,000
Exports to	2,141,000
Balance of Trade against Canada	4,879,000
Import percentage of total trade	76 per cent.

CANADIAN TRADE WITH FRANCE, 1901.

Imports from	$5,398,000
Exports to	1,592,000
Balance against Canada	3,806,000
Import percentage of total trade	77 per cent.

CANADIAN TRADE WITH HOLLAND, 1901.

Imports from	$797,462
Exports to	187,378
Balance of Trade against Canada	610,084
Import percentage of total trade	81 per cent.

CANADIAN TRADE WITH SPAIN, 1901.

Imports from	$742,000
Exports to	185,000
Balance of trade against Canada	557,000
Import percentage of total trade	80 per cent.

Contrast these returns with those of Great Britain, for the same year, which are as follows:

CANADIAN TRADE WITH GREAT BRITAIN, 1901.

Imports from	$43,165,000
Exports to	105,018,000
Balance in favor of Canada	61,853,000
Import percentage on total trade	29 per cent.

Is it any wonder that Canada feels satisfied with her trade relations with Great Britain, and dissatisfied with her trade relations with the United States, Germany, and France? The condition of things at present existing as above set forth, the Canadian people will decide, must cease, and if the United States desires that Canada shall enter upon the path that present conditions will irresistibly compel her to traverse, if the present trade policy towards Canada is continued, then some fiscal change of a radical character will inevitably result. Reciprocity in natural products would set different currents of interest in motion, and would bring about the intimate business relations that nature designed between these two great countries. The policy would not have the effect of reducing the prices of farm products in the United States. All well-informed men possessed of accurate information must, in the interest of fraternity, harmony, and the future well-being of these two great peoples, desire to see the United States meet Canada in the adjustment of a new policy, broader, more liberal, and better calculated to promote the interests of the two peoples.

If the present policy of the United States is persisted in, Canada will have no choice but to adjust the difficulty by adopting another kind of Reciprocity Policy—reciprocity of tariffs. Neither self-interest nor self-respect will allow her to permit the present conditions to continue, without a vigorous effort to adjust matters in some way. Free admission of her natural products into the markets of the United States, with admission of natural products of the United States into Canada, would not affect injuriously any interests in the United States. Reciprocity of tariffs so far as her own interests would allow, while it would not affect the interests of the American farmers materially, would affect the interests of the American manufactures, and of the American lumbermen whose Canadian sales amount to nearly $4,000,000 a year; and when the motto "More sales, or less purchases" is acted upon, and a policy is adjusted designed to secure the production in Canada of 75 per cent. of the $65,000,000 of manufactures now imported from the United States, the American manufacturing interests will realize that a greater degree of liberality in the commercial policy of their country might have averted an unfortunate turn of affairs for themselves.

Last session, I introduced into the House of Commons at Ottawa the following motion:

> That this House is of the opinion that Canadian import duties should be arranged upon the principle of reciprocity in trade conditions so far as may be consistent with Canadian interests; that a rebate of not less than 40 per cent. of the amount of duties imposed should be made upon dutiable imports from nations or countries admitting Canadian natural products into their markets free of duty; and that the scale of Canadian duties should be sufficiently high to avoid inflicting injury upon Canadian interests in cases where a rebate of 40 per cent. or more shall be made under the conditions aforesaid.

This motion embodied the principle that, I believe, will in the near future govern the Canadian fiscal policy, in case the United States persists in the retention of duties double our own, has an eye exclusively to the things of its own and not at all to the things of others, and fails to realize that a nation must be permitted to sell if it is expected to continue to buy. This resolution proposes, as will be seen, to readjust the Canadian tariff, to arrange the scale of duties so that the net duty with the 40 per cent. deducted from the maximum rate will afford a reasonable degree of protection, in which case the maximum rate, of course, will afford a tolerably effective degree of protection. Under this arrangement, Great Britain would be entitled to the minimum rate, but the provision would be perfectly impartial in its application to either Germany, France, Spain, Holland, the United States, or any other country which availed itself of the statutory offer extended to all, to share in the minimum rate upon the reciprocally free interchange of natural products. This resolution, of course, means protection of a kind that will protect when applied to countries that do not accept this proposal, and it would either bring free admission of natural products into the markets of other countries, the United States included, or it would bring a rapid and healthy development of our own industrial interests. It is a question whether Canada cannot afford to be quite indifferent as to which would be the result.

With regard to the question of Imperial Defence—by which is meant the imposition of duties to a certain extent throughout the Empire to form a common Imperial Defence Fund—it may be said without hesitation that this proposition is unpopular in Canada. It would receive the unanimous condemnation of the

French-speaking portion of our population, and the condemnation probably of anywhere from three-fifths to two-thirds of the English-speaking population. Canada has great problems to solve, great difficulties to meet, enormous expenditures to make in the near future. She must furnish railway communication to the great Northwest. The present railway facilities are barely sufficient for the movement of the crops of that country, with its 300,000 inhabitants. 2,500,000 acres of wheat will be increased within the next ten years to from 25,000,000 to 50,000,000 acres in crop. The outlay necessary to cope with transportation difficulties will be enormous. Canada will endeavor to take care of herself. She maintains the garrison at the British naval depot of Halifax at the present moment. She can have no particular fear of any war that Great Britain can possibly be engaged in, except one with the United States, and in case of such a war she would need no Imperial Defence compact with Great Britain to induce her to put forth the greatest possible effort. She is not especially interested in the question of British expansion and British conquests in the Eastern Hemisphere, and under the Monroe Doctrine Great Britain is precluded from embarking in military operations for conquest on the Western Continent. With the vast interests of her own future to cope with, and with law, justice, and protection to grant to a boundless region, where a human tide will soon flow in, she has other uses for her taxes than to lay by and add to a fund for Imperial Defence. Were this policy to be entered upon, the tax would soon be felt to be a galling yoke, and the effect upon public sentiment would be to weaken rather than to strengthen Imperial ties. Canada will insist upon retaining in unimpaired integrity her present autonomy, and will reserve to herself the right of initiative and voluntary action in all cases where she is called upon to decide what shall be her attitude to the Imperial Government in case of war.

JOHN CHARLTON.

HENRYK SIENKIEWICZ.

BY COMTE S. C. DE SOISSONS.

ABOUT twenty-five years ago, there began to appear in various Polish magazines and weeklies short stories, signed "Litwos," which were well received both by the critics and by the reading public. In 1876 Litwos visited America, and sent his impressions, full of interest and strange poetry, to a Warsaw daily paper. These were followed by several short stories; the interest in the writer increased; then Litwos cast aside his mask, and the name of Henryk Sienkiewicz became known.

At first, Sienkiewicz wrote only short stories, for such was the fashion then prevailing in France, a fashion set in particular by Guy de Maupassant.

The first story, "Hania," was pretty and sympathetic, but that was all. Its charm lies in the simplicity of its execution, in those happy strokes of the pen, one word from which reproduces distinctly the feelings of the people, their character, and their mutual relations, and gives a charming description of nature. But perhaps the greatest charm lies in the youthfulness of the characters and of the author; for, according to Horace, he only can move us to tears who himself has wept, and the same is true in art; the freshness of youth can only be reproduced by one who is still young, or by one who, despite his age, has not grown old.

Other stories, such as "The Charcoal Sketches," "Janko the Musician," "Memoirs of a Teacher from Posen," "In the New Promised Land," "Across the Prairie," and "The Light-house Keeper," show that simple and even meagre subjects provide the author with tragedies, powerful in the poignancy of their pathos, which move the reader. Sienkiewicz is never lacking in skill, and whether he is describing a voyage in an emigrant ship, the tender, fanciful thoughts of a young girl for her lover, or the

sufferings of the exile and his children, he brings to his aid that keen mastery in the treatment of his subject that forms the distinguishing characteristic of all his best work. His power lies in the simplicity and strength of his conception. In all his stories there is sentiment and higher aspiration, but in none is there the passion of the doctrinaire. The author is before all an artist, who receives and classifies his impressions. He has a liking for pessimism, but that can scarcely be avoided in the present times.

The story "In Tartar Captivity" marks an epoch in Sienkiewicz's literary career. His previous stories, although not one amongst them was like another, justified the apprehension that the author might become a monotonous mannerist. Even in "Janko the Musician," although it was a masterpiece, sentimentality and realism were pushed to the highest degree; a little more of this would have produced affectation and mannerism in conception and style. In "In Tartar Captivity" the author strikes another note, widening the scope of his conceptions, changing the style and background of his story, and showing that it is not difficult for him to avoid the grave danger of mannerism. His former stories were full of poetry, charm, fancy and sentiment, but there was something wanting in them. One could see the author's sympathy with suffering, his indignation at wrong, his noble ideas of love, of honor, of woman and the duties of man towards her; but it was difficult to tell from his stories what kind of character he preferred. After "In Tartar Captivity" was written these doubts and apprehensions disappeared, Sienkiewicz was saved from the danger of repeating himself, of becoming a one-sided sectarian, and he justified the hopes of those who expected him to become the great, the very great, writer he proved himself to be in "By Fire and Sword."

This novel begins well; its color is gloomy, and in it is heard the rumbling of the thunder of a great war. The characters are boldly drawn; they have some chivalrous fancy and dignity. The episodes follow each other rapidly, and are full of interest, movement and life. In that work could be seen the first-fruits of a great talent, and, what is more surprising, a talent quite different from that displayed in the former works of the author. He changed entirely, and he now looked on the world from a lofty height. Such is the impression produced by the opening chapters of this book.

It would take too long to mention all the chapters, or to explain all its beauties. To its artistic merits there must be added the moral importance of the work. Compared with the usual class of novels, almost always weak, and generally harmful by their perversive tendencies, their paradoxical ideas, their daring and apparently deep discussion of social or philosophical themes, and by their immorality, sometimes unwitting, but frequently conscious, proud of itself, cynical, scandalizing and disgusting, compared with such novels, "By Fire and Sword" is as superior in interest and beauty as the sun is in beauty to the gas-light. At the same time it is thoroughly healthy, without any falsehood or evil, so that any mother can give it to her daughter to read, and be sure that her imagination will not be sullied; it is such a good novel that every father should be pleased if his son reads it with enthusiasm, for it will be a proof that to the boy's heart and imagination speaks that which is noble—honor, self-sacrifice, duty, valor, love of country and faith.

Having begun the book, the reader's attention is riveted to it not only by curiosity, but by enthusiasm. The author dominates the reader, and arouses his respect for his work. And when the writer describes skirmishes and battles—Chmielnicki tempting Kshechkowski to become a traitor, Flick perishing with his Germans; when, after the battle of Korsun, there pass by the generals who have been taken prisoners—then the astonished reader feels that he beholds something of which hitherto he has had no idea. When at length a knight, who has been taken prisoner, is brought before the traitor, who holds his death or life in his hands, their conversation seems like the conversation of two nations—as though they realized that history itself, the conscience of centuries, the truth itself, were their judges.

In this novel, Sienkiewicz has created a type of national knights and heroes, without which no literature can be complete. Czarniecki, Zolkiewski and Jan Sobieski, the last of the European knights, bear a far greater resemblance to Godefroi and St. Louis, than to their contemporaries Turenne, Condé and Marlborough; and if search were to be made throughout the whole of Europe for men who fought with such lofty sentiments as those Polish knights, they would only be found in poetry.

Then there is another type, a simple, healthy and great soul in the body of one who was a simple soldier, but who was *sans*

peur et sans reproche, like the Chevalier de Bayard. Skrzetuski is a model of everything noble, great and pure that during all ages has filled the Polish soul; he feels, thinks, suffers, fights, loves, as did the noblest in that nation.

In his former stories, Sienkiewicz frequently showed much original humor and brilliant wit. In "By Fire and Sword" he created a character that must be placed on a level with Sancho-Panza and Falstaff. By his shrewdness, Zagloba reminds us of Sancho-Panza; for his cowardice, his jokes, and his boisterousness he may be compared with Falstaff.

In this novel, it is evident that the author is not only familiar with history, but with old chronicles and memoirs, and that he has also searched manuscripts for information. But what he could not have found in books, the thing he could not have learned anywhere, is the secret of how to write a novel without falsifying history—how to write a series of epic pictures, and at the same time remain true to history, never changing or twisting the facts, which follow each other in the novel in the same order as in history.

From its grand style and character, as well as because of the historical facts introduced into it, this novel is something new, and oversteps the boundaries of historical romance as they have been understood up to the present. In its grand style, it almost resembles an epic poem; whilst, from its historical exactitude, it may be regarded as a higher, more artistic history. Here there is no question of the tedious and stiff exactness that every pedantic historian can possess; the only question is how to retain the true characteristics of the epoch and of the facts, not changing them through fancy, conventional poetry, or tendency. From this point of view, there is not a romance superior to "By Fire and Sword." Sir Walter Scott, the first and perhaps the greatest master of romance, caught the characteristics of an epoch admirably, but he often falsified it by his desire to embellish it. Alexandre Dumas rather plays with than feels history; he is familiar, and reproduces its scandalous and gossipy chronicles rather than its serious side.

The historical and epic character of this romance does not spoil the story, for it develops very interesting situations, and the incidents are so cleverly united one with the other that, after all, the reader is compelled to admire the art of the plot. It

might be said that some of the characters disappear too quickly; that there is no proportion between the powerful manner in which they are drawn, and the secondary rôle they play in the story; and that some of the episodes are too long. Yet, despite this, the further one reads, the more fascinating does the book appear.

"By Fire and Sword" was closely followed by another romance, "The Deluge." In this story, there are plenty of dramatic situations and great historical exactitude; the skirmishes, sorties, and battles are most masterly. The principal character, Kmita, is like a knight taken from Ariosto, or Tasso, performing miracles of valor, animated solely by the great sentiment of patriotism.

Critics objected to Sir Walter Scott's romances on the ground that they were too crowded with secondary characters, and that they contained too many secondary episodes. It does not matter whether this was done purposely, or only through the habit of talkativeness, his books did not lose anything by it, for very frequently shepherds, watchmen, blackguards, pick-pockets, and old women give life to his romances.

The same objection and excuse can be brought forward with regard to Sienkiewicz in his "Deluge," and yet the whole of that romance is most remarkable, the plot being very well conceived, and the connection of episodes maintained throughout the book. The liveliness of the action is such that, even when the narration slackens, there is no slackening of the interest; whilst the execution is so good, that even those parts that might be considered the most feeble could not be better written. Sienkiewicz possesses in the highest degree that artistic capacity called by the Germans "objective," the capacity of looking into another's soul, and of describing indifferently all that he sees within that soul; and he also is endowed with that rare but precious gift of feeling, it might also be said, of compassion, without which no poet or artist can be moved himself, or succeed in moving others. This capacity does not come from the imagination, but from the heart. Sienkiewicz is enthusiastic about all that is noble; he is indignant at all that is wicked, pities those who are unfortunate, despises all that is vile, and it is because we feel that he feels his books that they interest us so greatly.

Sienkiewicz is one of those rare artists who unite a lofty flight and a poetic way of regarding the world with perfect truth, melt-

ing both in his cruset of poetry. Living in an age of realism, he cannot help being influenced by it and being himself a realist; but his realism is very different from the realism that is the result of positive philosophy and deep pessimism. Positive philosophy, the victory of Prussian policy and power in history, have produced that stiff and hopeless realism, that truth without beauty, those pictures, well painted, but without soul or thought, those novels in which there is much intelligent observation, but no fancy; novels which despite the great talent of their authors are only technically good, and are almost always insignificant, empty or repulsive.

In "The Deluge" everything is different from what we find in "By Fire and Sword," except the technique; yet, notwithstanding this difference, there is a certain similarity, and then it is not so powerful as the first of his romances. Sienkiewicz did not allow his fancy enough rest after writing "By Fire and Sword." He knew that his imagination was powerful, abundant, fertile and obedient; he felt that he could rely on it, and he was not disappointed. The author had time to think out and build a plan, to sketch out characters and episodes; but he had no time to wait for the moment in which he could perceive with his mind, and in their proper light, the characters and episodes that he had sketched. Hence some of the episodes are too long, there are too many scenes *de capa y espada,* too many gallant deeds, too many miraculous deliverances. Upon reflection, however, it must be admitted that the drawbacks are more or less the same as in his first romance; but at the same time there are different, although equally great, masterly and incomparable beauties.

Those who are familiar with Homer might say that Sienkiewicz was greatly influenced by that author, not only in his description of fights and battles, but also in repeating the adjectives that he chose for certain of his characters. This, however, is not a serious objection, nor is his evident liking for Dumas; for it is not difficult to understand that a romance writer can learn a great deal through studying by what means the author of "The Three Musketeers" gives life, movement and color to his characters and episodes; and although there is a vast difference between the amusing talker of history and its poet, one can see that the talker may be useful to the poet.

"Pan Michael" closes the historical trilogy, it is the least

strong of the three, and is artistically inferior to "By Fire and Sword" and to "The Deluge."

Having finished this trilogy, Sienkiewicz journeyed to Italy, then to Constantinople, and a year later visited Spain. His fancy was evidently exhausted through long and hard work, and could produce nothing of importance, save some impressions and a few short stories, amongst which are "The Decision of Zeus," "A Country Artist," "Be Blessed," "At the Source," "In Bohemia," and "True to his Art."

In 1891 he visited Egypt, Zanzibar, Bagamojo and the continent between the rivers Uam and Kingan. The result of his travels was a volume called "Letters from Africa."

In 1889 he had written his first psychological novel, "Without Dogma."

In 1893 he went for the summer to the Carpathian Mountains, and there, whilst chatting with his literary friends about Paul Bourget's "Disciple," a work then much read and commented on, he conceived the idea of writing a more important theme-novel called "Children of the Soil."

"Without Dogma" is a novel representing one detail of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, its one pathological side, its one psychological phenomenon and moral problem. There are only a few characters, just as many as were absolutely necessary to spin out a story. The tendency of the story is evident from its title. Without faith, without the capacity for believing, man loses the capacity for love. He would love everything that is good, if he could believe that this good would be of any use to him. As he does not love, he cannot wish for anything; having no wishes he cannot act. And he comes to naught without having brought out anything from within him, even his own happiness, and without having accomplished anything save his own misfortune and the misfortune of those surrounding him. But not every one is utterly incapable of loving; for that, it is necessary to be very stupid and very bad. Consequently, the hero in this novel loves, and the object of his love is unavoidable . . . woman. But not having loved anything or any one before her, he cannot love the woman well, healthily, simply, although he loves her passionately. Thus he brings to naught first the happiness of them both, then their lives, hers first, his afterwards.

Ploshovski, the hero of the novel, is a being morally decom-

posed, as were many in ancient times, as well as in our own days. Everything is disappointing. In what should one believe, what should one love, for what should one live? Some answer these questions by suicide, others by sad philosophical resignation. Pilatus asked: "*Quid est veritas?*" Petronius replies that truth is the enjoyment of life through the senses, lack of suffering, and an abundance of pleasant sensations. In our century there are also many who suffer in the same way. Philosophy taught them that man is only an accidental agglomeration of atoms. God? If He exist, He is at best a great unknown; faith in Him, Christianity in general, is a product of the imagination, like the pagan mythology. Man and humanity, its progress, its tendency to become better, is an illusion. History taught them that it was only the old crimes of the world dressed in new clothes, and that in the whole of so-called progress, the only real thing is material civilization, which has increased the comfort of life and its pleasures. Liberty, in which people believed, and which they loved half a century ago, is bankrupt; in practice it proved to be the right of the stronger, as was formerly the case, only circumstances have changed. Fatherland? Good cause? If it be feeble, it must perish, and no heroic efforts can save it; the only law ruling the world is, "Might before right."

Sienkiewicz noticed all these dangerous symptoms making havoc amongst people, and of them he has built a general type, a kind of ideal man-in-decomposition, and this he did as a warning, as though he would say: Look to what you may come, if you have no will, and no strength, and allow yourselves to be dominated by doubts, if you will not search for that will and strength where you can find it for certain.

It is certain that Goethe in writing "Werther," did not propose to idealize sickly sentimentality, or to encourage suicide. Yet Werther has created a school both in literature and in life. But Goethe's hero possesses at least the charm of true poetry. Sienkiewicz has been more careful; on every page he seems to emphasize the fact that his hero is good for nothing. But it was of no use, such a hero as Ploshovski pleases in our days, and produces hundreds of "monkey-clowns."

And now, what is the artistic value of the book? It seems to me that the story is clever rather than attractive and fascinating. The subject itself was not suitable for great and elevated pictures

of life, as was the case with his historical romances; whilst the form of a diary, in which it was written, made the novel monotonous, although it must be admitted that the author could not have employed any other form. The hero of this novel observes himself continually; he looks at all his thoughts, all his sentiments, all his passions and inclinations. It is therefore plain that such thoughts of a man about himself could not be put in any other form than that of a diary. Such a being in decomposition, as is the hero of this novel, could not be complete; decomposition would not be entire, unless he was constantly thinking about himself, analyzing himself. Ploshovski has no self-esteem, he does not care for himself, yet he is always thinking about himself, and indeed, he cannot do otherwise. He is constantly analyzing each one of his thoughts, impressions, inclinations, and likings. He does not know how he is, what is true, and what is untrue, what is stable, and what is fleeting; he knows not why he exists, or what will become of him. But the less he knows, the more surprised he is that he does not know, and he would like to know why he is as he is. Of course, such a conversation of a man with himself could only be written in the form of a diary, and a diary must be monotonous. That it is not wearisome is a proof of the author's great talent. And the merits of the novel, such as the depth of its conception, the truth and vivacity of its characters, and its remarkable episodes, far outweigh all its drawbacks.

Some critics have asserted that "Without Dogma" is very like Bourget's "Disciple," but an attentive reading of both novels shows that the apparent likeness lies in this, that Ploshovski and Greloux are both products of the unhealthy philosophical and religious ideas of our times. These ideas act constantly everywhere and on every one, they produce thousands of phenomena, but each of these phenomena is different. An observer, psychologist or artist, is right in looking at them all, in studying them all, and in using them, but that does not mean that he imitates another author when he meets him on the same field.

"Disciple" is a very deep novel, and the preface to it is, perhaps, the best thing Bourget ever wrote. Then, too, it is constructed in a masterly manner, and in that respect, this novel of Bourget's is superior to that of Sienkiewicz. But the heroes of the novels are as opposite as the poles. Ploshovski lacks will, he

hesitates, he knows not what he thinks, feels, or wishes. Greloux knows perfectly what he wishes, and his will is so stubborn, and inexorable, that he commits crime in order to satisfy it. Ploshovski doubts continually, and constantly repeats: "I do not know." Greloux believes blindly in all that he considers truth. Ploshovski is good for nothing, but he is neither bad, nor perverse, nor a villain; his heart is not hard, his conscience does not sleep altogether, and his egotism has certain limits. Greloux, on the contrary, is so energetic, that he is capable of everything, but of everything that is the worst. Ploshovski regrets some of his deeds, he is therefore capable of improvement, of regeneration; Greloux is always proud of what he has done.

In his second psychological novel, "Children of the Soil," Sienkiewicz created large pictures of life, embraced more phenomena, made more observations, and delivered a stronger sermon. There are a great many characters in this novel, but each has its own personal and lively physiognomy, each has a certain importance in the world and in life; many of them, when they speak, say something remarkable, original, and worthy of attention. Those who do not astonish by their cleverness, or attract by their nobleness, surprise by the truth of their shortcomings, their wickedness, or ridiculousness, and they either amuse the reader or make him thoughtful.

The elements of the novel are various, but they are united by one question, of which all the characters are examples and proofs. People have lied since the beginning of the world, but did they lie and dissimulate as much as they do in the present century, in which the expression "to pose" was created in order to express a certain idea and phenomenon that had not existed before? The desire to appear different from what one is, to play some rôle, is a common drawback of the present age. In the first half of the nineteenth century, people affected a poetical and exceptional superiority of mind, and sentimentality of heart, unintelligible to and ridiculed by ordinary people. Then the form changed, but the thing remained. The comedy of appearing poetical went out of fashion, but the inclination to play a comedy did not pass, it only assumed different shapes. The customs of the century facilitated this affectation, and made the playing of some part easy to every one. Enterprise, associations, exchange, various speculations, enabled persons to pretend to be richer than they

really were. The spread of journalism allowed persons to pretend that they knew about politics, whilst the parliaments enabled them to pretend that they possessed political ability. The same journalism furnished the opportunity and temptation to persons to pretend they possessed a talent for writing. Numberless books, shallow encyclopædias and handbooks with an apparently scientific and scholarly varnish, enable many to pretend that they have had a good education, whilst they enable others to pretend they are savants. Cheap publications, illustrations, photographs facilitate an apparent knowledge of art. In every field, there are many successful persons, and their easy success has encouraged others. The world saw men who, at the small expense of a little rhetorical parading, became important, gained positions in the government of the country, and became famous for a short time, if not for long. The world saw men who became famous in literature, although their talents entitled them to no such fame. Then there were others, who, without money or worth, from their cleverness and impudence became rich through speculating on the exchange. Seeing these things, people concluded that they who wished to succeed must make an appearance; wishing to make an appearance, they must pose; and the proper means for this was advertisement, the result of which was a true success for many persons, and a general masquerading in which man very frequently was not what he seemed. A great orator proved an empty bladder when he became a minister. A powerful leader of an opposition cut his lion's claws when he obtained a portfolio. A great financier has been several times on the verge of bankruptcy, has used who knows what means to escape the threatened calamity, but although the sword of Damocles is hanging over his head, he still pretends that his credit is good. In twenty years no one will know anything of a "great" writer; he is great to-day, and he is satisfied. The whole art lies in rising on some kind of stilts, the rest follows easily. There is conscious, wilful, hypocritical dissembling of sentiments, convictions, and even of principles and abilities. But there is also a dissimulation that does not know that it is dissimulation, and half believes in its own sincerity. This rôle pleased. It was easy to play, was applauded and became another custom, so much so that the actors themselves frequently do not know what is natural in them and what is artificial. Like the romantic Byronist of half a century back,

so now the contemporary decadent will swear in good faith that he honestly thinks and believes what he says; as formerly the poetical lady, not understood by her husband, and chasing her ideal, played the rôle of Madame Sand's Lelia, and had no doubts as to her sufferings and aspirations, so now the same modern feminist is persuaded that her enthusiasm in the good cause is sincere. But none of them will conscientiously investigate their sentiments and the aim of their aspirations, and thus they are dishonest with themselves, as Rabagas and Tartuffe were with others.

This dishonesty, this comedy, this falsehood in sentiments and convictions, in capabilities and vocations is one of the most serious diseases of the present century. It appears in the customs of social life, in literature, in science, and it is perhaps, in a certain measure, the cause of the misfortunes in history.

We see this in " Children of the Soil," in which there is a group of persons who are honestly what they are, and have no wish to appear anything different. They love something, wish for something, they strive after something, do something, but they do not pretend anything; they are honest with themselves and with others; they speak as they think, and do as they say. On the other side, there is another group of persons, who are vain and dissimulating; these care only for effect or for pleasure. Theirs are not political or patriotic dissimulations, for the Russian censor would not pass them. On the common background of social life, each of these comedies has its aim and its special means, its characteristics, and its physiognomy. The elements of truth and dissimulation mix for a time, but they cannot unite, they separate; and, through their specific weight, there lies at the bottom, the truth of work, of love, of duty, of the matrimonial vow, and with these, the truth of happiness, so far as it is possible in this world. Then disappears the smoke and exhalation of falsehood in the fight for money, falsehood in love, falsehood in religion and philosophy, falsehood in art, falsehood in sentiments, principles and customs.

Sincerity and dissimulation in life, the hidden element, the purpose of the author, which the parts of the novel unite, gives it organic unity and great importance. It is that thread of Ariadne, which once grasped enables the reader to go boldly and surely through all the windings and labyrinths of misunderstanding between lovers, matrimonial fidelity, breach of trust, money

speculations, religious and philosophical ideas, which come in turns and chain his attention.

There are in it none of the elements that are found in the novels of bygone days; there are no intrigues, secrets, perils, poetical heroes, ideal heroines, or villains—all that formerly constituted the charm of a novel, and made the reader tremble for the fate of the sublime heroine, and turn the pages feverishly to learn what was the end of it all. Madame Sand had such a method of writing, so also had Bulwer in his first novels, and he did not get rid of it entirely in his later work. Balzac's novels contain dramas, if not tragedies; some entanglement is necessary to make a novel. All this is changed now. All over the world, the novel has become more like every-day life, in which there are sorrows, true poetical situations, and sometimes dramas; but they all pass quietly without any effect, and sentiments are expressed without rhetoric and recitation. To-day a novel can be written without any complicated plot, it might almost be said, without any plot at all; it can be written and be a success, although its episodes are taken from every-day life, and the incidents are insignificant. "Children of the Soil" is entirely a modern novel.

Yet, if this novel resembles any other, we must turn for this resemblance not to the modern, but to old and great works, such as Thackeray's "Vanity Fair" and "The Newcomes," in which very interesting and true characters appear on a background of every-day life, and where the themes are cleverly resolved, and all this is done apparently without any effort in the composition of the plot. Yet there is a certain difference; while Thackeray in his more serious situations verges upon pretentious pathos, and while his good characters, especially the women, are languidly poetic, and their perfections conventional, it would be difficult to raise such an objection to Sienkiewicz's work, or to prove it logically. Many things in the "Children of the Soil" seem to be accidental and patch-work, but a closer attention proves that everything is perfectly connected. The fundamental thought in novels constitutes a kind of cement, fastening together the apparently disconnected episodes it contains. "Children of the Soil" is not *un roman à thèse;* although it proves certain truths, they are proved without pedantry and without preaching. In a theme novel, the author takes one of his philosophical ideas, and creates his characters and episodes in order to prove it. Sienkiewicz acts

differently. He does not accept a theme *a priori.* He observes characters, as they are, he sees that these characters fall away, more or less, not from rules and formulas purposely invented by him, but from the laws of human nature, life, conscience and logic, binding on every one. He points out these deviations. This pointing out follows some conclusion, viz., the affirmation of some true and general psychological and moral verity.

"Children of the Soil" seems to be a sermon about good faith, the foundation of all that is of any value in people, the foundation of all justice and durability of relation; of that good faith, the lack of which is a great moral evil in people, families, and nations. The downfall of honor in men and honesty in women, the corruption of public and private morals, dishonest business transactions and gains, corrupt and corrupting journalism, the taking advantage of position and influence, the downfall of true patriotism and the substitution of a counterfeit, all these come from the source called bad faith. Panama scandals, falsely great men, and overrated celebrities in art, literature, and public life, as well as false politics and their consequent calamities, all these come from lack of good faith. Sienkiewicz fights against this evil, this disease.

The moral that exists in "Children of the Soil," and which is not hidden, is in perfect harmony with the requirements and conditions of a very interesting story. There is not in the book one, even a secondary, character that is not full of life and personal individuality, well conceived and carefully executed. Besides, there are logic, masterly workmanship, humor and wit.

Before deciding to write a great romance, Sienkiewicz wrote the short story called "In Tartar Captivity," as though he wished to try his strength and see if he were capable of writing a great work conceived and executed in a great style. Similarly, "*Quo Vadis*" was preceded by the short story "Anthea." Until then Sienkiewicz's fancy had dwelt in the Christian and Polish world; a pan-human subject from universal history was beyond his horizon. "Anthea" shows that this horizon was widening, as well as that the artist was attracted by more difficult tasks in proportion as he felt his strength increasing. To grasp the spirit of ancient times is a difficult task, for which talent and intuition alone are not sufficient. In order to perceive these people with the eyes of the soul and penetrate into their hearts and minds,

it was necessary to study them. As soon as Sienkiewicz's thoughts turned in that direction, he began an earnest study of ancient history and literature, and travelled in Italy and Greece. During this time the author's spirit of enterprise increased, the moral position of the man became more serious, and the character of the novel grew more important. This could already be noticed in "Anthea" where we find at its height the power of natural magic that makes words live, and the rare gift of reproducing the past without the academic tone that kills interest.

"Anthea" was the forerunner of "*Quo Vadis,*" a book that has made Sienkiewicz's name known, famous and respected, it might be said, in every corner of the world where there are people who can read. In studying the distant past, Sienkiewicz was struck with the struggle between Paganism and Christianity, and the way in which the latter acted on the former, as well as by the gigantic pictures of profligacy and crime in the Roman Empire. The enterprise was bold, for the greatest master could not have told whether his strength and fancy were sufficient to represent such a character as Nero, or such episodes as the burning of Rome, and the tortures of the circus. Any one in touching such a subject stakes his reputation as an artist. A shallow and presumptuous writer does not see the danger, he would attempt anything and produce something that would satisfy persons of mediocre taste, and gratify the paltry ambition of the author. But the author whose aim is higher, who does not wish merely praise, but craves a lasting glory, will not be satisfied with conventionally rhetorical and sweet pictures of martyrs, as was the Count de Châteaubriand. In Christian literature there are very many books about ancient times and the early Christian church, and in the past century many novels have been written having those times as their background. But all previous authors have regarded the subject quite differently. For Cardinal Wiseman, antiquity and the form of the novel were a mere pretext for his religious purpose. In "Ben-Hur" the pre-occupation of writing a novel with a new subject was the principal aim of the author, whilst the "Last Days of Pompeii" is a story of incidents and intrigues with some mixture of religion.

Sienkiewicz's point of view was entirely different; he wanted to show how God's truth, because it is the only truth, conquered pagan might, and that this conquest was accomplished by super-

natural force. This point of view once adopted, the author was obliged not only to take into consideration and to bring forth the relation of Christianity towards persons of various characters, but also to observe different kinds and degrees of faith, love and valor amongst the Christians themselves. This plan Sienkiewicz fastened to the tradition that furnished him with the title of his book, the tradition of St. Peter leaving Rome to escape martyrdom, and being turned from his purpose by Christ. In introducing St. Peter, the author ran the risk of being unable to create that character, and of remaining inferior to his task; by introducing Christ awkwardly, he would wound the reader's religious ideas and feelings. Sienkiewicz conquered all these difficulties, and created a masterpiece.

The contents of this story are very simple. There are no entanglements, no intrigues; but situations, dramatic and sometimes bewildering, are brought about and solved with great and marvellous technical skill; there are also pictures of immense strength, and some of exquisite charm; there are characters conceived with incomparable intuition, and executed with talent equal to the intuition.

Never before has Sienkiewicz shown himself such a great artist as in drawing the characters in *"Quo Vadis"*; especially he has succeeded with Petronius, whose figure he has chiselled to perfection, not with minute work, but with bold and sure strokes. He has preserved the tranquillity of classical form of the *arbiter elegantiarum,* and at the same time he has unveiled all the secrets of his soul. The description of the orgies in Nero's palace was, from the artistic point of view, absolutely necessary, in order to give a true picture of the corruption of ancient life, and to contrast it with the simplicity and purity of the Christians. That background was also necessary for showing Nero, and as soon as he appears, the reader sees how cruel, perverse, false, treacherous, vain and stupid that ruler of the world was. Sienkiewicz did not neglect a single detail that might serve to bring out the bad side of Nero's character and show the deep corruption of his surroundings; but he has not done this more than was absolutely necessary to make the picture true, he has not overstepped the boundaries of art to produce a great sensation, and this has secured his reputation as a true artist.

The horrid pictures of corruption, the dismal description of

the conflagration of Rome, have been intermingled by the author with sweet idyls, such as the meeting of Lygia and Vinicius towards evening, in the little garden, and pictures of the Christians in their meetings for prayer; that giant in crime, Nero, is contrasted with the spiritually gigantic forms of St. Peter and St. Paul, whilst that perfect ideal of villainy, Chilo—the spy, delator, pick-pocket, coward, traitor, and flatterer, the avaricious, revengeful, and jealous man—is contrasted with the simple-minded, good-hearted giant Ursus, whose figure, created with a few strokes of the author's pen, looks like one of those unfinished figures by Michael Angelo.

Sienkiewicz has taken a subject from universal history, a subject very interesting to a well educated man, a subject that will interest as long as the world exists, but one exceedingly difficult to treat owing to the extremes of gigantic size in heroism and virtue, as well as in crime and corruption. It is well known now that Sienkiewicz did not overrate his strength; his success has been complete, overwhelming, astonishing and universal.

He deserves his success, for his mastercraft is surprising, and his erudition is so deep that, whilst reading "*Quo Vadis,*" the reader feels in the story Tacitus, Juvenal and Suetonius, not because the many details are historically true, but because the characters and relations of the people are historically faithful.

As is the background, so also the characters are created by intuition and a deep knowledge of the times and people. There is not one unnecessary character in the book, no matter how insignificant that character may be. Even such secondary characters as Acte, Poppæa, Eunice and Pomponia, stand out, and have their own physiognomy, and their own life. Lygia—all Sienkiewicz's heroines are a little too feeble if compared with his heroes—Lygia, although bound by the events of the story to be passive, has by her great love and holiness a distinct individuality and character. Beneath his toga of a Roman patrician, and with his form like that of a Greek god, Vinicius has some resemblance to a Polish knight. He is not at first as perfect as the hero in "By Fire and Sword," but he has the same sense of honor and honesty, and in regard to self-sacrifice, perseverance, and self-control, he is at the end of the story quite equal to the Pole.

But above all other characters, on the summit of, and as the personification of, two worlds at war, stand St. Peter and Nero.

The latter is carefully and gradually developed, and shown in the depths of his moral emptiness—filled with the desire of creating impressions, devouring thousands of victims, his burning of Rome, the applause of the circus, his poetry and art, the poisoning of persons, the murder of his own mother, and his never being satisfied with anything. St. Peter appears seldom, and speaks little, but he speaks with such strength that one feels he is indeed a rock.

As well as background and character, there must also be noticed that happy restraint which is never forgotten by the author when describing the terrible tortures or the disgusting feast; and this, united with the masterly technique with which the whole story, in even its smallest details, is written, makes "*Quo Vadis*" deserving of its renown from an artistic point of view.

One might dwell for a long while on the religious and moral value of the book. It might be said that by the question, "Whither goest thou?" Sienkiewicz intended to show that the modern longing after some other truth is wrong, and that modern literature, with its misty aspirations, does not guide to where truth and life are alone to be found. But it is better to leave this to the moralist or the preacher by profession. The purpose of this paper is accomplished, for it shows that Sienkiewicz is a great artist. This fact the author has again proved in his last historical romance, "The Knights of the Cross." The ardent and noble patriotism of the author gives to that work an incomparable charm, whilst the literary value of the book makes it not a romance, but a poem, a true heroic poem, recalling the Iliad, and representing not so much the fate of individuals, as a fight between two races, the German and the Slav.

Hippolite Taine would say of Sienkiewicz, that he has discovered and walked along all paths of contemporary thought, travelled through all countries, both old and new, seen ancient and modern civilization, and studied the people as they are in their own countries, and their own homes. His talent of observation has thus become surprisingly keen, without his losing the freshness of his sentiments. Sienkiewicz is a modern writer in the full and high meaning of the word. The Poles are justly proud of him, for through him there has fallen on them a glory such as they have not known since the time of Adam Mickiewicz.

S. C. DE SOISSONS.

THE EFFORT TO ABOLISH THE DUEL.

BY H. R. H. PRINCE ALFONSO DE BOURBON ET AUTRICHE-ESTE.

I LEARN with the greatest pleasure that in America as well as in England people are interested in the movement against duelling which I started recently on the Continent. I am not surprised at this, for England and America are less the slaves of prejudice than other nations, and they love and put into practice the principles of true progress, true liberty, and true civilization. I have had opportunities of seeing this for myself, and of admiring it in the different tours I have made in the two countries, and in the English Colonies which are veritable models of honest and intelligent administration.

From my youth up I have had a horror of the duel, which I have always considered as blamable, not only in that it is forbidden by the law of God, but also from the view point of reason, for I know nothing more idiotic, barbarous, and unworthy of the times in which we live. But I did not think I could meddle with the custom, although I was often greatly tempted to give public expression to my views.

As I pass some weeks in the spring of each year at Vienna and a part of the summer and autumn in my castle, which is situated in the mountainous region of Upper Austria, the opportunity came to me last summer of pronouncing my opinions. At the beginning of the spring of 1900, a duel that caused some talk took place between two Austrian officers. These officers were the best of friends; but, on account of some remarks made by one of them, they agreed to fight a duel with pistols. It happened, however, that they made up their dispute almost immediately and no longer wished to fight. In spite of this, the seconds *obliged them to do so.* Although one of the two thought he fired into the air, an unhappy chance directed the course of the

ball, and the Comte de Bissingen was shot dead on the spot. He left a young wife, who was *enceinte,* and two little children. The widow cannot get over her grief, and the adversary of the husband became almost mad with despair at having killed so good a friend.

A short time afterward another affair happened, also in Austria, in the same spring of 1900. This was the case of the young Lieutenant of Hussars, the Marquis Antoine Tacoli, who had served for seven years in the army. Taking upon himself to defend an Archduke whom another officer, Monsieur Szilay, was speaking against, he was insulted by the latter. Immediately everything was done to force Tacoli to challenge Szilay to a duel. Tacoli refused, saying that as a Catholic he could not consent to fight a duel. For this he was branded as a coward, deprived of his commission and placed in the reserve as a private soldier. Later on he was registered as a common soldier in the *réserve du train,* as it was considered that the position of private in the cavalry reserve was too honorable for him.

Another Austrian officer, captain of the military staff, Count Josef de Ledochowsky, who had served for fifteen years, an officer of rare diligence, education and intelligence, loved and respected by his superiors and companions, was consulted by Tacoli, whom he advised in a private letter to lay the affair before a tribunal of honor. This letter was obtained from him by force. Ledochowsky was questioned before a military tribunal about his private convictions, and was obliged to declare himself on the subject. With rare heroism the Count asserted that he thought exactly like the Marquis Tacoli about duelling, and in consequence of this he suffered the same fate as Tacoli and lost his commission. A few days later, the two officers were deprived also of the rank and civil title of Chamberlain to the Emperor.

As I was an old friend of the father of the Marquis Tacoli, and as I wished to give the greatest publicity to those unparalleled facts which the people concerned tried to hush up, I wrote this open letter to the young Marquis Antoine Tacoli:

"*August 26, 1900.*

"DEAR MARQUIS TACOLI,

"Although I have already congratulated you verbally at Vienna, in May, on your noble and courageous conduct, on the occasion when you refused to ask satisfaction by arms of a person who knew your prin-

ciples, and knew that, faithful to these, you would refuse to fight a duel; yet now that the press is again busying itself with the affair, I would like again to express to you my congratulations and the admiration that I feel for you and for all those who have courage enough to act in the same way.

"Although a foreigner, I have always had a great admiration and deep affection for the Austrian army. . . . All that concerns this army is of the deepest interest to me, and that is why I hope your fine example will bear fruit and will not be forgotten, and that the entire press, no matter of what political opinion, will notice it; it is by this means alone that the inhuman prejudice in favor of duelling will disappear little by little. Among the Catholics, no person, either civil or military, could or ought ever in any circumstance to accept a duel. I am a good Catholic who is resolved never to act in defiance of the laws of the Church; but it is not only on such grounds that I have always been an enemy of duelling, for, considered only from the view-point of the Church's ban, the practice would only be blamable for Catholics, while I consider that duelling in general is a barbarous custom, absolutely unworthy of our times and of our civilization, and one that every civilized man who uses his reason (no matter to what religion he belongs, or even if he is of no religion) should oppose.

"I am certain that a hundred years hence people will talk of these so-called 'affairs of honor' just as we talk of some of the judgments of the Middle Ages, and they will not be able to understand how we were so foolish as to submit to such a senseless custom. How odd it will be to read in history some day that So-and-so, hearing some one remark that he was not very elegant in his person, or something of that kind, had been constrained by his friends to wash out this insult in his own blood! And what will be said of the state of things in which each man had the right to kill his neighbor for a hard word, provided he observed certain formalities and rules, and provided that the offender was of the same class as the person offended, who was forced to expose himself to being killed or to kill. Was it possible to be so uncivilized in those times? they will wonder. But will they not also say that we were slaves, shorn of all intellectual independence, who submitted to this ferocious nonsense, which even then was not sanctioned by any law? And these good people of the future will be quite right.

"It is sad to think that so many people who are sufficiently on a level with the progress of to-day to understand that duelling is as ridiculous as the exploits of Don Quixote—though far more baneful, more criminal and less chivalrous—should meanly give their judgment into the thraldom of the minority and tremblingly keep silence. There is no question of insubordination in the matter; for, on the contrary, to protest against an abuse is to obey an established law. If the leaders of thought had always had as little courage in declaring reforms, no progress would have been possible, and to-day we should be busy burning so-called sorcerers. There is no lack of young men who think in the same way of the duel; and, if all would unite in order to defend their opinions on the subject, these opinions in time would prevail.

"One cannot deny that England is one of the most civilized and most progressive nations in the world. And in what war have any officers behaved more valorously than the English officers in the South African war? Yet these same officers, who went to death with such marvellous coolness, spurn the idea of the duel, considering it below the present plane of our civilization. Besides, is it proof of great courage for a man to go and fight because constrained thereto by his comrades, and knowing that if he refuses he is not only excluded from the society of his equals but also loses his rank—which spells ruin for many of these people?

"So it is that one must kill or be killed or be utterly cast out. What an unpleasant position one is liable to be put into, just to suit the good pleasure of a few companions who decide about it as if it were a sporting game of some kind. In my opinion, it needs real courage to do what you and Count Ledochowsky have done—to allow yourselves to be placed under a ban and to give up your careers, in order to remain faithful to your Catholic principles, and at the same time to be faithful to a law that still exists and which is included in all those to which a soldier vows allegiance.

"Hoping that you will receive many other congratulations, as you well deserve to do, I remain heartily, dear Marquis,

"Your affectionate friend,

"ALFONSO DE BOURBON ET AUTRICHE-ESTE."

The whole press took notice of my letter and in reality approved of my ideas. From communications that came to me from all countries, I knew that a movement against duelling would be favorably received by all reasonable people the world over, and the idea occurred to me to create an International League against duelling.

The League so formed is not of any religious or political character; people of all opinions and belonging to every party are welcome. The work of the League is on two separate lines, on which it hopes to advance simultaneously. One is, to win public opinion. It is important to set right in the acceptation of society the sense of the words "cowardice" and "courage," which are so ill applied with regard to duelling. We wish to make society admit (society is supposed to make the laws) that unwillingness to fight a duel does not make one a coward, and that it is not a proof of courage to submit to a custom which cannot be avoided without terrible consequences. One is a coward if one hesitates to expose one's life in the service of one's sovereign, one's country, one's principles, or to come to the help of one's neighbor in case of need; but it is not cowardice if a man refuses to expose his own life and that of his fellow uselessly, for

the duel neither dispenses justice nor does it restore honor unless blind chance aids it. It is an abdication of one's rights to honorable reparation if the offended party relegates the duty of settling the affair to chance; there can, therefore, be no question of cowardice if good sense is opposed to this absurdity.

But it is not enough to persuade people of a truth of which many among them are really convinced in their hearts. We must furnish them with the means of voting against a prejudice of which fashion has made a law, and which could not have held out till our days but for the cowardice of a great number of people who, mutually fearing one another, dared not show that they could have an idea which had not been originated in the great mill called public opinion. The way to give them this courage is to try to get them together under the same flag. To do this, we send out our circulars to persons of intelligence and of independent judgment, asking them to join the manifestation against one of the most absurd and barbarous customs. These signatures cannot fail to attract a number of others in their train, and they will go on increasing; for, the larger the company of which one sees oneself a member, the less one fears to be compromised by derogating from what one formerly thought an indispensable adjunct to the spirit of chivalry. Poor spirit of chivalry, so often trodden under foot by the friends of duelling, who fear that obedience to the laws of chivalry may draw disagreeable consequences upon them, and who, in order to avoid a duel, often carry prudence to a debasing degree! If the person offended could exact any other sort of reparation, he would be more ready to set right abominable calumnies on his best friends, insults that now he pockets silently because it is too risky to show that he doubts the veracity of the traducer.

The second means by which we propose to prevent so many cruel and ineffectual sacrifices offered to a vain illusion of honor —sacrifices involving useless immolation of precious lives, sacrifices in whose name many families have been delivered up to misfortune and grief—is to obtain really efficacious laws to save people from insult and to give satisfaction to wounded honor, and to form tribunals of honor approved by the Governments.

In Austria the work has been going on actively. At the end of May, 1901, I requested some gentlemen of Vienna to start the movement. In July of the same year they were courageous

enough to sign an appeal, to which only twelve names were appended. This appeal was at once put into circulation by private means, and by December, 1901, 330 signatures had been collected in Austria, most of them being the names of highly placed and influential personages belonging to different religious and political parties and to all the nationalities of the country. The appeal, with the 330 signatures, was published on December 6th, 1901. Since that time, the number of adherents in Austria has increased to 1,500, of whom 375 are members of the nobility. In the course of last winter, a central committee was formed in Vienna, made up of gentlemen of different nationalities and of varying political opinions. Experts in legal matters have drawn up laws for the forming of tribunals of honor, for the organization of the Austrian branch of the Anti-Duelling League and the projects for reforms of laws for the defense of honor. This will be of the greatest service to us in our work, and we hope to be able to publish these documents before the end of the summer. The number of adherents will then increase tremendously. Already, all the Austrian press is on our side.

In France our League has made great progress this spring. I heard lately from Mr. Joseph du Bourg, whom I placed in charge of the movement in France, that, though the number of signed adherents is rather small, still he considered that the movement was accepted in his country because public opinion is now with us. It is a fact that the man who refuses to fight a duel for a good reason is no longer disqualified as a man of honor in the eyes of society, as he would have been in the past. The press is also favorable. Then one incident in France has done us a great deal of good. This was the refusal to fight a duel by Lieutenant-Colonel the Marquis d'Elbée, who was challenged by the Marquis de Chauvelin. Of immense importance also was an article in favor of our League which was published in Paris on March 13th of this year by M. Paul de Cassagnac, who was formerly a well-known duellist. Finally, our first tribunal of honor was formed this spring in Paris. It is composed of fourteen members, among whom are six officers (Generals, Admirals, Colonels and M. de Cassagnac), and whose opinion is that duelling is to be done away with entirely. In the provinces of France also tribunals of honor have been formed and have already been appealed to to settle some cases.

In Germany, the anti-duellist movement has progressed considerably under the clever, wise and active direction of the Prince of Löwenstein. Here the number of members is very large, and in fact the whole country is interested in the matter—all religions, all classes of society, members of the nobility, soldiers and civilians, professors, students, etc. A paper is shortly to be brought out there—the "Anti-Duelling League Review"—which will inform its supporters of the progress of the work. Pamphlets are appearing daily in Germany advocating the movement. The press there is also very favorable to us.

I asked the Marquis Crispolti to initiate the movement in Italy. Preparatory steps have been taken for the purpose, and we hope to have some results to report during the summer.

I have had a pleasant surprise with regard to Spain. I read in "*El Pays*," a republican newspaper of Madrid, that the Republican Fusion party at Valencia passed a resolution on February 14th, condemning the duel as contrary to advanced ideas of progress and civilization, forbidding the Fusionist Republicans to take part in duels, and decreeing that any one disobeying this injunction should be turned out of the party. They hope that the other republicans of Spain will follow their example.

In Russia all that I can do for the moment is to get the press there to chronicle what is going on in our work in the rest of Europe. Interest is expressed, and I am in hope of some results later on.

I am much pleased with the success I have obtained in Europe this first year, and I have not the slightest doubt as to the final happy results of our movement. The question cannot be settled in a year or two. We must persist in our efforts for several years and wait until public opinion is entirely on our side. This is what I work for and I am sure that I shall succeed.

ALFONSO DE BOURBON ET AUTRICHE-ESTE.

STATE PROTECTION FOR OCEAN TRAVELLERS.

BY REAR-ADMIRAL GEO. W. MELVILLE, ENGINEER-IN-CHIEF OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY.

SINCE the advent of the present year, two events have occurred which have made it clear that those who go down to sea in ships are still exposed to danger. The disappearance of the British gunboat "Condor" and the disablement of the Cunard steamship "Etruria," prove that, despite the skill of commander and crew, accidents are likely to happen to ocean-going vessels which will imperil the safety of ships and passengers. Both these ships had single screws, and an irreparable injury to the propelling engines of either would put her at the mercy of an angry sea.

Very few steamships now carry sail. The competition between ocean-going steamers for passengers and cargo is so keen, that it would not be commercially profitable for steamships to carry the top-hamper and extra men that would be necessary for the management and handling of sail. The warship has also dispensed with masts and spars, because the fighting vessel is now regarded as a simple gun-platform, and any attempt to use sail would interfere with the working of the guns and the securing of a rapid ammunition supply.

In the days of sail a ship was rarely disabled to an extent that would prevent her from eventually reaching port. It was seldom that there happened a worse casualty than the ripping out of a mast, and severe as was the damage that might be caused by such an accident, the ship could still possess sufficient sail area to steer handily.

When steam was first used on ships as motive power, it was only intended that the machinery should be used when going in and out of port, when crossing calm belts, or when great dispatch was necessary. The possession of both sail and steam in-

volved a cross security which made it rare for a vessel to be lost at sea. In the early days of steam navigation, the machinery was made very heavy. The designer gave a large factor of safety to every working part, so that there was little liability of permanent breakdown. It was said that, with the exception of the cylinders, nearly every portion of the early marine engines could have been built by a blacksmith or boiler-maker; but substantial structures were required when blacksmiths and boiler-makers were sometimes assigned to their care and management.

It was not long before it was discovered that the use of sail on board a steamer was incompatible with the earning of fair dividends. Gradually, therefore, the sail area was lessened and the steam installation increased; but while this development gave more money to the owner of the vessel, it afforded less security to the passengers and the crew.

The passing away of the ships of oak with their clouds of snowy canvas, to make way for vessels of steel with their throbbing engines, gave a wonderful impetus to the shipping industry. Remote islands and hermit nations were brought into closer touch with the manufacturing and maritime countries of the world. As time became an important factor in the delivery of ocean cargoes, there came urgent demand for faster ships. Not only was there a desire for a marked increase in speed, but there was also a call for greater steaming radius upon the part of the vessel. The competition between different corporations for the carrying trade of the world made it compulsory that ships making long voyages should frequently put into port to replenish coal bunkers. It was inevitable, therefore, that marine machinery should be made to work more economically, and that it should be built much lighter. With this progression, there was a corresponding advance in the skill, intelligence, and character of the engineer's force.

Competent as the complement in the engine and fire-rooms might become, and skilled as the supervision might grow, the fact was ever kept before the mind of the engine-designer that every ton of machinery was dead weight, and that every pound saved in this respect permitted the carrying of another pound of cargo.

The weight of machinery allowed in proportion to the horse-power developed has been rapidly decreasing, and this accounts for the great number of accidents that are happening at sea. Al-

though there has been steady improvement in the strength and uniformity of the material that enters into the construction of marine machinery, every advance in this direction only encourages the engine-designer to reduce the factor of safety and thus lighten the weight of the machinery parts. The degree to which machinery weights have been decreased could not be more impressively illustrated than by stating that the horse-power developed in a modern torpedo boat of 150 tons trial displacement exceeds the horse-power that was required for a 3,000-ton Cunarder thirty years ago. The piston speed of engines has been doubled and, in some cases, nearly trebled; and it need not be surprising if the breaking of a shaft or the cracking of an engine-frame occasionally happens.

On board the tramp or cargo-carrying steamer the reduction in machinery weight has not been carried to such an extreme, and the reliability of this type of machinery is much greater than that of the passenger ship. These boats seldom carry passengers, and as they need not run on schedule time their engines are seldom forced.

The point has now been reached when the State should give better protection to ocean-going passengers, and the most effective way of securing this reform is to prohibit any single-screw steamer from being regarded as a subsidy mail-boat. It is rather surprising that ocean-going passengers will consent at this late day to travel on board a steamer that is fitted with a single screw. It is more surprising still that there is afloat a private yacht installed with a single-screw propelling engine. It would seem that people who are able to expend $100,000, and in some cases several hundred thousand dollars, on a yacht that is in commission only a few months each year, would see the imperative necessity of increasing her means of safety by fitting a duplicate pair of engines for propelling purposes.

Public sentiment should now be as well educated upon the necessity of a sea-going steamer's possessing twin-screw engines as upon the necessity of a modern railroad's having a double track. There is hardly a village in this country that will now give a franchise to an electric road for the use of the streets without imposing the condition that there shall be sidings sufficient to prevent collisions and accidents. This shows how jealously guarded is the safety of passengers on land.

Like care should be exercised by the State in providing for the safety of those who travel by sea. The loss of comparatively few lives in the Park Avenue tunnel in the City of New York, caused State and municipal authorities to carry on separate and extended investigations as to the character and completeness of the appliances used in that tunnel for the protection of life. As a result of that single accident, it is exceedingly probable that the company owning the tunnel will eventually be compelled to spend millions of dollars in providing greater security for their patrons. The loss of an ocean liner, from unnecessary weakness in construction, may bring the matter of protection at sea very vividly to the public mind, but it is to be hoped that remedial measures will be provided by law before a catastrophe compels the enactment of such legislation.

The ocean passenger companies owe it to the public to give to their patrons all possible protection. The State does much for commerce. A subsidy is given to many ocean steamers. The coast trade is reserved for the vessels flying our flag. The ships and men both of the Navy and the Revenue Marine are at immediate call to aid and protect the merchant vessels. At the public expense, ocean surveys are made, harbors dredged and obstructions to navigation cleared. It is within the direct province and duty of the State, therefore, to regulate the manner in which passenger vessels shall be operated. If it is the prerogative of the State to protect ocean-going passengers from buccaneers and pirates, it is likewise the duty of the commonwealth to prohibit its citizens being carried in vessels which are not up to date in design, and which are not fitted with life-saving devices.

The Congress had no hesitation in compelling railroad corporations to install air-brakes and standard couplers. The same impelling reasons should force steamship companies to build passenger vessels which will have an inner and outer hull, and which will have at least two sets of propelling engines.

The building of twin-screw engines was the sequence of reducing sail on ocean-going steamers. As the sailing vessels carried spare sails and spars, it was necessary to devise some expedient for making the steamer as safe as the old-time clipper.

The advantages resulting from having practically two installations of motive power were very great. Increased security was given to passengers and crew. The commander was enabled to

handle his vessel in a manner that could not be done previously. Economy in the consumption of coal was obtained. Structural benefits were also secured, for the engine parts could not only be made interchangeable but lighter, and repairs could be effected much more quickly. There were two disadvantages of such installation—increased first cost, and additional expense in management and maintenance; and it is to save less than fifteen per cent. in the first cost of machinery, and two per cent. in the cost of management and maintenance, that thousands of single-screw steamers are kept plying on the ocean highway.

The cost of installing twin-screw engines need not be much greater than the cost of a single screw of the same power. With twin screws the parts are smaller, and they can be handled, assembled, and fitted more economically. The cost of modern marine-engine forgings increases in rapid progression with size, and the saving that would be effected in this direction would be very large. Several years ago the Union Iron Works, of San Francisco, volunteered to install in a gunboat of the navy, without extra cost, a set of twin-screw engines instead of the single screw that had been arranged for the ship. Other instances could be given where reliable ship-building firms, under special conditions, have offered to install twin screws at a slight cost above that demanded for single screws.

With the installation of twin-screw engines the insurance of ship and cargo would cost less. Additional earnings would also be secured; for, if ocean-travelling were made safer, people would be willing to make a sea-trip who could not now be persuaded to embark on an ocean liner. The increase in revenue from carrying additional passengers would soon make up for any increased first cost of installation of motive power, as well as for the higher cost of maintenance. Self-interest should cause steamship owners to build twin-screw vessels, even if the demands of humanity should not prompt such form of maritime construction. When a corporation should act and will not act, then is the time for the State to intervene.

It is surprising that the single-screw steamer is still a paying investment. Hundreds of thousands of persons travel every year on the ocean, and it would seem as if every one of these passengers should be an active personal force in discouraging travel by such conveyance. Several years ago, a distinguished ex-Secretary

of the Navy told me that on one of his trips, just after starting from New York for Liverpool, he found that he was on board a single-screw vessel. As executive head of the Navy Department, the subject of twin screws had been officially acted upon by him, and he had become convinced that no warship of any size should be fitted with a single propeller. Holding such positive views on this question, and finding himself on board a single-screw steamer, while all his friends had taken passage in ships fitted with twin screws, he was, naturally, exceedingly uncomfortable. The thought suggested itself that through carelessness he was travelling in a dangerous ship, and that it was like voluntarily journeying on a railroad whose equipment contained no safety devices and whose rolling stock was out of date. The feeling of insecurity so preyed upon his mind, that upon reaching port he not only found himself in an exceedingly nervous state, but it was evident also that he had secured no benefit from the sea trip. He could not rid himself of his depression until he had cancelled his return passage in the single-screw ship, and secured for the homeward voyage a state-room on a twin-screw steamer.

Hundreds of instances could be cited where single-screw ships have had the misfortune to break their shafts, lose their propellers or suffer other casualties which have rendered them helpless, but which would have only delayed the twin-screw steamer. The experience of the "Umbria," a sister ship to the "Etruria," may be recalled. This vessel left Liverpool for New York in December, 1892, with 380 passengers on board. She encountered continuous bad weather for nearly a week, and when near the Newfoundland coast her propeller shaft broke. She was picked up by a passing steamer, which attempted to tow her. The sea was too heavy for this undertaking, however, and the attempt had to be abandoned. From the time of the accident to the vessel, her Chief Engineer realized that the "Umbria" could only be saved by making a temporary repair which would enable the ship to be moved by her own propelling engines. Through skill, almost bordering on genius, and by executive leadership of rare ability, the propeller shaft was repaired so efficiently that the vessel was able to resume her voyage, and, to the delight of millions of people in England and America, the ship reached New York under her own steam. The work of Chief-Engineer Tomlinson, of the "Umbria," was deserving of royal recognition.

All sailors can tell tragic and yet inspiring tales of the sinking of single-screw steamers, whose loss might have been averted if the ship had been fitted with twin-screw engines. About seven years ago, the German gunboat "Iltis" was lost in a typhoon off the China coast. The ship was bravely weathering the hurricane until she lost her propeller. Although crew and officers realized that the end was near, there was no fear in their hearts. Huddling together on deck, they raised aloft the flag of Germany to the topmast, and then they tried to drown the mad requiem of the tempest by cheering for Kaiser, for Home and for Country. Even as the wild waves were overpowering the brave sailors of the Fatherland, the last remnant of the heroic band were seen clasping hands, and were heard singing, even in the jaws of death, that greatest of battle hymns—Luther's *"Ein Feste Burg."* It may be that every nation requires some men to glory their apostleship in such manner, so that future generations in recalling their deeds may be incited to make like sacrifices for the honor and advancement of the flag. But after such sacrifice has been made by some, it is the duty of the State to take good care that all others who go down to the sea in ships shall go on board vessels whose design and construction are in accordance with existing needs.

There should also be a stringent national statute compelling ship owners to provide an adequate and efficient complement of men and officers, both on deck and in the engine rooms of every sea-going passenger ship, for safely operating the vessel. No officer or member of the crew should be permitted to stand watch over eight hours a day on board any sea-going vessel. In addition to his regular watch duty, practically every man on board ship will be called upon for extra duty, for, when getting under way, coming to anchor, in times of rough weather, and when casualties occur, all hands are called to their posts.

There would be less going to sea upon the part of commercial travellers, tourists, and the general public if they only knew of the physical condition of officers and men upon particular occasions. When men are under physical and mental strain for a protracted period it should not excite surprise that at times it requires the exercise of high moral courage and strong will power to continue on duty. Only a few years ago, from sheer exhaustion, one of the pilots of a ferry-boat plying between Brooklyn and

New York fell asleep at his post, after having been continuously at the wheel for over eighteen hours. As a result, there was a collision with another ferry-boat and hundreds of lives were placed in peril. This sleeping on post upon the part of sea-going men, due to overwork, is a much more common occurrence than is realized.

Not only should every sea-going steamer be installed with at least two screws, but the vessel should be required to possess an inner and an outer hull, so that, if either structure should be ruptured, the vessel could still proceed on her way. The appalling loss of life caused by the sinking of the "City of Rio de Janeiro" could have been prevented if that vessel had been built on the cellular system. She had crossed the Pacific, she had heard the fog-horns of the Golden Gate, and while groping in the mist for the entrance to the harbor of San Francisco, she struck a rock and sank within a few minutes. The financial loss alone resulting from the sinking of that ship was sufficient to have fitted double bottoms to every vessel of the line to which she belonged.

It is not only the outer hull which is likely to be ruptured, from striking a reef or from collision, but even the inner hull may be seriously rent from various causes. The fact will not be forgotten that, when the collapse of one of the twin-screw engines of the "City of Paris" took place, some of the reciprocating parts of the disabled engine tore a hole in both the outer and inner bottoms. The ship reached port by reason of the fact that her cellular system of construction prevented the other engine compartment from being filled with water. The "Oregon"—the "Constitution" of the present generation—would now be a wreck near Shantung promontory on the China coast, if it were not for the fact that she had an inner as well as an outer hull. The saving of that historic ship to the service by reason of the fact that she had double bottoms, will pay for all the inner hulls that the American Navy will require for the next ten years.

The maritime laws of all countries should prohibit any steamers which did not carry an adequate complement of trained men, which did not possess an installation of twin-screws, and which was not constructed with double bottoms from regularly carrying passengers. These three requisites are necessary for efficiency as well as security—the inner hull is a complement of the second propelling engine, and the providing of an adequate complement

is but simply the enactment of a just law preventing employers from overworking their help.

Those who have reason for crossing the Atlantic in five days are willing to pay for increased security, and it would be a good investment for future "greyhounds" to be fitted with three sets of propelling machinery. Thousands of persons in this country do not consider it an extravagance to travel in a special car. Tens of thousands of people use the Pullman day-coaches even for short journeys. Such a class of patrons should insist that all passenger steamers, whose motive power was over 20,000 horse-power, should have triple screws installed. Ship-owners may object to the additional first cost of such installation, as some now object to the extra cost for the installation of twin screws. But the class of tourists who travel in such boats would cheerfully recognize the fact that increased protection was worth paying for. Such an installation of motive power would also increase the chances of the vessels running upon schedule time.

The average ocean tourist is of the belief that there is very little danger attending a journey on an ocean greyhound. The cost of a suite of desirable state-rooms is increasing very rapidly, and increased protection should go with this higher tariff. But with the rivalry existing between the steamers of different nations, there comes a demand for increased installation of motive power. There is one problem to be solved in designing these twin-screw ships which is of great importance to the engineer, but which is of greater consequence to the patrons of the principal "liners." If twin-screw engines are to be insisted upon for the largest of the Atlantic steamers, then accidents to the shaft may be anticipated. It has even been suggested that a shaft should be designed strong enough to convey twenty thousand horse-power to the propellers. The draught of the ship must necessarily limit the size of the propellers, and therefore to transmit such power as that of 20,000 horses, an excessive pitch must be given to the blades. If the pitch of the propeller is increased, the flattening of the surface of the blades is likely to follow, and the final resultant is a broken shaft or impaired propeller blades. Security in respect to propeller shafts of very high-powered steamers can only be obtained by triple-screw engines, in which the power is distributed so as not to subject any one shaft to excessive strain.

It may be incidentally stated that the triple screw is no novelty

in naval construction. It is in use in foreign navies, as well as in our own; for Russia, France, Germany, and the United States have war vessels fitted in such manner. France has ten battleships and nineteen cruisers of this type. In the case of Germany, the decision has been practically reached, after competitive trial of the twin and triple-screw systems, to adopt the triple-screw design exclusively in all future warships of the home fleet.

As the primary purpose of the writer is to demand the installation of twin screws and double bottoms on board every seagoing passenger steamer, it will only be possible to refer briefly to the essential reasons for installing triple-screw machinery in ships of very large power.

First, there would be economic advantages, since it would only be necessary to use the amount of power required for conditions existing. There would be times when it would only be necessary to move the ship very slowly, and then the single screw could efficiently do the work.

In addition to the economic advantages, there are structural reasons why the system should be adopted. The engines can be made lighter, cheaper, and simpler. The subdivision of watertight compartments can be more effectively secured. The propeller need not extend so far beyond the lines of the hull, and therefore would be less liable to disablement from ramming as well as from floating obstructions. Shorter length of shafting could be used as well as smaller engine parts. Triple screws permit the installation of additional auxiliaries, and, as the auxiliaries are the weak links in a modern high-powered ship, the installation of additional ones might be of great advantage. It is but fair to say that there are structural disadvantages due to the additional number of parts required, as well as to the intricacy of piping; but the structural advantages far exceed the disadvantages.

In addition to the economical and structural reasons for installing triple screws, there are tactical advantages to be secured. When the German Admiralty began giving consideration to this subject, her experts did not look for other than economical and structural advantages. It was believed that investigation would show that tactical reasons would prevent the further use of triple screws in German warships. With the fairness and thoroughness that characterize German research, extended experiments were

planned for the determination of this question. Vessels of exactly the same hull design were pitted against each other. It was found that the ships fitted with triple screws steered best, and that the art of steering was more easily acquired by the sailors, as, unlike vessels carrying single or double screws, the ships took no rank sheer.

During the past winter the value of triple-screw ships was shown by the wonderful ease and accuracy with which the battleship "Kaiser Wilhelm II." was steered through the Kaiser Wilhelm Canal. The performance of the battleship astonished the naval chief of the Emperor's staff. In going through the narrow curved channel it was necessary for the battleship to go at slow speed, and yet it was essential that the rudder should respond very promptly to the touch of the helmsman. Both of these results were obtained by going ahead at a speed of five knots with the middle screw, and backing equally with both side screws at a three-knot pace. A net speed of but two knots was secured. Since the middle screw was moving at a five-knot speed, the water was thrown against the rudder with sufficient velocity to make the work easy for the helmsman.

The distribution of power by triple screws in very large-powered ships is simply keeping pace with progressive naval construction. The patrons of the ocean greyhounds can be depended upon to give preference to vessels fitted with machinery of this type, for in doing so they would soon bring about an installation of motive power that would increase the safety and reliability of the large-powered ships.

It is a matter of experience that the best-paying railroads are those which keep even in advance of the demands of their patrons. And so would it be in the case of ocean steamships, if life-saving devices were employed before the law compelled their adoption. Every installation or change, which had for its primary purpose the increased protection of the passenger, would command the approval of the travelling public. The ocean liner which would make triple-screw installation its cardinal feature, would reduce to a minimum the chances of its ever becoming helpless. Once let it be known how safe and reliable is such an installation, and the best-paying ocean passengers would not be content to travel on any other type of steamer.

GEO. W. MELVILLE.

THE OUTLOOK IN SOUTH AFRICA.

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE LEONARD COURTNEY, M. P.

DURING the earlier stages of the South African war, I was more than once asked to contribute to the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW some remarks on this or that aspect of the changing contest, but I turned away from all such proposals. This REVIEW has become in some degree an organ of international opinion, especially as a means of intercommunion between the English-speaking nations. Yet I felt as an Englishman that anything I had to say about the war in South Africa must be addressed to my own countrymen. There was, indeed, small encouragement to speak at home, so completely was every word doomed to be misread in the passion and excitement of the time; but among ourselves the necessity of speech could not be always evaded, and the risk of misinterpretation had to be faced. There was no similar duty elsewhere, whilst anything that could be construed as an appeal against one's countrymen to outside judgment was sure to engender the bitterest resentment. Now that the war has come to an end and the air is cooler, it seems possible to yield to the renewed application without danger of doing mischief, and even with some chance of doing good.

The war has come to an end. Terms of peace have been agreed upon. Articles of capitulation have been signed. The Boers and their friends remaining in the field have come in and given up their arms in numbers that must now be practically exhaustive of their forces—numbers, indeed, far exceeding all official estimates of what remained with them. There is much evidence of good temper shown during these surrenders and of hearty manifestations of friendly feeling among those so recently arrayed against one another in a deadly struggle. It must, indeed, be remarked that some of this evidence comes at second-hand, and

that more of it consists of impressions carried away by onlookers who must naturally be drawn to dwell upon the cheerfulness of the new situation. All our news, moreover, has been transmitted under the limitations of a censorship which may have suppressed some of the less pleasant incidents of the real transaction. There have been hints, which the feeblest imagination can develop, of the grim bearing of the surrendered Boers towards those of their own countrymen who have been lately fighting as scouts in the British army; and every reasonable person must know that a genuine ebullition of good feeling on the termination of a war cannot permanently efface the bitter memories of what has been.

All allowances, however, being made for official optimism, for the improvement of what is pleasant and the mitigation of what is unpleasant, there remains solid, substantial evidence of a temper on both sides beyond praise. We have the *ipsissima verba* of Boer leaders and of British commanders—the words of Lord Kitchener, of Generals Bruce Hamilton and French remain in the memory as right things well said. The advice of Sir John French to remember the great difficulties of the situation of those who became rebels deserves to be especially commended. On the other hand, the brave and dignified demeanor of those who were our starkest opponents, the farewell address of acting-President Schalk Burger and General Botha, and the speeches of General Delarey and of De Wet—to name no more—have given us a striking exhibition of men crowned with honor whilst submitting to inevitable defeat. Over and over again during the progress of the war the thought arose, What men these are to have as friends and allies instead of as foes! The conduct of the surrendered burghers since the conclusion of peace must have begotten a stronger desire than ever to make them brothers—a resolution that nothing should be wanting on our part to weld them, if it be possible, into a common citizenship.

The first and last thing to be said about the future of South Africa is, that everything depends upon the temper we bring towards its settlement. The largest generosity, not merely of money but of spirit, the strongest sympathy, an instant desire to go beyond the prudence of nicely calculated safeguards, are necessary if the problem is to be solved as we desire. We may usefully remember that this is not the first time the Transvaal has been annexed. In 1877 it was *de facto* re-incorporated in the British

Dominions without a shot having been fired. Large declarations were made as to the good and free government under which the South-African Republic was to be reorganized. I do not wish to go over the stages of this sad history, still less to indulge in vain speculations as to what might have been. It is probably true that what did happen could not have been prevented from happening. Yet, we cannot dismiss as absolutely unreal the suggestion that, had the administration of the Transvaal been conducted by us in a more sympathetic spirit, there would have been no rising of discontented burghers to revindicate their independence, no Majuba and no memories of Majuba. Many now join in declaring that Sir W. Owen Lanyon must be condemned for having, by his want of tact and temper, provoked the revival of the Boer spirit of independence which ended in a resort to arms. I confess I regard this judgment as quite unjust. Sir W. Owen Lanyon was not the right man in the right place, but he did not create the policy he administered. He was in authority only during the latter half of the period of our holding the Transvaal, and if his military manners irritated the burghers, they were not different from what must be expected from an ordinary military administrator, whilst the continued postponement of the re-establishment of autonomous institutions can in no way be ascribed to him. In facing the work of to-day, we must not think that all will be well if we choose a different agent. We must be born again ourselves. Unless the most eager spirit of reconciliation be manifested from the top downwards, and the strictest search be made for men of large and generous sympathies to inaugurate the new experiment, it will fail in developing any feeling of common citizenship, if it does not end in a repetition of the miserable experience of the former time.

In this connection, I may well recall, in the pages of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, the experiences of the years immediately following the Civil War. Mr. Andrew Johnson was called to the office of President, which no one had ever thought of his filling, and he speedily manifested a policy of restoration in the South which provoked the strongest condemnation. He was not a brilliant man, and his installation in office was marked by incidents which gave no promise of prudence in the future, and he went on his way in a temper which almost all thought reckless and many disloyal. The question was asked then, as it might be asked now,

"Have thousands of millions of dollars been spent and tens of thousands of lives lost, that things might be put back as they were before?" Mr. Johnson was in fact impeached, and the impeachment would have been successful had not one Republican Senator, who survives to be thanked for his action (Mr. Hoar of Massachusetts), voted against condemnation. Yet it is now universally admitted, if I am not in error, that Mr. Johnson was right and the men who denounced him were wrong. If the memories of the war have been effaced and the Union exists with a more active feeling of unity than it had during the generation preceding 1861, these results are in no small measure due to Andrew Johnson's unpolished rashness.

No guarantee can indeed be given of a similar success to-day. The utmost I would venture to say is that in action in the same spirit lies the best, if not the only, hope of success. The Southern States and the Northern had had a great history together. They shared in the traditions and the glory of the Revolutionary War. They looked back with equal pride to the Fathers and Founders of their national institutions. None of these circumstances finds a parallel in South Africa. The burghers of the annexed republics have not been, nor were their fathers before them, ever caught up and carried forward in the life and growth of the British Empire. Taken over as subjects during the Napoleonic struggle without any consultation of their wishes, they were by the confession of all men neglected and misruled, till they went forth into the wilderness to make homes for themselves, since which time they have lived apart, whether in peace or war, save in the brief interval of the annexation of the Transvaal, when no community of citizenship was established. With such a prelude in the past, and with the memories of the war now just concluded, the immediate prospect cannot be thought promising.

Yet there is something, there is even much, to be said on the other side. Tardy as the gift of self-government to the Cape Colony was, it produced results in no stinted measure. Within the frontiers of the Colony Boer and Briton lived and worked together with such differences as farmer and townsman have, but divided by no impassable gulf, and with a common loyalty to a universally beloved Queen. Her portrait was the customary ornament of every farm-house in a manner quite unknown at home.

It must be remembered that the Cape had no foreign policy.

The task of domestic development was sufficient for its inhabitants, and to this they devoted themselves, as to a common purpose. The much-abused Africander Bond was a natural growth of citizenship among dwellers on a common earth. If as first conceived, the idea of independence entered the minds of some members, this was promptly repudiated and discarded, and the Bond grew and flourished as an expression of common local life under an overlordship never questioned, because wisely abstinent of interference. How far removed were any dreams or aspirations of independence from actual conduct may be gathered from the single fact that Mr. Rhodes worked with the Bond, and was supported by the Bond as the Prime Minister of the Colony. Mr. Rhodes himself dreamt, as we now know, of a distant future, when all English-speaking people would form one political community under the ægis of the United States; but this distant dream is not regarded by his warmest admirers as detracting from Mr. Rhodes's reputation as a practical patriot. It is certain that the members of the Africander Bond never followed him so far in their forecast of the future. They had something of the "Know-nothing" feeling about them. They thought as Canadians think when toasting "Canada a Nation." They talked as Australians talk when they cry "Advance Australia." They were, indeed, better than "Know-nothings," as I understand the latter, because they were quite ready to receive and incorporate emigrants who made South Africa their home and were ready to share its fortunes; their first and last feeling being that to which Sir Wilfrid Laurier gave expression when he claimed for Canada the position of mistress in her own home, though daughter in her mother's house. A sturdy spirit of local independence that might easily become narrow in its sympathies was the vitalizing motive of the Africander party in the Cape Colony. A kindred spirit inspired the Boer Republics, and the best—I hesitate to say the only—hope, of keeping South Africa at peace under the sovereignty of the British Crown lies in the recognition and allowance of this spirit of local independence.

True wisdom will be found in admitting this with the utmost fulness and the utmost promptitude. Without overrating the intensity and permanence of the manifestations of good-will which have accompanied restoration of peace, we may still feel that the path of safety is found in the path of courage, in seizing upon the

readiness to live together authoritatively reported, in forming at once the channels through which it may act, and in giving free play to the forces which, within the limits of South Africa, are, it is not too much to say, bound to work out its future. According to my reading of the past, outside aspirations were rarely cherished among burghers in South Africa. They were home-thinking folk. They wanted to be let alone. The isolation so universally remarked as the chosen condition of every farmer, found its counterpart in political life. Passionately attached as he was to the independence of his republic, Mr. Krüger himself had no world-policy, and the idea embodied in that well-worn phrase would have indeed been most distasteful to him. Dr. Leyds, perhaps, cherished it and so far proved the bane of the community be served.

In Australia and in Canada the people are working out their own futures. The political dependence of each Federation upon the United Kingdom is nominal, though the history of the last two years and a half has proved a life connection very real and forcible. In the elimination of the Imperial factor or, in other words, in the absence of control from Downing Street, has been found the strength of true union. The vital connection of South Africa with the Empire must be kept in the same way—minimize dependence and enlarge the scope of local freedom. To those who may hesitate to work on the lines of this injunction, I may venture to suggest that, whether we like it or not, the future will shape itself after this fashion. How much the Boer likes to have his own way we know, and it requires no reflection to remember that the British emigrant is mastered by the same passion.

Consider what must be anticipated as the natural course of the material development of South Africa! The first important fact is the persistent survival—nay, the increase—of the native, especially of the Zulu. This strong race, far from disappearing before the advancing white, multiplies by his side, and even tends to fill up the land before him. Not naturally an eager or a plodding laborer, he is quite willing to do work on conditions that satisfy his sense of gain, and he is in fact the agricultural and the mining laborer in the land. Next in importance to the pervading presence of the native, is the fact that over the greatest part of South Africa farming is and must remain the one occupation of its inhabitants. The Cape Colony is agricultural. The

Orange River Colony is equally agricultural. The Transvaal looms in our thoughts as a gold-producing world, but the area of the Rand, and of any probable extension of gold mining, forms after all but a small proportion of the Transvaal. Its other sources of mineral wealth have an importance in connection with gold mining, but apart from it give no large promise of development. Natal, again, is really an agricultural country, though very different in character from the great table-lands of which it may be called the sea-slope. The two facts to which I thus refer have strongly operated to diminish the attractiveness of South Africa to the British emigrant. The shorter passage across the Atlantic has necessarily caused the largest outflow of our population to turn to the American shores; but our emigrants have passed by the Cape to go on to Australia and New Zealand. It need not be insisted upon in these pages that working-men are the most valuable, as they must be the most numerous, of all the elements constituting new communities; and the working-man does not willingly go to a country where a colored and dependent race do the work, unless he is called to a position to supervise and direct them. There is thus next to no scope for agricultural laborers in South Africa, and even mine workers go there as captains and leaders, not as mere laborers. The progress of Natal is a most striking illustration of the unattractiveness of South Africa, since it differs from the inner table-lands in naturally admitting a more varied agriculture and, being mainly a British colony, presents none of the difficulties which confront a British emigrant on entering among the Dutch-speaking people with Dutch habits and Dutch customs. Yet Natal draws few immigrants from the United Kingdom, the total white population numbering only about 65,000, being less than the immigrants from British India who have come as traders as well as farm laborers, and again less than a twelfth part of the Zulu population, which has increased under our rule to an extent provoking some anxiety respecting the future. It may be remembered in passing that the Natal whites themselves are jealous of the Indian immigrants. They have taken effective steps to prevent any further great addition to their numbers. All this goes to show that, except so far as immigrants are drawn to the mining centres of the Rand, we must not expect any movement changing the character of the white population of South Africa.

There is some vain talk indeed about the settlement of British immigrants in the newly annexed territories; but the most competent observers agree in thinking experiments in this direction unpromising, and a very small proportion of the volunteers who have taken part in the war have shown any disposition to remain as settlers in the country. As South Africa has been Dutch in the past, so it will be in the future. Such agriculture as it has satisfies the ever-multiplying Dutch, and repels the English; and those of the latter who move out of the towns into the country become absorbed in the more abiding race. We need not conclude that there must be opposition and antipathy between the two strains of population. Until recently there was a continuous course of amicable fusion—but it may be taken as certain that a Dutch flavor will be predominant over the greater part of South Africa. If we consider political divisions as they have been, Cape Colony must be mainly Dutch, the Orange River still more Dutch, the Transvaal—apart from the Rand—Dutch, and, apart from mining prospects as yet unrealized, Rhodesia itself has been a field of immigration to Dutch farmers. For two or three years the devastations of war will continue to derange the natural development of the continent; but nature and man soon recover themselves, and we may look forward after a comparatively brief interval to the filling up of the land on lines previously pursued.

A dispassionate forecast of the future enforces the wisdom of the policy, at once courageous and generous, of treating Dutch and English as equals at once, so that a really united South Africa may grow up without delay, without friction and with as little memory of the hateful past as is possible under the new conditions of local freedom.

What is the chance of this fair future of a reconciled South Africa coming to pass? This is a question I should like to avoid answering; for, in truth, I am not sanguine; and yet I do not desire to say any word that could in any way work to prevent its fulfilment. After all deductions made for the too possible exaggerations of passing moods, there is reasonable ground for belief that those who have been lately fighting against annexation might be quietly brought into friendly co-operation in building up South Africa afresh, if they were really taken into co-operation, that is to say, into partnership in this great enterprise. This means something more than allowing them to go back and culti-

vate their farms in peace—more even than helping them to restore the farmsteads that have been destroyed. So much is indeed necessary and urgent, as the conditions of peace practically admit. But the reconstruction of political society is no less pressing, and if this work is to be successfully carried through, the men who have come out as the real leaders of their countrymen in arms, must be invited to join in it. For some time, arrangements must no doubt be rough and provisional. You cannot have Volksraads, Presidents, and State Councils improvised on the instant. Something of a Grondwet must be attempted, and perhaps the best thing that could be done at once would be to assemble in informal councils the best men in the new colonies to talk over the terms of such a Grondwet. If the representatives of the victors entered upon such councils, not as dictators but as fellow-workers, and with the sense that strong and abiding institutions must follow the lines of old habits and old thoughts, the representatives of the beaten might be fairly expected to meet such advances in a reciprocal spirit; and, out of such a temper and agreement on both sides, the forms of future life might be elaborated. It has often been suggested that the work of resettlement of South Africa would require a mission something like that conducted by Lord Durham previous to the reorganization of Canada. I do not desire to press the parallel, the working out of which might lead into inconvenient detail. It is enough to dwell generally on the temper which must animate any successful agents in this great work. If the Boer consent to abandon independence is to be confirmed, strengthened and made perpetual, it must be met by an equally steady consent of the British to abandon racial predominance. The Boers, according to the testimonies that reach us, are performing their part and the British must be adjured to play up to this opening without reluctance. This is not too much to expect on the part of those who, before the war began, protested that they had no desire to upset the self-government of the Transvaal, and indeed deprecated the possibility of their being charged with the burden of its government; and if the course of the war made annexation in their judgment inevitable, it must also have demonstrated the insuperable difficulties of keeping the peace otherwise than by the method of contented agreement. It is indeed common ground that everything should be done to secure the quiet extinction of racial

antagonism; but it is strangely suggested that this end can be best pursued by the suppression, for some indefinite educational period, of representative institutions—even in the Cape Colony.*

In connection with this question I may perhaps be permitted to make a personal reference. The representative machinery which, originating in the British Isles, has been brought into use in all the self-governing communities of the world has long appeared to me grotesquely ill adapted to its proper end, and open especially to the objection that it tends to create opposing parties where no natural division exists, and to exasperate the opposition of parties where parties are naturally found. I admit, therefore, the drawback attendant upon parliamentary government in South Africa; and if it were permissible to recreate it on a new basis, I should gladly welcome the change. Such a reconstruction cannot, however, be forced upon communities in which opinion is not ripe for its reception, and the most imperfect organization of popular government that exists is better than none. As we have no choice we must start from what exists, satisfied that under every obstacle a real spirit of union will make its way, reconciling all divisions one to another. We have a history at hand, if history were any use, to warn us of false tracks. Anything like a second Ireland could not be permanently maintained in South Africa, but those who have heartily supported the late war have concurred with those who opposed it in deprecating even a temporary setting-up of a second Ireland to mark its close. Have we now to fear that the plea of necessity may be put forward for doing that which had been deprecated in advance? Are we to begin reconstruction by government supported by an English garrison? I refuse to believe in this outcome, though I wish the question could be answered with more certainty in the negative. Once begin that way, and the prospect is despairing. But those at home whose judgment must decide this issue are surely conscious of the dangers of this future, and therefore I look, I wait—dare I add, I hope?—for better things.

LEONARD COURTNEY.

* *Postscript. July 7th.*—Since the foregoing was written, the despatch of the Colonial Secretary has been published, refusing, on the part of the Home Government, the suspension of the Cape Constitution, unless indeed it was asked for by a vote of the Cape Legislature, or forced upon them by the failure of that Legislature to do necessary work.

PRACTICAL PROBLEMS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

BY THE HON. ALFRED LYTTELTON.

THE war in South Africa is over, and peace has been concluded on terms touched by the spirit of that chivalry in which, to the undying honor of the two belligerents, hostilities were conducted. The greatest administrative task of a hundred years now confronts the conqueror.

His Majesty the King, Lord Milner, his illustrious representative in South Africa, Lord Kitchener and the Generals of that army who by their sacrifices have title paramount to fashion and mould our tone, have set us a noble example in the thought and language of conciliation. Let us, therefore, before approaching the practical problems of the day, dwell for a moment on the affinities between the Dutch and the British races.

Though both races have a commercial character, the best characteristics of both nations have been largely influenced by agricultural and sea-faring pursuits. The Boer farmer and the English agricultural laborer, when for a time under military discipline, soon fraternized; if heredity has anything in it, the descendants of De Ruyter and Van Tromp ought to have some sympathies ready made with the descendants of Drake and Frobisher. It can do us no harm, at this time, to remember also that the love of religious and political freedom induced men of the same race as the Boers to turn their country, a marvel of human industry, into one vast lake, from which cities with their steeples and towers rose like islands, and that the hero who inspired that colossal sacrifice was our ally and afterwards our king.

It is not merely in Europe that the Dutch and British races have found spheres of harmonious action. New York was once New Amsterdam; the Dutch who inhabited it were, after a fierce contest, absorbed by the American branch of our race; and the

names of Stuyvesant and Vanderbilt, and the illustrious association which gathers round the name of Roosevelt, attest the consolidating power of time and the worth and varied strength of a blended race.

It is not to be expected of human nature that the loss of their independence can be borne for a time, at any rate, by the Boers without grief; but, although national independence has too many glorious associations to make its loss other than grievous, some consolations may, at any rate, be legitimately drawn from reflection on that Empire into which the new territories are to be gathered. The ideal of a South Africa united under the British flag is higher than that of a South Africa split into independent nationalities, governed under contradictory systems and armed against each other; and if the success of the British cause in South Africa has destroyed the independence of a small nationality, we may trust that it will be, at the same time, "a triumph for all time of those principles which Imperial Britain represents, that larger freedom, that higher justice, beneath whose sovereign sway the trader of every land may uncord his bales on all her shores, unhindered, the devout of every race pray to God in his own accents unafraid." Personal liberty, religious toleration and the free expansion of the individual are not always safeguarded by national independence. Turkey, China, Russia may have their merits, but those countries are not the homes of liberty. Every lover of liberty should, therefore, determine that the loss to the Boers of national independence should, as far as possible, be compensated by the institution and maintenance of a government truly worthy of the best Imperial traditions, under whose rule races of different history, aspiration, language, temperament and color may, in South Africa as elsewhere, combine to enrich and expand their common country.

That this ideal is not visionary or vaunting we may point as a proof to the work achieved by Lord Milner and his associates in the conquered provinces, while they were yet burdened with the enormous difficulties and responsibilities of a state of war. The law affecting the natives of the Transvaal has been already stripped of the harsh and terrifying characteristics which, perhaps naturally, had been evolved in the Transvaal out of the sanguinary contests between the Boer and Kaffir. The opportunities of oppression open to those who sought cheap labor and rapid

fortunes by means of which natives, ignorant of the nature of the bargains they were making, were aggrieved, have been removed, and Government officials, with no pecuniary interest at stake, now explain to the native miners the nature of the labor contract, and ensure that it shall be voluntarily undertaken. The contract once made, another class of officials, Government inspectors of natives, provide a system of supervision that gives both to the native and to his employer an easy means of redress for breaches of contract. Again, more valuable than all, the illicit drink traffic with natives has been put down with salutary ruthlessness.

A wonderful start has also been made in a work presenting if possible greater difficulties. To the genuine delight of their parents, while the war was yet raging, a larger number of Dutch children enjoyed elementary education than ever before in the two provinces. Dutch teachers taught to the children their own religious faith, using for this purpose the Taal language, which, though a barbarous tongue in ordinary use, rises in connection with Biblical teaching to a homely and picturesque dignity. After religious conviction had thus been satisfied, the parents of the children saw, with profound satisfaction, lessons given in English by English teachers, in all other branches of elementary education. It should be a source of lasting pride to soldiers that the idea of educating, in the camps, the sons and daughters of the enemy in the field was conceived by Lord Methuen and developed afterwards by Mr. Sargent, the Director of Education, in a spirit finely portrayed in the injunction conveyed by him to the volunteer teachers from Canada, Australia, and the Mother Country at the outset of their work:

> "Seek out then those who know the children of the land and spend many of your hours out of school with them, try to learn something of the Taal, that expressive language of Dutch-Africander population, which measures and describes everything through the experience of farm life, offer to talk of your home occupation, and to read with your comrades the works of English literature that you value most; ask them to lead you to the tents of those among their countrymen from whom you can gain the deepest insight into the Boer character. In a word, go among your fellow-workers as friends and equals and as messengers of peace."

The limits of this article do not permit more than a bare reference to the reform of the gold and patent laws by Sir Richard

Solomon, to the interesting and important scheme for irrigation of Mr. Wilcox, and to the land settlement plans of Mr. Arnold-Forster, which bear witness to the industry, foresight and sympathy of the new administration.

It will be gathered from the preceding observations that Government, in the conquered provinces, is dealing and has to deal with the intricate problems presented by a modern, commercial, and civilized community, and that the task must necessarily absorb the greater part of an intellect even so powerful and rapid in working as that of Lord Milner.

A real difficulty in the situation is that, in addition to the administration of the intricate commercial life of Johannesburg and the Rand, the needs of a scattered primitive rural population have also to be studied. If it be possible, it would be good that the British representatives should revive that part of Mr. Krüger's system which showed true understanding of the character of the farmers and rural population over whom he exercised such unquestionable sway. His custom was to receive freely at stated times in personal interview those who alleged grievances and sought redress. If a Dutchman, over a pipe of tobacco on the *stoep,* has had, without interruption, his slow say, revolving heavily like one of his own windmills in a lazy breeze, even if he fail to carry his point, his grievance will take a milder hue, and he will recognize the fairness of an adverse decision. These tranquil interviews would unconsciously inoculate active officials with understanding of our grave fellow-subjects and their solitary aspirations.

While things are of good presage generally in the conquered territories, a formidable controversy has arisen in the Cape Colony. A large party, distinguished in its devotion to the cause of loyalty and supported by Lord Milner, advocates the temporary suspension of the Cape constitution. It should, however, be very specially noted that Lord Milner's support to this movement was given before the declaration of peace, and that we have no knowledge whether that important *nouveau fait* has or has not modified his views. It would be wrong to assume that because those views were, as it seems, firmly held before the peace, they have of necessity remained unchanged to the present time. However this may be, the controversy is one which may well be conducted in the spirit of those between Carlyle and Sterling, who, except in

opinion, did not disagree, for both parties emblazon on their banners peace, truce to racial animosity, avoidance of exasperating topics on exasperating occasions, and both seek, we may assuredly believe, the blending of races without whose concord the future of South Africa must be dark. For myself, I am of opinion that at this moment the weight of the argument against even a temporary suspension of the Cape constitution over-balances those in its favor, but this opinion should not impair the desire or ability to state these arguments with sympathy and fairness and with an entire faith in the patriotism and goodwill of those who advance them.

The case for suspension is advocated by reasoning of which the following is, it is hoped, a fair summary. The primary duty, it is said, of statesmen is to face facts as they really are; their commonest fault is the rehearsal of formulas once vital with truth but now out-worn and irrelevant. Let it be granted that free institutions and representative government are in our empire under normal conditions unquestioned rights. They are misplaced when a country is yet reeling from the shock of racial strife. The cardinal requisites of the country are repose and concord; and for the culture of these blessed fruits a climate is needed from which all frosty asperities shall be banished, and in which all assuaging influences shall be left to expand unhindered. The pacific spirit will mellow if the occasions for strife are withdrawn. The Dutch, as well as the British, desire nothing but a just and firm government, under whose ordered rule material prosperity can revive, and whose temperate, reasonable influence will wither the noisier sections of peevish politicians and windy agitators. What, it is urged, can be more foolish than to embark men who, in their hearts, sincerely wish to let bygones be bygones and to revive peace and goodwill, upon a general election, an occasion which, at all times, and with the most united and lethargic people, begets wrath and violent speech, but which now, in South Africa, would of necessity arouse passionate recriminations between men of different blood and race, who have lately witnessed a war with emotions such as those which consumed the Athenian and Syracuse spectators of the great battle in the Harbor of Syracuse. Our common object, it is said, is the free federation of the provinces of South Africa under the British flag. Suspend the constitution for a time, and not only will you attain this end

sooner, but you will attain it without rekindling animosity and without making damaging concessions in the Cape Colony which would be wrung from you under the stress of Dutch parliamentary predominance.

No candid mind can fail to see force in this position; no sensible mind can hold, without diffidence, conclusions antagonistic to that formed on the spot by men intimately conversant with the local conditions. Yet the answer to the position sketched above appears convincing. The British Parliament is the only authority by which this *coup d'état* can be sanctioned, and in the British Parliament necessity is the only cause by which such a *coup d'état* can be justified. Now, the arguments in favor of suspension are not the arguments of necessity but of expediency. Probably they are conceived on the hypothesis that tactics are to be expected from the Bond party after, similar to those it employed before and during, the war, and that the peace, which, by its chivalrous terms, has already done so much to assuage the bitterness between the belligerents, is to be reckoned as if it had not taken place when the situation in the Cape Colony is reviewed. This hypothesis does not appear to be well founded; for, putting aside all ideas of gratitude for the generosity with which their kinsmen have been treated, it ought to be remembered that the Cape Dutch have, like all their race, much practical sense, and that the conclusion of the war has after all fundamentally changed the situation. The dream of a greater Holland has vanished, the formidable armies of the northern provinces have been dispersed and disarmed, the millions by which agitation was promoted and the press inflamed are no longer at the command of the late President and the ambitious and unscrupulous Hollanders who incited him to his ruin. Why should the Cape Dutchmen be straightway written down, like the Bourbon, incapable of learning and incapable of forgetting? Such may be his character, but let it be proven to be so before steps are taken which, with the best intenions, will appear to be an invasion of those equal rights for which the war was waged, and which will equip every hostile agitator with arrows from the respectable quivers of Hampden, Pym, Somers and other constitutional worthies of our history. Assuming concord to be the object to be sought by both sides, and the animosity of races to be avoided, why is the agitation on the platform which has already begun in

the Cape Colony to be less irritant than the normal parliamentary election, when all conditions are the same, except that every constitutionalist will have a grievance in addition to those which he considers that he already possessed from the operation of martial law? How strangely compounded must be a Dutchman if he is explosive at an election, exercising his customary rights, but unexplosive on the platform, protesting against uncustomary restrictions.

Lastly, if these views are wrong, it will not be too late to reverse them, if necessity does arise, by the refusal of the Cape Parliament to grant supply or to pass an Act of Indemnity.

Since writing the above, the despatch of Mr. Chamberlain to Sir W. Hely-Hutchinson, has been published, and the decision of the British government definitely pronounced against suspension. It will be noted that:

1. Stress is laid on the fact that the petition to suspend was signed before the termination of hostilities, and before the circumstances attending the close of the war were known;

2. That hope is firmly entertained that the Cape Parliament will not fail in its very evident duty to pass an Act of Indemnity, which will protect those who have administered martial law and those who have levied taxes without Parliamentary authority;

3. The opinion is expressed that to deprive the Cape Colonists, even for a time, of their constitutional rights without giving to the present representatives of the people the opportunity of expressing their opinions on such a great change, is likely rather to produce discontent and agitation than to pacify race hatred;

Finally, in language truly conciliatory, a powerful appeal is made to moderate men of all parties to avoid further strife, and to allay the passions excited by the war and by previous controversy.

It is inevitable, having regard to the strength and authority of opinion adverse to the policy laid down in this despatch, that a feeling of soreness and resentment may at first be excited by it; but it is most earnestly to be hoped that its mandate may be loyally accepted, and that the British spirit of legality will manifest itself, which enjoins cheerful acquiescence, even by those who are unconvinced, in adverse judgments, honestly and deliberately pronounced.

ALFRED LYTTELTON.

THE HUNT FOR HAMILTON'S MOTHER.

BY GERTRUDE ATHERTON.

To the old friends of Hamilton and to the new ones whom I may be so fortunate as to have made for him, is due the story in detail of my search through the West Indian records for certain important facts connected with his birth and maternal ancestry. Great generosity has been shown in taking the truth of my statements for granted; the few reviewers who have questioned my integrity have been hostile on general principles. And just here I will make the only reply necessary to those of my critics who have grumbled loudly over the disconcerting form of "The Conqueror": that "it is neither a novel nor a biography," that "it is impossible to tell where fiction ends and history begins," that, in short, a book which purports to deal with facts should not be so embellished as to confuse the inquiring mind. Indeed, it shouldn't; and, if I had been writing the first biography of Hamilton instead of the seventh or eighth, my method would have been unpardonable. Those who profess such anxiety to have the truth and nothing but the truth about Alexander Hamilton, have had the successive works of half a century to draw upon. There are the first and second volumes of the "Life," begun by John Church Hamilton, afterward rewritten and continued in the "History of the Republic"—seven very large volumes; Morse's "Alexander Hamilton," in two volumes; Lodge's interesting monograph in the American Statesmen Series; Conant's brief but satisfactory study; and the others of less importance. It seemed to me that the work of the next biographer was, not to do the same old thing in the same old way, but to give the *man;* furthermore, to write a life that would stand a chance of being read. (My humble ambition was to give Hamilton back to the American people.) Of course, this object might have been ac-

complished by the historical-novel method, but in that form history is invariably sacrificed; and the history of our political genesis is not only as important as any one of the men who made it, but from 1776 to 1800 is indissolubly bound up with Alexander Hamilton. Therefore, in spite of a due appreciation of the conservatism of my kind, I determined to turn from the honored forms of biography and the novel, and to use the form of Life, even those abrupt transitions from grave to gay, from political affairs to social frivolities, so well known to all but novelists and the reviewers of novels; writing, in fact, as if I had stood beside Hamilton throughout his life, discarding only those wearisome details we all turn to books to forget; quieting such apprehensions as may have beset me, with the reflection that those who disapproved could let it alone. To the devil with the old fogies, anyway!

Before I sailed for the West Indies, I was in possession of these alleged facts, stated by J. C. Hamilton and copied without question by the condensers of his voluminous work: that Hamilton's maternal grandfather was a Frenchman named Faucette, who had fled from France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and subsequently become a doctor of wealth and consequence on the Island of Nevis, British West Indies; that one of Faucette's daughters had, when very young, been persuaded by her mother to marry a wealthy Dane named Lavine, who ill-treated her; that this daughter had obtained a divorce from Lavine and afterward married James Hamilton, a merchant from Scotland, living on the Island of St. Christopher (now officially known as St. Kitts) British West Indies; that the result of this union was the Alexander Hamilton of our history; that James Hamilton was a failure in business; that Mrs. Hamilton died when Alexander was very young, leaving him to the charity of her sisters, (presumably, from other evidence) Mrs. Peter Lytton, and Mrs. Mitchell, of the Island of St. Croix, Danish West Indies; that the Rev. Hugh Knox, of one of these islands (according to Lodge, the Island was Nevis), had taken an interest in his education, and given him letters of introduction to prominent men in the American colonies; that James Hamilton died on the Island of St. Vincent in the year 1799. There was also the information, doubtless reiterated many times by Hamilton, that his mother was a woman of great beauty, brilliancy, and accomplishments, and that he

owed his genius to her. But not a word of her first name—nothing, in short, beyond these meagre statements, except the one incontrovertible fact that Hamilton, while on St. Croix, had worked in the store of Nicolas Cruger. The correspondence preserved proved this; but Hamilton's life until the age of twelve, and his mother's before him, were almost black with mystery.

The State Department gave me a circular letter to our consuls in the West Indies asking them to help me, and my lawyer instructed me as to the best plan of work when I reached the ground. Before leaving, I went to the New York Society of Historical Research, and asked the librarian if his institution had never sent any one to the Islands to find the facts of the birth and ancestry of the most remarkable man in our history. I did not care to go on a fool's errand. He told me that nothing had been done. I had already made up my mind that the Hamilton descendants knew no more than had been given to the public.

I sailed with my friend, Miss Constant Lounsbery, the poet, by the Quebec S. S. line, in February, 1901, and after touching at St. Thomas and St. Croix, landed at St. Kitts. I had intended to begin researches on Nevis; but, learning that the discomforts of living on that once wealthy and famous island were not to be ignored by the most enthusiastic searcher after truth, I abandoned my first intention to land there, and made my headquarters on the neighboring and delightful Island of St. Kitts. The town of Basseterre on this island, is eleven miles from Charles Town on Nevis, although at extreme points the islands are but two miles apart. To-day, Nevis, once the "Mother of the Leeward Caribbees'," is but an annex of St. Kitts, having neither Administrator nor Registrar of her own.

My coming was expected and several of the leading people of the island, besides four clergymen, immediately called, and, with that spontaneous generosity which seems to be a divine gift to isolated regions, offered me their help. They were all interested, but all equally sure that I could accomplish nothing: "others had tried and failed." Finally, I asked, "What others? Who has been here?" "No one has been here, but several have written." My disquiet passed. I have lived sufficiently to know that you have got to do your own work. Deputies may be amiable, but they are lanquid.

"Of course, you know that he is illegitimate," one and all re-

marked. "That is what I have come to prove or disprove. His biographers assert that his mother was divorced, and remarried. John Adams called him the 'bastard brat of a Scotch peddler.' Lodge, in an appendix, gives an extract from the Pickering MSS., which insinuates that he was the natural brother of Edward Stevens of St. Croix—so strong was the resemblance between the two boys, and so many the rumors of the time. The truth must lie somewhere in these records; and I also shall ascertain if there were any divorce laws in the islands in the eighteenth century." But this was not the worst. They usually added: "But — of course—you know—he was colored."

The first time this was flung at me, I will confess I was almost ill. Not to prove a truth of this sort had I undertaken a long and difficult journey. Were it a truth, the journey would be for nothing, for I would not write the biography. I admire Booker Washington, and I wish the colored race all the success that it deserves; but inherited instincts are the strongest in us, and both enthusiasm and imagination would shrivel were I obliged to accept as a fact that Alexander Hamilton had negro blood in him.

But I soon laid the ghost. To-day in the West Indies there is, perhaps, no illegitimate person who is not colored, and for that reason West Indians jump at the conclusion that all illegitimate children are and have been colored. This may not be logical, but it is natural. They do not stop to remember that in the eighteenth century the upper classes of the Islands had the morals of Europe, or that many highly respected members of the fashionable society of their predecessors were living in unmarried morality as late as 1850. The report probably had its origin in one of two causes: either some Alexander Hamilton, the son of one of the many Hamiltons of the time, and a slave, distinguished himself locally, and his reputation became confused with that of the famous American; or Hamilton, being known in the United States as a creole, suffered correspondingly in the minds of ignorant people, and the story travelled back to the Islands. If Hamilton had had colored blood in him, he would have had several coal-black descendants before this; such being the freakish law of Nature. But my subsequent discoveries alone would have disproved this cruel story, for his mother's relatives were, one and all, people of consequence, and in that day the negro was a slave and nothing more.

The consul at St. Kitts, Dr. Haven, introduced me to the Registrar, and recommended to me a professional searcher of records. The Registrar, Mr. Latouche, placed the records of St. Kitts and Nevis at my disposal, and I sent my searcher over to the mother island to go through the records for any information concerning the names, Hamilton, Lavine, Faucette, Lytton, Mitchell, and Knox. I would follow him in a day or two.

A sail-boat laden with negroes and cargo plies daily between the two islands. In squalls it turns upside down, for the sails are heavy enough for a boat twice its size. Mr. Outerbridge, the manager of the Quebec line, had given me a letter to his agent, who selected a fine day and chartered the boat for us. In consequence, Miss Lounsbery and I sailed over unattended by negroes or cargo. The boat stood on its beam ends all the way, and there was no place in particular to sit on, but it was cool and stirring and we made no lament. Mr. Greaves, the vice-consul met us, and after some hours I unearthed my searcher. He had discovered nothing, and I sent him back to St. Kitts to go through the records there. The next morning, I went to the Court House and sat down to the records myself. Mr. Greaves, Mr. Mercier, the clerk, and Miss Lounsbery all helped me at times. There being no index to assist me to immediate discoveries, I read page after page of these strange old records, in order to get the social history of the island in the eighteenth century. I never expect to see anything like them again. They were burnt by fire, and yellow and spotted by damp. They smelt like opium and broke at the touch. Most of them had not been opened for nearly a century, and there was danger that, like an old corpse, they would disappear upon contact with the air.

For a time I found nothing that I had come in search of, but I did discover that two-thirds of the great families of the time were named Hamilton; and this fact gives us James Hamilton's reason for coming to the West Indies in search of fortune. Hope in relatives is one of the permanent delusions of the human heart.

Suddenly the clerk uttered an exclamation, and laid before me a fragment on which was written a number of names, the sole remnant of a long-gone index. One of the names was Fawcett.

I immediately took over the volume to which this brittle scrap had clung, and went through it page by page. It was a very big volume and the thermometer stood at 85 degrees. My mind may

have wandered, for I finished the volume and found nothing. I worked backward, and this time I found a deed of separation between John and Mary Fawcett, dated February 5, 1740. I studied it attentively, and could read that they had been people of considerable importance, that there had been trouble in bringing John to terms, but that Mary had used her influence with the Captain-General and induced him to issue a writ of supplicavit for a separate maintenance. The husband had finally agreed, or was forced, to separate her property from his, and she resigned all her rights of dower in lieu of a yearly stipend. But there was no mention of any children. On the following day, Mr. Mercier found in another volume a splinter of index on which was written the one word Fawcett. I searched that volume and found that in 1714 one Captain Frank Keynall had left a piece of property on Nevis to John and Mary Fawcett. In that way I ascertained that the couple had been married at least twenty-six years when they separated.

On a part of Nevis called Gingerland, Mr. Greaves told me, was a negro village named Fawcett. The inhabitants of this village were undoubtedly the descendants of the slaves who had been freed in the general emancipation of 1834, and had taken the name of their former owners. There was no trace of any other Fawcetts in the records. Beyond this I could find nothing, no further deeds relating to my people, no will made by either Fawcett, no mention of James Hamilton, nor of Lavines, Lyttons or Mitchells.

I spent four days on this island, and with the help of my friends read every church register extant, and explored every cemetery. The registers in the parish of Charles Town, where Hamilton was born, were destroyed by the French in 1780, and the others told nothing. The inscriptions in the church-yards—where the brambles choked the pathways—were almost all obliterated by time, for they had been cut in the sand-stone of the island. Many of the monuments have crumbled long since.

Meanwhile, I was haunted by a story which I had been told almost immediately upon arriving in Charles Town, that Hamilton had been the son of a Miss Hamilton and a planter from one of the other islands. About the year 1806, some one, living in Demerara, had written a sketch of Hamilton, containing this statement, asserted with authority. This pamphlet had been

in the possession of the one hotel-keeper of Nevis until a few years ago, when it was appropriated by an enterprising American. At that time I had not read Hamilton's correspondence, nor the extracts from the "Historical and Genealogical Memoirs of the House of Hamilton," of which there is no copy in this country; but I had read the extracts given by Lodge from the Pickering MSS., and for all I then knew James Hamilton might be one of the myths to be disposed of. Perhaps my mind was the more open to doubt because I promptly disproved one other of J. C. Hamilton's positive assertions.

Mr. Libord, the only lawyer of Nevis, had hunted up an old book on whose title page was the following legend: "Substance of the three reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Administration of Civil and Criminal Justice in the West Indies. Extracted from the Parliamentary papers, with the General Conclusions of the Commissioner's Scheme of Improvement, Complete and in full. London, Joseph Butterworth & Son, 43 Fleet Street. 1827." In this book I learned that there had been no law for divorce or separate maintenance in the Islands. My lawyer had told me that this would be an important point to establish, for in England at that time divorce could be obtained only by a private act of Parliament, a proceeding which involved thousands of pounds and immense influence. Although this discovery mattered nothing in the light of subsequent findings, it served its purpose at the moment in shaking my faith in J. C. Hamilton; and the feminine mind lapses naturally to the conclusion that if the masculine has one weak spot it may have others. Perhaps if the new story had interested me less, I might have reflected that some men lie only when they think they must and are truthful when it is convenient.

But the story, indeed, took a strong hold upon my imagination, and in the four long nights on Nevis, when less romantic invaders kept me awake, I wove a tale which was very much to my taste. The Miss Hamilton was a daughter of one of the great planters and had loved a certain Mr. Stevens of St. Croix. Her father presented her with a house down by the sea and enough to keep her alive. Here she lived until Alexander was five years old, disinherited and deserted by all but Stevens, who came over occasionally. (I knew less of the easy morals of the day than I did after a more exhaustive study). By this time, she cared little

for Stevens, and Alexander was the absorbing passion of her life, her natural maternal instinct being intensified by her solitary existence. Finally, Stevens came to her and offered to bring Alexander up in his own family, concealing from the world and the child the secret of his birth, and giving him an equal chance in life with his own children. She could come and live on St. Croix under another name, and see him as often as she wished—after he had forgotten her. For the sake of the child's future she consented, and Alexander grew up regarding her as a sort of fairy god-mother, fond of her, and not suspecting the relationship. When he left for the United States, Stevens permitted her to follow him, and throughout his lifetime she was his intimate friend and confidante. This is the point: She was to tell the story after his death. Being beautiful and brilliant, she had the political *salon* of her day, and was in a position to tell the history, political and social, of the time, with the intimate accuracy of one who was practically a part of it, the confidante of others besides Hamilton.

So tremendous a hold did this story and the personality of the woman take on my mind during those long nights and days and several that succeeded, that I identified myself with her, and I had the maternal passion in all its primitive simplicity. I told this story over and over to myself—always in the first person, be it remembered—always expanding and embellishing, until I was as much a figure in that bygone time as Alexander was himself. The consequence was that when the discoveries of the future compelled me to relinquish this elaborate piece of fiction, my mental attitude remained, and although obliged to forego the pleasure of telling the story in the first person, yet I almost unconsciously told it much as, during that memorable interval, I had expected to tell it.

I returned to St. Kitts, and the next day my searcher appeared and informed me that he had found James Hamilton. It was noon, but I flew to the Court House. The James Hamilton discovered died eighteen years before Alexander was born. I dismissed the expert and went on by myself. Although I had found and heard enough to interest me deeply, I cannot say that I was encouraged. In spite of the most brilliant sunshine that I had ever seen and the vast expanse of hot-blue sea before my window, I felt as if groping in the dark between stone walls. The mystery

seemed to deepen, and so many of the records were lost. I was a generation too late for personal memories. Indeed, I had to approach the old people with the utmost tact. If I did not begin by asking them if they remembered hearing their grandfathers speak of Hamilton, they invariably regarded me sourly, remarked that they had not been alive a hundred and fifty years ago; and had to be placated. But I was now to have my first ray of light.

The records of St. Kitts are in a better condition than those of Nevis, and the indexes are in separate volumes. But they were not to be found all at once, and my progress was rather slow in consequence. I went through them as they came to hand and found Lyttons, Stevenses, and Mitchells without end. After reading the history of St. Croix, and of the invitation given by the Danes in 1733 to the planters of neighboring isles, and the church registers of the island, it was easy to see what island they had drawn upon for the larger part of their population. I read documents relating to these people, but was still unilluminated. At last, however, I found the second link in my chain. In the third or fourth volume I came upon the entry, "Fawcett to Hamm." I thought the clerk would never find the volume to which it referred, and when he did it was the most evil smelling and evil looking of the lot. Its pages were almost black, they broke and crumbled as I touched them, and the handwriting was diabolical. Even the pages were misnumbered, and I was obliged to resort to a study of margins before I saw again those words, "Fawcett to Hamm." For at least ten minutes I could make nothing of that cryptogram. It was a mere orgie of twirls and flourishes, letters twisted, and letters upside down. I called to the Registrar and clerk to help me, but they were busy. I was in a fine state of excitement, for I *felt* that, could I pull those flourishes apart, I should find the key to my mystery. Finally, I deciphered the first few lines. It was a deed of trust. Substantially, it began thus: "I, Mary Fawcett, widow, of the Island of St. Christopher, desiring to provide for the future of my three dear slaves, Rebecca, Flora, and Esther, transfer them to my friend Archibald Hamm, or to his heirs; they to remain in my possession during my lifetime, to pass thereafter to my beloved daughter, Rachael Lavion. . . ."

For the moment it seemed to me that Rachael Levine rose from

the page. She was as alive to me then as when I wrote of her later. And I was the only person living who knew the name of Hamilton's mother. The misspelling of her name did not disconcert me, for the spelling of the entry, as far as I had read it, was of an equal excellence with the handwriting, and in most of the deeds I had studied one name would be spelled in as many different ways as inferior education could devise. That I had found Hamilton's mother I never should have doubted even had I discovered no further evidence. The Registrar and clerk joined me, and together we deciphered the rest of the document. I have given the substance of it in my book. It was dated the fifth of May, 1756—eight months before the birth of Alexander Hamilton. I gathered that Mary Fawcett knew that Hamilton could not marry her daughter, and had her own reasons for wishing to provide for the future of her favorite slaves.

I turned that Court House upside down in my determination to find the will of Mary Fawcett. There were times when I felt that I would barter my immortal soul for the light it would give me. Were it not that they welcome any excitement in the West Indies—I am told that the other islands are jealous of Martinique—their amiability might have failed them. As it was, they were nearly distracted. They all called me "Mrs. Hamilton," and once the Registrar came forward with his hand at his head exclaiming: "Mrs. Atherton, what have you done to me? Here I am making out an important paper for Mr. Justice ———, and I have written 'Mr. Justice Hamilton!'"

But not another item could I find. Many of the records were chips between their rotting covers. Others had wholly disappeared. Mr. Mercier, on whom I could wholly rely, once more searched the records of Nevis. I was obliged to give it up. I examined the church registers, and the minutes of Council, and then set sail for St. Croix.

In Fredriksted I found nothing. Its last army of rioting negroes had burned the records, but I had looked for little there, and in a day or two I crossed the island to Christiansted. Here I was forced to endure inaction for several days. I had made up my mind to begin with the church registers; and the Anglican clergyman, Mr. Watson, was away. The Common Records, of course, were in Danish, and I did not know how to go to work upon them. Our consul had recently died—a Hamilton enthusi-

ast, worse luck!—and no new one had been appointed. The widow of the consul, although an American, was the only antagonistic person that I met in the Islands. I called upon her with a proper introduction; but she must have concluded that I did not look like an author, for she regarded me with suspicion, said she had never heard of Hamilton, and remarked that she was not responsible for the conversations her husband may have indulged in when away from home; he never had talked of such matters with her. Chaste soul! She may have heard that Hamilton was illegitimate.

During these days of waiting I passed some unquiet hours. Every instinct convinced me that I had found Hamilton's mother, but my proof was by no means sufficient to convince others, and the Miss Hamilton story followed me even here. In an old Danish dictionary I found the bald statement, that Hamilton was the son of a Miss Hamilton. It must be remembered, also, that I had not found James Hamilton, and that there are no libraries of standard works in these Islands. Could I have passed those long days with the volumes of Hamilton's "Works" containing his correspondence, I should have been saved much wear and tear of mind. These not only contain a letter from James Hamilton to his son, dated from St. Vincent, but Hamilton's correspondence with his relatives in Scotland; after his fame had induced them to look him up. In the "History of the Republic," also, there is a letter from Hamilton to his brother James—then living on St. Thomas—relating to their father. But, so far, I was still greatly in the dark. Not in despair, however, for I have a theory that anything can be found. It merely depends upon the endurance of the hunter.

Christiansted was beautiful enough to divert any mind, and I found that it had carefully preserved the memory of Hamilton. The store—Mr. Cruger's—in which he worked, is pointed out to all visitors, and the beautiful apartment above, occupied by Mr. Quin, the first citizen of the town, is called Hamilton House. I was guided to an aged slave who had lived with the Mitchells at the time of the emancipation, but she could tell me of little but their wealth and subsequent poverty. I learned, however, that the Mitchell of the time in which I was interested had been a slave trader, and his big stone store on the corner of Strand and King streets is in as fine a state of preservation as Cruger's. But to-day

there is not a person on the island bearing the name Mitchell, Cruger, Lytton, Stevens, Hamilton, or Knox.

Mr. Watson returned and immediately took me to his house, where the registers of St. John's Church were kept. They were in admirable order and reached back to 1761. Mr. Watson sat down to one volume and I to another. Here were nearly all the names that I sought. My people, judging by the number of times they stood sponsors, and the state in which they were married or buried, were the great of the island. It is remarkable how much one can learn of the social history of a place from its church registers. These seemed to gossip. And here was Hugh Knox at last. Among others I found this entry: "James Towers and Ann Knox on the 8th of May (1787) by virtue of license at the Rev. Hugh Knox's house," as well as the information that Mr. Hugh Knox and Miss Yard stood sponsors to a little Knox in 1815, November the 17th. It will be remembered that one of the Yards of St. Croix is mentioned in the extract from the Pickering MSS.

At last, in another and older volume, I came suddenly upon the following entry—under the year 1768:

"Rachael Levine, Feb. 26, at Mr. Tuite's Plant., by D. O., aged 32."

Again it seemed to me that I saw the woman. The faded characters written on the day of her interment, nearly a century and a half ago, might have been a volume. But I know the dangers of imagination when one is searching for facts, and after I had stared at the notice until I could hardly see it, I went on. Who was Mr. Tuite? Why should she be buried on his plantation? Shortly after I came upon the notice, "James Lytton, Aug. 12, at Mr. Tuite's Grange plantation, aged 67." And again: "James Lytton, Jan. 16, 1777, at Mr. Tuite's Grange, aged 11;" and Mary Lytton interred on the Grange estate in 1778, aged twenty-two months.

It will be remembered that Peter Lytton was supposed to be the husband of one of Hamilton's aunts. According to these records he was the son of James Lytton; and his brother, James Lytton, Jr., according to the same records, married Christiana Huggins of Nevis. Their family burying-lot was on the Grange estate, which at one time they must have owned. Naturally, when Rachael Levine died in their midst she was buried with her kinspeople. The great families of the time all had their private

cemeteries. Mr. Watson sent us out to the Grange estate in his phaeton that same afternoon. It is now the property of the government, and the man who rents it told me that, although there was the ruin of a chapel on the estate, and although they had come across more than one grave among the cane, there was no sign of a cemetery. On a hill immediately adjoining the estate, I found the picturesque ruin of a little graveyard which I craved to appropriate. It contained one imposing box tomb, with an illegible inscription and several broken headstones. The wall was in a similar state of decay. Three sides were uneven and crumbling, and the fourth had been rooted up by the arms of a banyan tree and crushed in a fast embrace. I did all I could to annex this burying-ground to the old Grange estate, and by writing to Denmark and by obtaining the exact acreage of the estate, past and present, I did find that to-day Grange is about a half acre short; but I was not justified in assuming that this particular hill was the lost half acre, and I could obtain nothing more definite. Indeed, I am afraid the hill was a good deal more than a half acre away.

My next object was to find the records of the church in which Hugh Knox must have preached, for I was convinced that he had baptized Hamilton. I was told that, being a Presbyterian, he would have preached in the Lutheran Church, and I accordingly called on the Lutheran minister, Mr. Lewetz. He told me that the registers had disappeared long since but might be in St. Thomas. Then I turned my attention to Government House. They told me that all the old records had been sent to Denmark and were in the archives at Copenhagen. So I returned to the church registers, made a thorough study of them, and found, among many other enlightening entries, that "Peter Levine, son of John Michael and Rachael Levine," had got himself baptized in 1769, a year after his mother's death.

I crossed over to St. Croix and sought out the Lutheran minister. He very kindly hunted through some old chests in the cellar of his church, but found nothing that I wanted. He told me, however, that the clergymen had always been obliged to send to Government House a record of every birth, marriage and death, and at Government House the Secretary told me that all such records were in Denmark. Immediately after my return to America I was put in communication with a reliable person in Copenhagen

who searched the few records of St. Croix that have been rescued from fire and damp and worms. He could find no mention of Knox or Hamilton, but a good deal about John Michael Levine, the Lyttons, and the Grange estate. Meanwhile, I had learned all there was to know about James Hamilton and had received from our consul on the island of St. Vincent a certificate of his interment notice, made out and signed by the Archdeacon, E. A. Turpin. It was not long after that I found the last link in my chain.

I had read the first volume of J. C. Hamilton's "Life" of his father, but had not wasted time on the second, as it was all in the "History of the Republic." But one day in the Lenox Library I took down the volume and glanced through it. Almost immediately—on page 7—I came upon the following in a letter from Hamilton to General Greene, dated October, 1782: "I take the liberty to inclose a letter to Mr. Kane, executor to the estate of Mr. Lavine, a half-brother of mine, who died some time since in South Carolina." The rest of the letter was familiar. I turned hastily to the same letter in the "Works." This paragraph with other matter had been omitted, doubtless for the sake of its room. It is quite likely that none of the other biographers of Hamilton had seen it. As for the spelling of the name, it is more than probable that in the original letter it was written Levine, and was incorrectly copied. But not only was it the last bit of evidence needed, but it might have been deliberately written as a sequel to the register of St. Croix.*

GERTRUDE ATHERTON.

* The impression given by Hamilton's other biographers is that he was about five years old when his mother died. According to the register of St. Croix, he was eleven. Mr. Richard Church afterward told me that Hamilton told his father, Philip Church, that he was eleven when his mother died.

Mr. Watson had the page of the register containing the interment notice of Rachael Levine, photographed, and a copy is now in the possession of the Society of Historical Research of New York.

It is stated somewhere in J. C. Hamilton's work that Hamilton's mother was living on St. Christopher when she met James Hamilton. Doubtless Hamilton told the whole story to his wife, who instructed her son, with discretion.

If James Hamilton left his mark on any of these Islands it was recorded in the volumes which have disappeared.

THE CONSTITUTION OF CARNEGIA.

BY JAMES RAYMOND PERRY.

"May I ask your nationality, sir? You speak excellent English, but with a slightly foreign accent. Believe me, I am not prompted to ask the question wholly through idle curiosity."

"I am a Carnegian, sir," replied my new acquaintance. "I perceive by your expression," he continued, "that you have probably never heard of our people. Nor is that at all strange. The country is so small that very few maps show it. But should you care to get at its approximate geographical position, take your atlas and first find Altruria. Unless your maps may be on a large scale, it is unlikely that Carnegia will be shown; but it lies just north of Altruria."

"Are you acquainted in Altruria?" I asked a little eagerly.

"Oh yes. I have often visited its capital, and travelled through the provinces. It is a beautiful country."

"It must be," I said. "Did you ever chance to meet Mr. Howells's Altrurian? I believe he is the only traveller from that country who has ever visited this."

"Yes, I know him well; a very lovely character. But for that matter all Altrurians are lovely characters. They are farther advanced in Christian civilization than we. We Carnegians love to emulate their example in many ways; but we are not yet quite ready to adopt all their broad Christian views. You see, they lie south of us in a warmer clime; and perhaps that has something to do with their warmer-heartedness."

"I'm afraid, sir, I must seem singularly ignorant," I said; "but candor forces me to confess that I never before heard of Carnegia. Would you mind telling me something about it?"

"I should be delighted. My beloved country is one of the themes about which I never tire of talking. If I once get started I fear I shall weary you with the subject."

"When I begin to feel weary I will yawn," I said, smiling.

"Very well, with that agreed upon I will begin. Our country took its name from a Scotchman, who, early in the century, was much interested in matters pertaining to the welfare of humanity. He was a man of very great wealth; and after retiring from active business affairs he gradually gave away his many millions, founding institutions of learning and culture. In his later years he gave expression to the sentiment that 'It is a disgrace for a man to die rich.' His theory, as we in our country understand it, was that the nominal owner of wealth is not the actual owner, but merely the trustee of the property in his legal possession. A man of wealth should, then, in his later years devote his time and energies to disposing wisely of his money for the best interests of mankind, for whom circumstances and environment have made him the more or less involuntary trustee. If selfish interests continue to dominate him, and death overtakes him in old age before he has rendered account of his stewardship, then, according to the inspirer of our system, he is under the stigma of disgrace from which, so far as this world is concerned, he can never be relieved. To our people it seemed that this unusual Scotchman was sane and right in his view of the matter. We knew, however, that human selfishness was such as to cause men and women who had made or inherited money to desire to cling to it to the very end; and that, rather than acknowledge their trusteeship, they preferred to risk the odium of disgrace in which their surviving fellow creatures must ever hold them. We Carnegians, therefore, determined that in our country the state should aid all men and women to escape the disgrace into which their greed and selfishness might otherwise plunge them. We adopted a constitution framed in some of its articles upon the constitution of Altruria, which, as every one knows, is based upon the Sermon on the Mount. Our constitution provides that no native-born man or woman, after reaching the age of sixty years, shall be protected by the state in his or her property rights. All such persons upon reaching that age, whether rich or poor, must relinquish to the state their property, if there be any, or, if there be none, their right to acquire and own property. In return for this, the constitution provides that the name of every such person shall be enrolled upon the lists of Honored Citizens, and that thereafter, through the remainder of their natural lives, they shall be supported by the state, enjoying whatever leisure or

labor they may individually elect. If the fund thus provided fails in any given year to be large enough to support each and every Honored Citizen in extreme comfort, not to say luxury, the constitution provides that the remaining population shall be taxed to do so. But for many years now it has been found unnecessary to impose any tax for this purpose. The Property Contributors' Fund, as it is called, has been found more than adequate for the support of the Honored Citizens, and each year it is increasing. As originally adopted, the constitution provided that the Property Contributors' Fund should be held inviolate, devoted solely to providing for the wants and whims of the Honored Citizen class; but it was soon found that this fund was proving so much in excess of what was required that it was likely to become unwieldy, and an amendment to the constitution was adopted. This amendment provides that the accumulation of the Fund, over and above a certain stated sum designated as the Reserve, may be used for certain permanent public improvements, though not for the running expenses of the government aside from the Honored Citizenship expenses. But its use in these directions has already served to reduce materially the rate of taxation. The Reserve is intended to supply a fund which may be drawn upon if the current receipts from property holders passing into the Honored Citizen class do not equal the expense of supporting that class.

"It was predicted by the critics of our constitution that men of large wealth, upon nearing the age limit for individual right to own property, would sell their possessions and move to some country where the right to own property is granted and the danger of dying disgraced not guarded against. While there were a few examples of such individual selfishness, experience has proved that the criticism was not well founded. What might perhaps be called civic selfishness has in a large measure replaced individual selfishness; and actual experience has shown that large property owners approach the age limit with quite as much pleasure and eagerness as do the impecunious ones. It has become the ambition of busy, energetic men to turn over to the state as large a fortune as possible when the age limit is reached, just as now, in your country, it is the ambition of such men to leave to their families the largest possible fortunes. It is doubtful if the age limit would be approached with the same emotions of pleasure by such men if a cessation of their business activities upon reaching

the limit was compulsory. But such is not the case. As I said before, an Honored Citizen may elect either leisure or labor; and there have been numerous instances of men at the head of large business affairs continuing in such positions for ten or a dozen years beyond the age limit. Only, whatever profits may result from their continued activities do not belong to them but to the state. It then becomes the ambition of these men to increase their usefulness to the state by adding to the fund for the support of the Honored Citizens. The number of Honored Citizens who elect to remain idle is amazingly small. For the most part, they seem to prefer work to idleness. Their activities display themselves in many ways. Numbers enter what I suppose we must call politics, though it is as different in kind from the politics of most countries as one can well imagine. Our President—for our country is a republic—need not be chosen from the Honored Citizen class, though now for many successive terms our presidents have been. In our Congress, the representatives—who are chosen by the people direct—are at present about evenly divided between the Honored Citizens and the Citizen party, as it is called. Frequently the Honored Citizens are in the majority in the Congress; and, generally speaking, it is found to be beneficial when such is the case. Unable to own property individually, individual selfishness is rare among them; and therefore such legislation as the Congress is empowered to make under the constitution is likely to be wise and for the best interests of the whole people. When any attempt at class legislation is made—for example, if legislation looking to undue privileges to the Honored Citizen class is attempted, as occurred once or twice in our earlier history,—at the next election a majority of the Citizen party will be seated in Congress and the unfair laws promptly repealed. Elections occur each year. As the citizens always vastly outnumber the Honored Citizens they can at any election gain control of the Congress. But when in such control they are unable to enact class legislation essentially harmful to the Honored Citizens, because, as a class, the latter are so jealously guarded by the provisions of the constitution. No amendment to the constitution can be made unless it receive nine-tenths of all the ballots cast. As a matter of fact, not the slightest desire to amend the constitution has ever been evinced by any class of our citizens, except in the one case I have mentioned.

"Salaries are paid to all public officers from the President down. If under the age limit they retain their salaries, and if over the age limit they return them to the state. A President, if beyond the age limit, has little material advantage over the humblest Honored Citizen. He has a palace to live in, to be sure; but for that matter every Honored Citizen is practically housed in a palace; and every Honored Citizen may be clothed and fed as sumptuously as a President elected from that class. For all individuals in the class fare alike.

"Any position under the government is regarded as a mark of added honor by many of our Honored Citizens; and thus it happens that a large number of clerical positions in the government offices, as well as the heads of the several departments, are filled by men past sixty whose labor costs the government nothing. It is a labor of love with many, who prefer it to idleness, and enjoy the distinction it carries; others are actuated by a sense of duty, feeling that inasmuch as they are being supported in comfort by the state they would like to give the state in return such labor as they are capable of while their strength lasts. But with none is service of any sort compulsory. Whatever service is rendered is purely voluntary. And the quality of the services rendered is in no wise impaired because of this. Rather is it improved, I should say. The labor thus performed by the Honored Citizen class saves the state large sums annually, and the taxes paid by the Citizen class are correspondingly reduced.

"Upon reaching the age limit and becoming Honored Citizens, others devote their time and talents to pursuits towards which their tastes have long attracted them, but which, because of the necessity of earning their daily bread, they have been unable to indulge in. Thus have art, literature and music received some notable recruits; and the excellence of the achievements of these recruits is really surprising. This is particularly true of literature. Experience with us has shown that many men and women have a natural talent for writing, but lacking leisure have indulged their taste for it in only the most desultory fashion. Passing into the Honored Citizen class at the age of sixty, these men and women suddenly find themselves released from the iron necessity of toiling for existence. The large leisure which they now find themselves permitted to enjoy is admirably suited to literary efforts; and if they find that the fire and enthusiasm of

youth have in a large measure vanished, that is offset, in part at least, by the ripe knowledge which the experiences of a long life yield one. Even when the results are not commensurate with the effort, the pursuit proves a pleasant, and so not altogether unprofitable, pastime for those who love literary labor. But, as I have intimated, much work of genuine literary value has been accomplished by members of our Honored Citizenry. Perhaps you may not be aware that that remarkable novel entitled 'Starworld,' issued from the press a few years ago, was the product of one of Carnegia's Honored Citizens; but such is the case.

"What is true of literature is also true, though in a somewhat less degree, of art. Some very creditable work in the way of painting and sculpture has been done by our Honored Citizens, who, had they remained under the necessity of toiling for a living, might never have reached their present achievements. You will smile, perhaps; but in our art schools to-day there are men and women past sixty—Honored Citizens—who are studying painting and sculpture with almost as much intelligence and enthusiasm as students of twenty bring to their work in your own schools. I tell you, my dear sir, that where there is a strong natural bent for artistic effort it survives a lifetime of enforced efforts in other directions. These men and women are confidently counting upon twenty or thirty years more of life in which to enjoy their art; and it is a fact—attributable, I firmly believe, to our Carnegian system—that the expectation of life, based upon the mortuary tables, is at the age of sixty greater in Carnegia than in any other country in the world, with the single exception of Altruria."

"You almost make me believe, sir," said I, "that yours is a country in which it is desirable to dwell. Personally, I have never regarded myself in much danger of dying disgraced, according to that Carnegian theory of yours; but, under the stress of toil for bread, I have often looked with longing towards the leisure that would enable me to turn my efforts into channels more congenial to my tastes. May I enquire concerning your immigration laws?"

"They are as liberal, sir, as is consistent with our form of government. Persons under twenty years of age, if physically and mentally sound, are admitted, even if illiterate. Persons between twenty and thirty-five who can read and write and are sound in body and mind, are admitted. Immigrants in these two classes are eligible at the age of sixty for Honored Citizenship,

with the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges granted native-born citizens. The theory is that at least twenty-five years labor in the country of their adoption should be performed in return for the privileges granted them after attaining the age limit."

"And is no one admitted above the age of thirty-five?" I asked a little wistfully.

"Yes, but under certain conditions. And these conditions, you will perceive, conflict somewhat with the theory just mentioned. An immigrant under forty, sound in body and mind, and literate—no illiterate or demented, or seriously crippled person above the age of twenty can be admitted except by act of Congress—is admissible, and at the age of sixty-two enters into full enjoyment of Honored Citizenship. Immigrants between forty and forty-five may enter, and become Honored Citizens at the age of sixty-five, while immigrants between forty-five and fifty are admitted, but do not enjoy Honored Citizenship until reaching the age of seventy. No person above the age of fifty can become a citizen except by special act of Congress. These are the restrictions and limitations imposed by our existing laws. These laws, however, are alterable at the will of Congress."

"Does your Citizen class enjoy as large a measure of prosperity as citizens of other countries?" I asked.

"Larger. In Carnegia the *per capita* wealth of the Citizen class is greater than that of any other country in the world with, as before, the sole exception of Altruria."

"How do you explain it?"

"Well, to explain it wholly would, of course, be difficult, but it is due chiefly, no doubt, to the fact that we maintain no army and navy. Most countries are handicapped by these burdens. In those countries the producers are kept poor through having to support a large body of non-producers—soldiers remaining idle throughout their best and what should be their most productive years. The absence of an army and navy is profitable in more ways than one. Not only is the productive labor of large bodies of men retained and made to contribute to the commonwealth and the sums necessary to support them in idleness saved, but other vast sums that would be required for equipping armies, constructing fortifications, building and maintaining navies, are also saved to the public treasury. Unburdened, then, by heavy taxation, the people are enabled to live in greater comfort and to accumulate larger wealth than are the military-burdened peoples."

"But, sir," said I, "I should suppose your national existence would be imperilled without protection from a military force. So rich a country as yours, even though small, must be a temptation to the great and powerful nations whose greed for new colonies is never satisfied. Through what art of diplomacy do you protect yourselves from the robber nations?"

"Your question, sir, is a natural one. It is not through able diplomacy that we are protected, but through our geographical position. But for that I fear our immunity from attack would be brief, for our wealth and prosperity would surely tempt to conquest those which you accurately designate as the robber nations. As I have previously stated, Altruria lies immediately south of us and forms a powerful and effective barrier against invasion. A foreign army would have to penetrate Altruria before attacking us. So wise are the Altrurians and so formidable, in spite of their unswerving peace policy, that no nation dare attack them singly, and no two nations could agree to an attack. So long as Altruria lasts, so long, I believe, are we safe."

"You must be a happy people."

"We are. To realize how happy you should visit Carnegia and see us in our homes. Worry and anxiety are the enemies of happiness and peace. I do not pretend to say that anxiety and worry do not exist among our people. So long as we and our friends fall sick and die, we cannot wholly escape these emotions. But they have been in a large measure eliminated by the operation of our system. Among other peoples it is common to see middle-aged and even young persons toiling and saving, denying themselves food and raiment sufficient for the body and proper entertainment for the mind; literally almost starving body and mind because of the cost of things necessary for their nourishment; victims of worry, forever haunted by the fear of want in their old age. In their fancy they see the almshouse doors opening to admit them; and, shrinking from the shame of it, they toil the harder, deny themselves yet more, and so in want and worry wear out their hopeless lives. And with us how different! In Carnegia no one worries for fear of want in old age. Our citizens feel confident that if given health and strength they can earn a living until the age of sixty; and they know that after that they will be provided for generously by the state, and that, while enjoying such provision in whatever way best suits their fancy, they

will also, instead of suffering the shame and ignominy which state wards in other countries experience, enjoy the added distinction of Honored Citizenship, which is regarded by all of our citizens as a real and well-earned honor. It is well earned; for any man of sixty who has done honest and worthy work, whether great or humble, has earned the right to receive during the rest of his natural life the honor and support of the country in which he has so labored. I wish most heartily, sir, that you might come and see us in our homes, and realize—as I believe you could not fail to do—the benefits and the beauty of our Carnegian system."

"I wish, indeed, that I might," I said, and then added: "It seems to me, sir, that you must experience difficulty in adjusting the property rights of persons in the Citizen class when a man of wealth passes into the Honored Citizen class. As I understand it, a millionaire on his sixtieth birthday must relinquish all control over his money. It ceases to belong to him, and becomes the property of the state. Is not this injurious and unjust to his family and others who may be dependent on him? His wife and children may have been untrained to earn a livelihood, or ill health might unfit them for it even if so trained. How do these dependent ones fare after the state takes the property from which their income had hitherto been drawn?"

"A millionaire may, if he chooses, on the day before his sixtieth birthday, or at any time prior thereto, give away his property and enter the Honored Citizen class penniless. There have been a few examples of this sort of selfishness; and one or two large properties are held by members of the Citizen class who obtained them by gift in this manner. But public sentiment holds such citizens in a disregard, not to say dishonor, which must be hard for the victims to endure. They are socially ostracised, which, I presume, must seem strange enough to you who are accustomed to seeing the reverse of these principles exemplified—and any display of wealth on the part of such beneficiaries is deemed vulgar in the extreme.

"I perceive, sir, by your expression, that this phase of our social system does not quite commend itself to you. But let me explain more fully. While public sentiment frowns upon a millionaire who gives to his family all his property on the eve of Honored Citizenship, it does not frown upon his making reasonable provision for such as may be actually dependent upon him. For ex-

ample, a millionaire at sixty may have a wife aged fifty-five, we will say, an invalid daughter aged thirty, and a son in good health aged twenty-five. In five years his wife will enter the Honored Citizen class. Three thousand dollars a year, we will say, seems necessary for her comfort. That, then, will require fifteen thousand dollars for a term of five years. We will say that two thousand dollars per annum seem necessary for the daughter. If she lives, it will be thirty years before she enters the Honored Citizen class. Sixty thousand dollars, then, are required for her. The son being in good health, the presumption is that he will be able to earn his own living. However, a nest-egg even for him is not regarded as unreasonable; and if it should be made as large as twenty-five thousand—which would be about as much as public sentiment with us could sanction—the combined amounts would equal not more than one-tenth of the millionaire's possessions."

"But suppose a man worth a hundred thousand dollars is similarly situated as regards wife, invalid daughter, etc? If he provided for them in the way and to the extent that you suggest, there would be nothing left for the state when he entered Honored Citizenship. Would public opinion sanction his making such provision for his family?"

"No. The habit of life of this family would probably have been formed on a less expensive basis and smaller sums would be regarded as adequate for their provision. A man worth a hundred thousand dollars might reasonably give to his family one half of his property before entering Honored Citizenship."

"And how about a man worth only ten thousand? Could he give it all to his family without suffering in public esteem?"

"Yes. Still, even that is not often done. It will, perhaps, be a little hard for you to comprehend our point of view, living under a system such as yours. But with us it is a matter of pride and patriotism, if we possess property, though only a small amount, to turn some of it over to the state upon our entrance to Honored Citizenship. Nor is the feeling of pride confined to the person so entering, but it extends to his family, who are glad to have him make contribution to the state, even though they are left the poorer."

"Your citizens are certainly unselfish."

"Yes, I think they are. Still, do not make the mistake of thinking it is absolute unselfishness. It is our firm conviction—

strong, I might say, as religious belief—that whatever is good for all is good for the individual."

"How is it when a wealthy man dies under the age of sixty?"

"He is free to make such disposition of his property as he chooses. Our inheritance tax, however, is heavy, and increases in ratio, according to the sums involved, which we regard as both right and reasonable."

"And with us would be regarded as unfair and unreasonable."

"Yes, I suppose so. We view it quite differently, you see. With us the idea of our trusteeship in the matter of property is ever present, whereas with you it—"

"Is nearly always absent," I laughed, seeing that he hesitated.

"Well, perhaps; though let neither of us forget that the inspirer of our system was a man reared under your system.

"This feeling of trusteeship, then, makes our citizens of wealth not hostile, but friendly, to our inheritance tax; and it also leads them very frequently to bequeath a portion of their property to the state, especially if they have lived to within a few years of the age limit of citizenship. They believe their wealth has been drawn from the people—none the less because the people have given their consent—and is, therefore, returnable to the people."

"Our motto, 'Every man for himself,' must be changed in your country to, 'Every man for his neighbor.'"

The Carnegian smiled.

"You must have very nearly revolutionized human nature in your country," I added.

For another moment the Carnegian preserved silence, and then said: "Well, we have and we haven't. I think our human nature is not so very different from yours, after all. And in saying that I mean that I think mankind at large are much more deeply in love with good than they know. I believe at heart man loves fairness and wishes his neighbor well, but that, under a false social and industrial system, he finds himself perplexed and baffled. I believe he loves the golden rule laid down by that white-souled Teacher of Galilee, but knows not how to put it into practice."

To this I shook my head sadly. "The tiger in us still survives," I said.

JAMES RAYMOND PERRY.

THE EXTENSION OF AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN THE WEST INDIES.

BY L. S. ROWE, CHAIRMAN OF THE INSULAR COMMISSION TO REVISE THE LAWS OF PORTO RICO.

To the people of the United States the West Indies are hardly more than a name. Our commercial relations in the Caribbean have been relatively unimportant, and we have remained indifferent to the problems of government presented by the archipelago. Indeed, if the question were asked, "To whom do the West Indies belong?" it would be difficult to find any one to give a correct answer off-hand. Of recent years, it is true, the fortunes of Cuba have aroused the sympathies of the American people; but as to the condition and nationality of the other islands we have shown neither interest nor concern. Nor has the slightest attention been given to the industrial revolution through which the West Indies have passed, and which has left its mark on their social and political status. In fact, since the temptation to acquire additional territory in the Caribbean for the purpose of extending slavery has disappeared, these islands have not been a factor in the public policy of the United States.

To the historian, however, they have presented a perennial interest. About the West Indies are grouped the struggles of the European powers for a foothold in America, the great naval conflicts which this struggle engendered, the daring exploits of the buccaneers, and the cruelties and barbarities of the slave trade. Tested by our modern standards, the record is unenviable. Complete absence of good faith, treachery towards the native population, inhuman treatment of the conquered peoples and a total disregard of personal and property rights seem to characterize the period. And yet, with it all, there is an irresistible attraction in the story of these islands, due largely to their close

relation with the rise of the great Continental Powers and to the extraordinary character of the leading figures in the conflict for the supremacy of the Spanish Main.

Prized partly because of their resources, but mainly because of their strategic position, no sacrifice seemed too great to secure their possession. When we remember that the control of the West Indies meant the command of a highway which led to new sources of fabulous wealth, we can readily understand the willingness to sacrifice untold lives, to risk national honor and to impose crushing burdens upon the national treasury in order to secure a few square miles of territory. As Froude eloquently puts it:

"Here Drake and Hawkins intercepted the golden stream which flowed from Panama into the exchequer at Madrid, and furnished Philip with the means to carry on his war with the Reformation. The Pope had claimed to be lord of the New World as well as of the Old, and had declared that Spaniards, and only Spaniards, should own territory or carry on trade within the tropics. The seamen of England took up the challenge and replied with cannon shot. It was not the Crown, it was not the Government, which fought that battle: it was the people of England who fought it, with their own hands and their own resources. Adventurers, buccaneers, corsairs, privateers, call them by what name we will, stand as extraordinary but characteristic figures on the stage of history, disowned or acknowledged by their sovereign as suited diplomatic convenience. The outlawed pirate of one year was promoted the next to be a governor and his country's representative. In those waters the men were formed and trained who drove the Armada through the Channel into wreck and ruin. In those waters, in the centuries which followed, France and England fought for the ocean empire, and England won it—won it on the day when her own politicians' hearts had failed them, and all powers of the world had combined to humiliate her."

When we turn from this picture so full of conflict, rivalry and enthusiasm, and encircled with the halo of romance, to examine the more recent history of the West Indies, the contrast is at first startling and in some respects depressing. The prized islands of the seventeenth century have become the burden of the nineteenth. By a curious combination of circumstances, they have profited by the suffering of Europe, and have been crushed by European prosperity. They have registered with great accuracy the shifting of industrial and commercial relations, every change in the relation of America to Europe finding its reflex in the status of the islands.

To ascertain the cause of this industrial decline, it is neces-

sary to keep in mind the industrial policy of the great European Powers, and particularly of England, during the present century. The aim of the eighteenth century was to protect the producer and leave the consumer to his own resources. With the rise of the middle and working classes to a dominant position, the interests of the consumer were forced upon the governments of Europe and became the chief object of their care. The contrast in English commercial policy is particularly marked. During the reign of George the Second, the law of England attempted to give to the West Indies a monopoly of the English sugar market, irrespective of price; during the reign of Victoria, the government has labored consistently to secure sugar from the cheapest sugar-producing centres. On the continent of Europe, the movement has not been so pronounced as in England. The attempt to encourage the production of beet-sugar led both Germany and France into a system of export bounties, which enabled the Continental producer to place sugar on the English market at a price which made the cultivation of cane-sugar unremunerative. The West Indies were being gradually crushed between English and Continental industrial policy. The labor problem, which arose immediately after the abolition of slavery, tended to aggravate the situation of the West Indian planter. The discouragement which resulted led to stagnation in methods of production, and has made the recent history of the English West Indies a story of gradual but certain decline.

But, varied as the economic fortunes of the English, French, and Danish Islands have been, they are tame and uninteresting when compared with their checkered political history. For more than a century these islands were the football of Continental politics. The traveller leaving the West Indies for a brief visit to Europe could not be certain whether on his return he would find the English, French, Spaniards or Dutch in possession. Little attempt was made to colonize the islands. The climate called for a people who could endure the tropical heat, and the proximity to the western shore of Africa furnished this population. The enslavement of the negro, in its turn, reacted upon the industry of the islands, and committed them—one is almost tempted to say, committed them hopelessly—to the sugar cane. With slavery their political organization was practically determined. Complete subjection to the mother country and a total disregard of the

personal right of the subject populations characterized the West Indian policy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nor did emancipation in any way relieve the situation. Indeed, it tended in some respects to aggravate the political difficulties. The overwhelming proportion of negroes and mixed races inspired the white population with a fear of uprisings which at times reached the point of overpowering and unreasoned terror.

Strange as it may seem, the political emancipation of the West Indies begins with their industrial decline. Commercial stagnation bred discontent, and discontent found expression in political agitation and disturbance. The English Liberals of the sixties failed to see the economic basis of this political movement, and they construed it—in fact, welcomed it—as an awakening of political consciousness, long looked for, it is true, but coming when least expected. To them it was an unmistakable indication that the islands were ripe for local self-government. This enthusiastic but, unfortunately, illusory view, for reasons less generous, appealed to that element of the merchant and land-holding classes who saw that the West Indies would soon become a burden to the mother country. Although convinced that independence meant a gradual lapse into barbarism, they were willing to allow posterity to take its chances, provided England might be relieved of a troublesome political situation. In the largest of the Spanish possessions the same economic pressure inaugurated the series of revolutions which finally led to our conflict with Spain.

The picture is thus complete. The islands that were once so highly prized have not only lost their hold on the imagination of Europe, but on its material interests as well. Nothing could be more instructive than the long series of Commission Reports—English, French and Spanish—telling the same tale and pointing to the same conclusion, viz;—given the existing commercial policy of Europe, the only salvation for the islands is the opening of the American market. A brief period of reciprocity gave to the planters a glimpse of the promised land, and aroused the hope that a solution had at last been found; but the refusal of the United States to renew these treaties again placed them in the unfortunate situation from which they seemed to be emerging. Unless, therefore, the epoch in which we are living is to witness a new shifting of commercial relations, the outlook for the West

Indies seems hopeless. One of the most brilliant students of our civilization has said: "The archipelago must be absorbed into the United States or lapse into barbarism."

Fortunately for them, the United States is passing through a series of industrial changes which seem destined to place this group of islands in a position not unlike that which they occupied in the seventeenth century, and at least approaching it in importance. The development of our home manufactures has led us to look outward for new markets, and has directed attention to South America and the Far East. In this movement the West Indies have acquired a new importance, mainly because of their strategic position. Forming the most important political factor in the situation, stands the Monroe doctrine, which will permit no other nation to acquire a foothold in these waters, and thus forbids any change of sovereignty in the Caribbean, other than transfer to the United States. Sooner or later, we must assume the responsibility which this interpretation involves.

Thus, a combination of irresistible economic and political forces is driving the West Indies into the arms of the United States. While our immediate commercial interests may dictate that we acquire and maintain a dominant position in the Caribbean and may lead us to the gradual absorption of the islands, we must not shut our eyes to the political responsibilities which this policy involves. In each group there is a different lesson to be learned, a different service to be performed. In the English islands, the United States would have to attempt the government of an overwhelming negro population, largely through its own representatives. In the French group, we should be compelled to harmonize the highly centralized colonial system of France with our own ideas of local autonomy. In the Spanish islands, the problem before us is to take a population which for centuries has been far removed from public life, whose traditions and training are totally different from our own, and gradually adjust their ideas to American standards. To accomplish what England, France, Spain, Denmark and Holland have striven for in vain, is no light undertaking. The task is one which might make a nation with less buoyancy and self-confidence shrink with terror. It is true that we enter upon the task with an advantage which no other nation possesses, namely, the possibility of giving to these islands a degree of pros-

perity which they have not enjoyed since the middle of the century. Our unlimited capacity in the consumption of sugar, coffee, and other tropical products assures a market incomparably superior to any which they now possess.

But even these economic advantages will not assure an easy and ready solution of the problem of government. To meet this phase of the situation will require an adaptation of our political ideas and standards which is certain to put us to a severe test. The ready ease with which the American people assume responsibilities of the gravest nature, the unlimited self-confidence in their ability to solve the most difficult political problems, is, in the main, an element of strength in dealing with such a situation. But it is not without its dangers. Our unbounded faith in the benefits of American rule and in the blessings of American institutions has obscured the otherwise obvious fact, that it requires time and patience to arouse the same enthusiasm in a people accustomed to an essentially different system of law and political organization. It is characteristic of our self-assurance that, in dealing with our new possessions, we have remained indifferent to European experience and European example. No shadow of doubt has disturbed the confidence in our ability to adapt our institutions to the new conditions. Is it not true, we have asked, that the elasticity of mind and tolerance of spirit of the American people have been the admiration of the nations of Europe? The readiness with which we have absorbed foreigners coming to our shores, without doing violence to any of their accepted traditions, has been pointed out, and justly so, as one of the greatest achievements of modern times. No matter how far removed they may originally have been from our type of civilization, a few years have sufficed to bring them to our mode of life, and in most cases to our mode of thought. The Chinese have been the only notable exception to this rule.

But our contact with foreign peoples in the West Indies is of an entirely different character. We are in a sense strangers in their midst, and owing to climatic conditions we must always remain in the minority. They have and will retain a mode of life and a standard of activity quite different from our own, which we cannot hope radically to change. While the organizing power in both government and industry must come from the North, the detailed execution must depend upon native capacity

and native labor. The question of our attitude towards the native population of these islands becomes, therefore, a matter of supreme importance.

On this point our contact with the Spanish-American civilization in Porto Rico is full of instruction. In California and New Mexico, it is true, we were brought into close relation with Spanish customs and institutions, but—especially in the case of California—the country proved so attractive to our own people that in a short time the Spanish element found itself in the minority. In such circumstances, it is not surprising that the transformation was rapid and complete. Native institutions yielded naturally to the new order of things. The comparative ease with which the problems were solved, together with the ready assimilation of the masses of foreign-born constantly crowding to our shores, has led us to the belief that we are a cosmopolitan people. The experience of the last three years in Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines raises the question, whether we have not overestimated our spirit of tolerance and elasticity of ideas.

In Porto Rico, we dropped into the midst of a people foreign to us in manner of thought, and whose institutional life is distinctly European. For nearly four centuries, the Roman Law, with its theory of the family essentially different from our own, has governed domestic relations; the Napoleonic system, with its highly centralized administrative organization, has given the tone to civic life; and the Roman Catholic Church, supported by and identified with the state, has strengthened the principle of authority which pervades both domestic and political relations. Whatever our opinion as to the desirability of this system, it is evident that it cannot be changed at a stroke, without seriously endangering the entire social structure of the island. And yet, had it not been for the exceptional character of the men chosen by the late President McKinley as Governor and heads of executive departments, it is within the limits of probability that we should have aroused a distrust of American institutions which would have delayed, for a generation at least, the Americanization of the island. To the mass of Americans resident in the island (and this is particularly true of the lawyers), the entire system of law and government, of domestic and public institutions, was bad simply because it was different from our own. Everything that did not conform to our system was not only un-

American but anti-American. The lawyer from Massachusetts wanted the Massachusetts system, the lawyer from South Carolina the South Carolina system, and so on. The fact that one of the prosperous States of the Union is living under a civil law closely approaching the Spanish system was given no weight. The only way to make Americans of the Porto Ricans, it was argued, is to give them, without delay, the system of law of one of our States.

On the other hand, when it became a question of gradually introducing into the island American standards of political liberty and local self-government, an entirely different situation was presented. Almost every attempt to give the native population control over its own affairs, met with the disapproval of the same element that had condemned all native institutions. This seeming contradiction is traceable to the same feeling of superiority which inspired contempt for the local law. In politics, as well as in business life, we are prepared to sacrifice everything to efficiency. Owing to the inexperience of the native population, every concession to the principle of local self-government involves a temporary reduction of administrative efficiency. Here, again, the insular authorities showed themselves in advance of American opinion in the island. The representative heads of the government saw clearly that we were in Porto Rico not merely to administer a dependency, but to bring the population to a higher level of political life and to a higher standard of political efficiency. The government was not unmindful of the fact that civic progress would be more permanent, even if less rapid, if built upon native co-operation and the development of the feeling of individual responsibility.

It would take us too far afield, to discuss in the present connection the manifold problems involved in the question of local self-government. So much has been said, and so little has been really learned, of the mental and moral qualities which enable a people to assume this responsibility, that we must await the results of a broader experience in dealing with less advanced peoples before a definite answer can be given. The immediately significant and important fact which our contact with the Spanish-American civilization in the West Indies emphasizes, is the necessity of a greater elasticity of ideas, a broader sympathy, and a readiness, or at least a willingness, to understand the point of view of a people whose training, traditions and system of law are essen-

tially different from our own. Without these qualities, we shall never be able satisfactorily to solve the difficult problems of government incident to the extension of dominion over new peoples. That the change involves serious dangers no one will deny. It may lead us to a barren cosmopolitanism, which is so often the first symptom of disintegration and decay. But we are rapidly approaching, in fact we have already reached, a point at which we cannot shrink from taking the step because of the dangers involved. Everything points to the necessity of closer relations with the countries of South America. The Monroe Doctrine carries with it obligations as well as rights. The feeling of distrust towards the United States, which was so evident during the recent war, must be made to disappear through the assurance that the hegemony of the United States on the American Continent does not involve the destruction of the domestic institutions of the southern republics.

If, in our contact with foreign civilizations in the West Indies, we show a harsh, unbending spirit, this feeling of distrust will develop into an abiding hatred, which will effectually block the fulfilment of our manifest mission on the American Continent. Although the problem of government in these islands does not present great territorial importance, it involves all those political lessons which we must learn in order to meet our political duties and obligations as the leading nation of the Western Hemisphere. The real significance of the extension of American dominion in the West Indies lies not so much in the fact of territorial aggrandizement, as in the adaptation of our political ideas and standards which this expansion involves. It is this change that marks the real turning-point in our history.

The situation adds a new responsibility to the ever-increasing demands upon American citizenship—the duty of cultivating an ability to appreciate the value of alien institutions which fulfil the same ends of justice as our own. In addition, there is required the conservatism born of this comprehension, together with a firm determination to bring the new peoples with whom we may be brought into close and intimate contact, by the slow process of education, to a free and willing acceptance of all that is best in our system of law and government.

L. S. Rowe.

THE FUTURE OF WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY.

BY P. T. M'GRATH.

Now that the world is satisfied of the genuineness of Marconi's recent amazing exploit of signalling across the Atlantic, the time seems opportune to examine into the practical possibilities of a scientific departure so revolutionary in its essence and development.

In considering the various aspects which the subject presents, the fundamental fact must be borne in mind, that the base upon which Marconi has superimposed this alluring aspect of his discovery is one which has stood the test of the severest criticism in recent years, and about the stability of which there is no longer any question. In other words, the theory of electrical transmission of signals through space without wire or cable, is endorsed by every electrical authority; and the practical demonstration of this theory is also admitted, up to a certain point.

Starting with these postulates, some specific conclusions are legitimate, to wit: Wireless telegraphy is possible; also, it is practicable for, say, one to two hundred miles, between ship and ship or between ship and shore. But is it practicable for two thousand miles, under such exacting conditions as must be faced if it is to become of commercial utility? This is the root-fact of the whole problem which Marconi is now attacking. The young Italian has done much to make "aërography," if I may coin a word, an undisputed success, and his name will ever be the paramount one in connection with the future of this scientific discovery. The great majority of electrical investigators accepted without question his statement that he received prearranged signals across the Atlantic, and even those who doubted him displayed such a paucity of convincing argument as to warrant the conclusion that they were lacking in sincerity.

I may observe, for what the testimony is worth, that he permitted me to verify his statement as to the receipt of signals, by the perusal of his letters of instructions written to his assistants at Poldhu before leaving England; and, in the face of the obvious prearrangement which these revealed, to doubt his truthfulness was impossible. His later experiments on the steamer "Philadelphia" in midocean have, furthermore, proved beyond any dispute that he did receive audible signals on December 12th and 13th,—signals which, though faint, were conclusive in that they proved the theoretical feasibility of the project.

The energy required to send the electric impulses through the two thousand miles of space between Cornwall and St. John's was equivalent to thirty-eight horse-power, but still the signals were too faint to be indicated on an automatic recorder, and were only detected by means of a special telephonic apparatus, utilizing the unequalled mechanism of the human ear. Mr. Marconi, according to his public utterances, holds that the solution of the transatlantic problem (and, inferentially, of the problem of sending those electric waves circling right around the globe) is merely that of providing greater power. By doubling the power in his Cornwall station, he says, he will be able to transmit wave-beats of such energy as to actuate the recorder and tape on this side of the ocean, and thereby the efficient working of the system will be easily demonstrable. Theoretically, this may be so, and a few months may see "aërograms" daily passing between the two hemispheres; practically, however, no such result may ensue, even though signals and messages are actually transmitted. There is very considerable difference between experimental working and the giving of a regular daily service, just as there is between impelling prearranged signals from Calais to Dover, and speaking across the Atlantic. It does not in the least argue a disbelief in the genuineness of the Marconi experiments, or the future of wireless telegraphy, to venture the opinion that the world may have to wait some time yet before it sees the practical fruition of the schemes which are now being outlined in connection with this opening wonder of the twentieth century. A study of the slow and laborious processes by which inventive endeavor has attained an undisputed position in other departments of science, will disclose many instances to confirm that this new conquest of the Atlantic is not yet absolutely assured.

To premise, let us examine a parallel case, the applicability of which must be readily admitted. In 1851, the first submarine cable was laid across the English Channel, in itself no mean undertaking; the ensuing years saw some slightly longer ones put down elsewhere, and in 1858 Cyrus Field and his colleagues achieved the epochal feat of stretching an electric cable across the Atlantic bed, between Ireland and Newfoundland. This was, in its day, as wonderful an exploit as Marconi's is now, and the nations throbbed with pleasurable hopes of the wonders it would work. This cable was constructed and laid in accordance with the best knowledge which the world possessed at the time as to electric phenomena. It was theoretically perfect, and it proved the practical feasibility of the project, in as much as it did transmit messages. But it was not commercially efficient, because it marked too vast a leap, too rapid an evolution in the mechanical features of the enterprise. It worked spasmodically for a few weeks, 271 messages were sent by it, and then it failed altogether. Queen Victoria's message of ninety words took sixty-seven minutes to transmit. This collapse gave such a set-back to trans-oceanic cable schemes that it was not until eight years later, in 1866, that a second cable was successfully put down. This one, however, had better fortune; it worked effectively, if slowly, and it proved to be of some commercial utility because the world had, in the meantime, enlarged its store of knowledge of how to make and submerge these contrivances. But it was not until the cable of 1873 was laid that the full benefits of this means of communication were realized; because, prior to that, the current suffered serious retardation on the long deep-sea wires, and it would take two minutes, on an average, to send a single word. Here we have twenty-two years between the laying of the first Channel cable and the perfecting of the same agency for transatlantic work.

The parallel of this case with Marconi's is almost complete. In 1896 he was achieving a distance of two miles with his system. On March 27th, 1899, the first wireless signals were transmitted across the English Channel. In 1900 he was doing sixty miles along the English coast, and in July, 1901, with a specially powerful apparatus, he was making intelligible practice for 225 miles, between Poldhu (Cornwall) and Crookhaven (Ireland). Then, in December, 1901, at a single bound, he leaped the Atlantic. Is it unreasonable to predict that the fate of the first Atlantic cable

will be that of the first aërograph, or that an extended period—months or, may be, years—must elapse before the daring young inventor conquers the difficulties which beset him?

It must not be forgotten that the whole circumstances surrounding his Newfoundland experiment were exceptional and abnormal. His ordinary apparatus does not energize for more than 180 miles under the most favorable conditions, and a comparison of the data as regards ships exchanging signals with the shore will place the average below a hundred miles. Marconi himself, on his way to England in the "Philadelphia" on January 28th, 1902, was interviewed for the press when 120 miles off the Lizard. Returning to New York by her a month later, he received visible messages when in midocean, 1,551 miles from land, but he could not signal back to the shore when 150 miles out. That may be taken as a fairer example of the efficient range of the system than the transatlantic experiment, and while he is progressing rapidly in enlarging its scope, it must be some time before ships can speak with the shore from mid-ocean.

As another illustration of the impossibility of evolving these conceptions too rapidly, let us take the famous steamship, the "Great Eastern." She was theoretically perfect, and was merely a mastodonic enlargement of existing types, and she was practically feasible because she crossed the Atlantic and laid the cable of 1866. But, as a commercial venture, she was a complete failure. She represented too fast a growth, too great a leap from one extreme to the other. The result was a brief, inglorious career, a collapse, and her ultimate disappearance in the scrap-heap. But to-day ocean-liners as large as the "Great Eastern" are making weekly trips across the Atlantic as regularly as clock-work, and commercially are the best-paying ships afloat. It has taken the world about thirty-five years to evolve the liner to that stage.

The phonograph is another instance of an invention from which great things were hoped. It has been before the world in some form for over twenty years, and yet it is still only a toy to-day, having failed to realize any of the practical purposes for which it was thought to be eminently suited. Liquid air, when it was discovered a few years ago, was heralded as one of the great discoveries of modern times; but, after tons of ink and paper had been spent in advertising its merits to an interested

public in two hemispheres, it vanished from sight with almost the same rapidity with which it had broken upon the scientific firmament. Dr. Koch was understood to have discovered a lymph that would cure consumption; but, unfortunately for the afflicted, his "cure" did not attain the success which was looked for.

These few instances, out of many of like nature, may serve to indicate that while men of genius are constantly discovering new forces in nature which make for the betterment of the conditions of human existence, they are not always successful in giving substantial practical form to their inventions at the first efforts. No student of modern progress doubts that, ere many years have passed, the foregoing subjects will be numbered among discoveries of assured success and daily use, but just at present they have not reached the stage when they can be said to be of an efficiency beyond question; and with these in mind, it should occasion no surprise if the Marconi system did not at once prove a competing factor in transoceanic telegraphy.

The foregoing may be regarded as illustrating the scientific difficulties in the way of the successful attainment of the objects Marconi has in view. There are also what may be termed certain mechanical difficulties, the surmounting of which will involve considerable time and ingenuity.

The Marconi electric plant at Poldhu, now developing a force equal to thirty-eight horse-power, has instruments of his devising which utilize this store of energy to the fullest advantage. But the machinery is such that, when once it is started, the operators cannot approach within several feet of it without danger of injury. When the power is doubled it must follow that the danger-zone will be enlarged, unless new devices are provided to counteract the increased force.

On the corresponding station being put in operation on this side of the Atlantic, a similar equipment must be installed, and this will not be the work of a day or a month. Following upon that there must be a series of exhaustive experiments, conducted under the most diverse circumstances, until the assurance of practical efficiency for business purposes is absolute and unquestionable. Among the difficulties which his critics assert that Marconi will have to encounter in transmitting his signals across the ocean, will be that of the confusion arising through the intermingling of the ether waves from different "sending" stations

on land or on shipboard. The inventor meets this criticism with the answer that his "tuning" process insures absolute accuracy and secrecy, because only instruments in syntony will be able to respond to each other. To this the critics rejoin with the fact stated in the English papers, that in the naval manœuvres of the British Channel fleet last year, Admiral Watson sat in his cabin and read every one of the enemy's messages, which were intercepted by his own ship's instrument. The Marconi explanation of steamers having the same "tune" is that they may thereby summon aid if in distress; but it has been presumed that the two opposing British squadrons had their instruments tuned differently, and, if that was the case, the successful "tapping" by one fleet of the other's messages implies a serious defect.

The weak point in Marconi's system appears to be the inability to provide properly tuned instruments, or absolute secrecy in the transmission of messages. The difficulty of controlling radiant energy in its course through the atmosphere must be appreciated by the student. As the impulses spread out in great circular whirls, they would seem liable to be caught by any number of receivers, unless the tuning were absolutely perfect; and most investigators maintain that this drawback must be faced for a long time yet. Another point which is emphasized is, that if hundreds or thousands of these electric throbs are communicated to the same space, it may be no easy matter to insure their being recorded by only the one receiver for which a certain series of waves is intended. That Marconi realizes the force of these contentions is evident from the following statement given out by him in New York in January last, before sailing for England:

"I am more confident than ever that, when it is completed, I shall give to the world, as the first result of my labors in the transmission of power without wires to great distances, a system of telegraphy capable of infinite expansion and securing the absolute privacy of the messages. I shall shortly make known a novel principle, which will to a large degree remove the popular belief that it is impossible to attain that degree of secrecy which is practicable with cables."

On his arrival in England on January 31st, he was interviewed, and asked, among other things:

"What about the opinion of experts that there is no reliability to be placed upon wireless messages, and that they can be intercepted by any one who chooses to erect a station equipped with proper instruments?"

"That," said the inventor, "is a thing I am working upon now, with, I most firmly believe, the prospect of ultimate success."

From these admissions, and from the assertions of eminent authorities in many countries, it is clear that this feature of his system is as yet of only questionable accuracy.

Turning now to what may be called the competitive difficulty in the way, a rather serious situation will be found to present itself. Even if all the other obstacles are overcome, the fact remains that Marconi has no land connections on the American side, except a Canadian station in Cape Breton, and until he secures these, his ocean signals will serve no commercial purpose. In the British Isles, the telegraph lines are controlled by the Government, and when a ship sends messages to a Marconi station on that coast, a slight charge in addition to the Marconi tariff will insure the message being forwarded to its destination from the nearest telegraph office. But on the American side the land-lines are controlled by two great corporations—the Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies, which also are allies of the several transatlantic cable companies. The latter "pooled" their interests some years ago to prevent ruinous rate-cutting, and they now divide the annual receipts of the whole ocean traffic in certain specified proportions among themselves. They will not take kindly to this competition of Marconi's, as the Anglo-American Cable Company made clear by its warning him out of Newfoundland, where it has exclusive rights. The land-wire companies must also see in him a formidable rival in days to come, and the two interests are more than likely to combine to prevent his obtaining any access to the American continent. In other words, he will invoke an electrical "Monroe Doctrine." He will be hamstrung if this occurs, for he will be unable to transfer his messages to the inland points for which they are destined. Clearly then, his evolution into a business enterprise in the Western Hemisphere depends upon the grace of the telegraph companies, who, if hostile to him, can erect a barrier which even wireless signals cannot leap for quite a long time. His only means of overcoming this obstacle would be to invade their territory and establish land stations in every hamlet in the United States. But this would prove to be the most difficult task that he could undertake, because the effective range of his system over land areas is only half what it is on sea, and the American con-

tinent is so dotted with telegraph offices, and so well served thereby, that his resort to such an expedient might be of dubious value.

If Marconi should venture upon the extension of his system to the other continents, and the lands beyond the seas, the competitive difficulties would be increased proportionately. Across the Atlantic Ocean are fourteen submarine cables with a total length of about 40,000 miles. Elsewhere in the world are 1755 distinct cables of all sizes and lengths, with a total mileage of 149,000 nautical miles. This makes a grand aggregate of 1,769 cables with a total length of 189,000 miles, of which all but 20,000 miles are owned and controlled by companies and corporations. It is difficult to estimate the full amount of the capital invested in these cables themselves and the subsidiary industries, such as construction-factories and repair-shops; but the London Stock Exchange estimates that British investors are interested to the extent of $100,000,000. The vastness of the cable as an institution is evident from the fact that the maintenance and repair of these submarine nerves provides constant work for forty ocean-going steamships specially equipped for the purpose, one of them—the "Anglia"—being of 6,500 tons. In Europe there are 425,600 miles of telegraph line, with 1,585,876 miles of wire strung thereon, and in the United States there are 222,587 miles of line, carrying 1,118,036 miles of wire. It will be no small matter for Marconi to face these conditions.

To suppose, then, that the cable and telegraph interests will submit to their own extinguishment in the manner inevitable from the employment of the "aërograph" along the lines indicated by the Marconi programme, is to assume that human nature has lost its chief attribute, that of self-preservation. On the contrary, is it not reasonable to conclude that the cable and wire companies will combine to fight what they regard as a common enemy, and that a financial battle rarely equalled in modern times will be the outcome of this menace by a wireless telegraph of the system at present in effective occupation of the business field?

Another consideration which must be taken into account is, that wireless telegraphy has not a distinct and unoccupied place among the scientific agencies contributing towards the world's convenience. When the electric telegraph was invented by Morse, there was a distinct and unoccupied place, an original outlet for business endeavor, for there was no other agency in existence to

accomplish anything like its purpose. It was the same with the Atlantic cable. Prior to its being laid, the two hemispheres depended for their communication on slow-going sail-ships and scarcely faster steam-ships. A peaceful revolution in commerce and intercourse was effected when London and New York were brought within a few hours of each other by the cable, instead of being separated a full fortnight by the ships of that day. Then there was "a long-felt want," and the telegraph by land and sea supplied it. But Marconi has no such advantageous circumstances in his favor to-day. He has no fallow field of science to till, no new department of industrial effort to develop. The electric wires by land and sea meet the needs of the world very fully, and the most that Marconi's system will do is to provide a cheaper medium for the same purpose. What this will result in may be gauged by considering the respective merits of kerosene oil, illuminating gas, and electric light. The introduction of gas did not displace oil, and although the electric light is a formidable competitor, the two older accessories still continue to maintain an increasing sphere of usefulness.

Therefore, it is clear that in competing with the cables and wires Marconi will only be able to attain success through his doing the same work very much more cheaply. But against this there is the fact, that these companies have in their possession hundreds of patents for improving the speed and efficiency of their equipment, which patents they purchased at various times from impecunious inventors, and pigeon-holed to prevent their being used by rivals, or to avoid too great dislocation of existing methods of working. It is only reasonable to assume that, when Marconi's system enters the field as a claimant for commercial recognition, all these contrivances will be brought to light, and such of them turned to use as will enable the lines to work at such a speed as to neutralize the disparity now threatened. To-day it costs twenty-five cents a word for a commercial message between New York and London, and Marconi claims that he will reduce this to two cents a word. The cable companies may be trusted to make an effort to face that changed condition.

It is clear, therefore, from an impartial survey of the whole field of possible operations, that the direction in which the chief advance in wireless telegraphy must take place will be that of the ocean. Here "aërography" has a vast and undisputed sphere of

usefulness, widening with the years and the simplifying of the apparatus, until every steamer and deep-sea sailer will be provided with this accessory; and signalling by flags, semaphores, or whistles, as now practised, will be relegated to the museums of outworn devices. The utilization, by the navies of the world, of one or other of the rival systems of wireless telegraphy of which we read from day to day, is a proof that the progressive directors of naval policy, to whom money is no object and who are ever on the alert for new devices, realize the trend of scientific activity in this respect, while the fact that the more conservative shipping companies are installing the appliances on their best liners, tends to confirm the same conclusion. One admiralty after another has adopted a wireless system, until it bids fair to become as indispensable in naval economy as the very ammunition itself.

It is needless for me to enlarge upon this aspect of the question. The world is receiving object-lessons every day in the growing efficiency of the new process of ocean communication. Of course, we are a long way yet from the time when it will be possible to keep in touch with a transatlantic liner during the whole course of her voyage, but, in view of what we have been seeing and hearing of late, who can doubt that this time is coming, surely, even if slowly? The period is rather more distant when the cargo-boat will be equipped, but that this, too, is well within the limit of achievement of the coming years, is quite as certain. The apparatus is not costly, $750 sufficing for an installation for the "Lucania" and ships of that class, and the dynamos already on board serve to charge the accumulators which give vitality to the apparatus.

Against long-distance sea-signalling at present this drawback exists: that it is impossible to provide sufficient energy to impel the formulas from the light-power stations on shipboard to the depot on land with which it is desired to communicate. For instance, with its greater stores of power, the Poldhu station, properly tuned, should be able to signal to any wirelessly-equipped craft in mid-ocean, but the latter, for lack of power, would not be able to respond thereto. Now, the chief value of the system must be in the reverse direction—in the ability of a ship to report herself at any time or under any circumstances, especially to appeal for assistance if she should be in trouble. At the present moment, about 150 miles is the record sea signal. To attain the full bene-

fits of the system, what is needed is a perfecting of the apparatus so that vibrations may be transmitted 900 miles. Then it will be possible for a ship in mid-ocean to communicate with Ireland or Newfoundland. The shortest stretch in the transatlantic highway is that between Cape Clear, on the west coast of Ireland, and Cape Race, on the east coast of Newfoundland. This is a distance of 1,760 miles, and a ship midway between could signal to the one coast and then to the other, if she had an apparatus effective for at least 880 miles. From Cape Race to Cape Cod is but 1,000 miles, and this leap would be a smaller one, because a radius of 500 miles would be ample. When the Atlantic is spanned in this fashion, ocean travel will take on a new aspect altogether, and ship will be speaking with ship and with the shore from the bosom of the rolling main, just as town speaks with town by the long-distance telephone on land.

But, interesting and novel as these aspects of ocean telegraphy are, the more utilitarian features which it presents are no less entitled to consideration. We are bidden from time to time to observe the terrible disasters which occur on shipboard from collisions, disablements, wrecks, and strandings. The "aërograph" will minimize collisions almost completely. It will enable the helpless or endangered ship to report her position and summon help, either from other ships or from the shore. It will warn craft approaching the land of the proximity of the coast and of the risks of shipwreck; it will advise them of the presence of ice-floes and bergs, of the direction of coming storms, and of changing currents, and it will be able to guide ships enveloped in fog past such danger-strewn headlands as Cape Race and Sable Island. In a word, it will undertake all the tasks now performed by the lookout, the fog whistle, the light-house, and the danger signal, and will accomplish them with far greater reliability than seems to be attainable at present.

In connection with this phase of the subject, it may be well to explain how these ends will be achieved. As an offshoot of Marconi's main system, he has devised an appliance whereby the electric rays are sent in a definite direction by means of a parabolic reflector of burnished copper. These rays are stopped by the curvature of the earth's surface, and are therefore only potent for a distance of four miles, and when the receiving reflector is in a direct line with the sending one. By a clockwork arrange-

ment, the reflectors move to and fro on a semicircular base, and as the apparatus on two ships, or on a ship and a light-house or signal station, would come into line with each other, an alarm would be given and steps could be taken to avert the danger. These signals might not be always effective, but such a provision should certainly result in very materially reducing the number of casualties at sea, which the world has to deplore with the existing imperfect safeguards against such contingencies. It is claimed by enthusiasts that the risks of ocean transit would be reduced by ninety per cent., and from what has already been demonstrated of the working of the system on the water, it is evident that as it is perfected it will give a new security to navigation, and materially lessen the terrors of those who go down to the sea in ships.

As Morse is identified with the telegraph, Field with the cable, Bell with the telephone, and Edison with the phonograph, so Marconi will be the human exemplar of wireless telegraphy. Perfection will only come in this, as in other devices which are being steadily added to the common stock of civilization's accessories, by slow and laborious advances. The system may be merely in its experimental stages, as some maintain; but it is no longer a chimera, and, though we may be years from a demonstration of its practical efficiency as a competitive enterprise, all observers agree that no obstacles are in the way which human ingenuity cannot overcome.

Therefore, all must hope that every success will attend Marconi and the other daring adventurers who are exploring this comparatively unknown scientific region. Our whole human existence is being transformed by electricity, and it is impossible to conceive of any use to which this wonderful fluid can be applied that is more pregnant with beneficial possibilities, or calculated to be a more helpful factor in advancing the existing order of the world's life, if it attains that practical success which its exponents claim is assured for it ere many years have passed.

P. T. McGrath.

THE PUBLIC DEBT OF TURKEY.

BY CHARLES MORAWITZ.

So long as Turkey had, as it were, no relations with the States of Western Europe, she did not possess that particular product of civilization which is called a Public Debt. In 1854, at the time of the Crimean War, the isolation of Turkey ceased. She entered the "European Concert." She began to borrow.

I.

There are certain things which one learns very quickly, and the art of getting into debt is one of them. Hardly initiated, Turkey made rapid strides in this art. In 1854 England, her ally, facilitated a first loan of $15,000,000, and the next year, in 1855, England and France aided her, by their guarantee, to contract another loan of $25,000,000. Thereafter, the loans followed each other closely and assumed ever-increasing dimensions. The total amount of the loans issued between 1854 and 1874 was as much as $1,066,000,000!

One does not know which is the more astonishing, the wealth of France (for it is the mass of French people of moderate means which furnished the greater part of that sum), or the possibility of spending such a tremendous amount without its leaving hardly any trace whatever. Of the amount actually received by the Government—about $620,000,000—scarcely ten per cent. was devoted to works of public utility—the 1,280 kilometres of railroad constructed by M. Hirsch, and some other short lines of altogether 171 kilometres in length. To show how the other ninety per cent. was spent, one can only point to a few palaces on the banks of the Bosphorus, to an ironclad fleet which has never served, and to some beautiful private mansions near the Champs Elysées, belonging to former bankers of Galata.

At the beginning of the reign of Abdul Aziz nothing indicated what course he would adopt. The taste of the Sultan for tiny horses, musical boxes, wild animals, and especially for consols, gave but little cause for anxiety—especially as it was Ismail Pacha who ministered to it, with a view to obtaining the Firman which was to nominate him Khedive, and to convert Egypt into an autonomous state under the suzerainty of the Sultan. But after his visit to Cairo and his trip to the Paris Exhibition in 1867, Abdul Aziz became enamoured of grand palaces and iron-clad ships. There were no bounds to the extravagance of his tastes. At the time of his European tour, when he found himself on the Rhine on his way to an interview with the King of Prussia at Coblentz, he asked "whether they had dug that watercourse in his honor!" Fuad Pacha, the Grand Vizier, might perhaps have exercised the necessary influence over the Sultan; but, although a great diplomatist, he was an unsuccessful administrator. Since, moreover, the financial negotiations were far from impoverishing him, he allowed matters to take their course, and contented himself with witty criticisms upon the state of affairs.

To understand the failure of all attempts at reform, it is necessary to make an excursion into the field of philology. The character and the habits of a nation are often revealed by certain words or expressions peculiar to its language which cannot be translated into the language of another country. Do we expect to find with a nomadic people a synonym for the word "home"? Are we likely to discover among the cannibals a word expressing the "*Gemüth*" of the Germans? Do not the words "*bohême*" and "*grisette*" unveil a corner of Parisian life? Does not "sport" show the particular taste of the English for physical exercise? Does not "*Grandeza*" depict the haughty bearing of the Spaniard? In the same way, the signification of the words "*Khef*" and "*bakshish,*" which have no exact equivalent in other languages, is characteristic of the spirit and the customs of Orientals. It would be more easy to define "love" or "hate" than "*Khef*"! The "*dolce far niente*" of the Italians might give you a vague idea of its meaning; but this "*dolce far niente*" is to "*Khef*" what Cleopatra's Needle is to the Eiffel Tower, or the heights of Montmartre to the Himalayas. The Italian needs a whole phrase to indicate a certain state of indolence; a single word suffices the Oriental. The Italian phrase, moreover, indicates an action;

the lazzarone does something. That something is nothing, indeed; but the phrase proves that he is not without any idea of action; his brain must be working, since he realizes the fact that it is sweet to do nothing. *Khef,* on the contrary, is the complete oblivion of everything. It is the absence of every desire. It is beatitude in idleness, resignation in decay. *Khef* is a state of indifference produced by fatalism, a condition of the most absolute immobility. *Khef* impassively contemplates science and progress modifying the conditions of social life in the rest of the universe. Why change, since all is for the best in this best of all possible worlds?

To this psychological cause of repugnance to all innovation we must add, especially as regards modifications in administration, one of a more material nature which finds its expression in the word "*bakshish.*" Bakshish is the "tip" of Western nations; but it is not degrading like the latter; there is something legal about it. A gift, in the East, has an importance unknown elsewhere.

Formerly, the officials of the Turkish Government received no salary; hence the bakshish acquired official sanction; it began to partake of the character of a tax. The duty of the taxpayer is to provide for the needs of the functionaries; why, then, follow a roundabout way, by making the money of the taxpayer go to the State, so that the latter may distribute it afterwards!

In 1838 the Grand Vizier Rechid Pacha, recognizing the serious defects of this system, decreed that officials were henceforth to be paid by the State. A continual succession of wars prevented the strict application of this reform; the simplest means of freeing oneself from the care of finding money for salaries was, of course, to return to the old system of not paying them at all. This measure, therefore, failed to produce any effect.

A financial system working under such conditions, with annual loans, with an enormous increase of annual charges, with a body of officials hostile to every reform and possessing little or no knowledge of accounts, was inevitably fated to result in disaster.

Thanks to the intrigues of General Ignatieff, the Russian ambassador, Mahmoud Pacha, an ignorant and corrupt individual, who had already been Grand Vizier in 1871-1872, returned to power in 1875. Five weeks after his appointment, Turkey issued a declaration of insolvency. Nor did it come alone. An internal

crisis and a foreign war followed closely upon it, and rendered any financial arrangement impossible. The troubles which broke out in Herzegovina and Bosnia were followed on the 4th of May, 1876, by a rising in Bulgaria; two days later the French and German Consuls were assassinated at Salonica; on the 10th of May a manifestation of Softas (theological students) took place at Constantinople, which brought about the fall of Mahmoud Pacha; on the 29th of May Abdul Aziz was dethroned and replaced by the eldest of the family, Murad; four days later, Abdul Aziz died suddenly. Murad, who was of a feeble and nervous disposition, fearing that he might be suspected of having ordered the assassination, went mad six days after his accession. On the 15th of June, two ministers, Hussein-Avni and Rechid Pacha, were assassinated during the meeting of the Council. While these tragic events were taking place in the capital, Servia and Montenegro declared war. An extraordinary enthusiasm manifested itself in Russia for the deliverance of her Slavonic brethren. Gladstone, in opposition to Disraeli's Cabinet, conducted a vehement oratorical campaign against the Turks; Murad, not recovering his reason, was deposed after a reign of three months. Such were the circumstances in which Abdul Hamid mounted the throne on the 31st of August, 1876.

The war with Servia continued, while in the following year hostilities began with Russia. On the 3rd of March, 1878, the Treaty of Peace between Russia and Turkey was signed at San Stefano, and on the 13th of June a European Congress assembled at Berlin. The Treaty which resulted from the deliberations of the Powers deprived Turkey of several of her provinces, and imposed upon her a heavy war indemnity. It promised her, on the other hand, that the minor neighboring States, which had aggrandized themselves at her expense, should be responsible for a part of her national debt. But the diplomatists, who have always given proof of an excellent memory for demanding from the Sultan the execution of all his engagements, have completely forgotten to oblige Bulgaria, Servia, and Greece, to keep theirs.

It appeared as though, after all the accumulated disasters arising from a long series of revolts and wars, there was not much hope for the holders of Turkish bonds. Now, it is from this epoch that the recovery of Ottoman Finances dates.

As soon as calm was re-established, negotiations were entered

upon between the creditors and the Government. They were lengthy, but successful. On the 8th (20th) December, 1881 (the 28th Mouharrem, 1299, according to the Turkish Calendar), a decree was promulgated, known by the name of "*Décret de Mouharrem,*" constituting "*l'Administration de la Dette Publique Ottomane.*" A new era is about to begin.

II.

By the Decree of Mouharrem, the capital of the debt, reduced to the average rate of issue, is fixed at the figure of $532,186,170. For interest and the extinction of the debt, the following revenues are ceded by the Government to the shareholders—the salt and tobacco monopolies, the stamp duties, duties on spirits, fisheries and the silk-tithe, the produce of duties on Tumbeki (tobacco for smoking in narghilehs), the dues of Eastern Roumelia, the surplus of the Cyprus revenues, the Bulgarian tribute, the surplus of the Custom House receipts resulting from a modification of taxes in case of revision of the Commercial Treaties, and the surplus of the revenue which should accrue from the general application of the law on licenses.

The management of these revenues belongs to a Council of Administration composed of seven members, six of whom are nominated by the Committees of Paris, London, Vienna, Berlin, Rome, and Constantinople, the seventh by the holders of preference shares.

The arrangements of the Decree of Mouharrem as regards the application of the revenues to the interest and gradual extinction of the debt are decidedly complicated. I will content myself with mentioning the most essential points.

On the net proceeds of the revenues is charged, first of all, the sum necessary to pay the interest on the priority bonds, in payment of certain floating debts. Four-fifths of the balance of revenue are appropriated for the payment of interest, and the remaining fifth to the gradual extinction of the debt.

For the purpose of the extinction of the debt the Decree divides the loans into four groups, according to the guarantees originally attached to them, and stipulates that, after paying one per cent. of the aforesaid capital on account of interest, the surplus is to be applied to the extinction of debt of group I., after that of group II., etc. The Decree organizes a kind of

hierarchy among the four groups. It constructs, as it were, a reservoir of four levels, the first of which lets its overflow run into the second, of which the second pours its excess into the third, and so on.

A special arrangement has been adopted for the premium bonds (called "Turkish Lots"), which were created in 1870 for the construction of railways. All the amounts accruing from that loan are to serve for payment of securities which have been drawn by lot, and payment of interest must not take place before the sums available will allow of reimbursement of the securities drawn to the full amount stipulated by the plan of the extinction of the debt. This loan is gradually extinguished in the following manner: In the six annual drawings, 300 shares are drawn, to which premiums are ascribed varying from $120,000 to $200. The amount annually required for the payment of the premiums is $720,000 up to the year 1910, and $465,000 after that date. There are besides drawn, at the rate of $80, an annually increasing number of shares which this year stands at 4,750. At the time of the creation of the new administration, the amounts available made it possible to pay at the rate of 58 per cent. for the shares drawn. In 1888 certain sums which had become available for this loan would have permitted of payment at a much higher rate. But they continued to pay only 58 per cent. by mere force of habit, employing the available surplus in buying up shares at the Bourse. This measure, provisionally adopted thirteen years ago, still continues to be applied.

The Austro-Hungarian Committee adopted in 1893 a plan for the regulation of this question of Turkish allotments. This plan, after having received the approval of the Council and of all the Committees of the Public Debt, has been approved by the Ministry of Finance, the Council of State, and the Council of Ministers. But the Sultan has not ratified it. He nominated one Commission after another to study the problem, and although every one of these Commissions has given a favorable opinion, their reports continue to slumber in the Palace archives.

For the first time a situation is thus revealed which had been suspected for a long time, but which had not yet manifested itself in such a flagrant manner to the eyes of the general public: the realization of the fact that the Sublime Porte (that is to say the Grand Vizierate), the Ministers, and the whole apparatus of

Government only exist in appearance, and that the immense Ottoman Empire is governed, like Spain under Philip II., in the Cabinet of the Sovereign, assisted by a few Secretaries.

The Decree of Mouharrem has been in force for the last nineteen years and has produced excellent results. The taxes, the direct administration of which belongs to the Council, brought in at the time of the creation of the Council of the Debt a gross annual revenue of $5,368,000; they represent to-day $9,154,000. By deducting the charges of collection and administration, and by adding the surplus revenues of Cyprus and the Tumbeki duties, they have reached, for 1900-1901, a net total of $9,512,-000 available for the service of the debt. This sum comprises the dues paid by the "*Régie des Tabacs,*" founded in 1883, and to which the Council of Administration leased the exploitation of its tobacco monopoly for a fixed annuity of $3,450,000. If one considers the results of Tobacco Monopolies in other countries, that of

France	yielding	$65,600,000	for a population of	38,227,000
Italy	yielding	29,200,000	for a population of	31,479,000
Austria	yielding	17,300,000	for a population of	26,107,000
Hungary	yielding	12,300,000	for a population of	19,203,000

the Turkish Monopoly, affecting a number of inhabitants which can be estimated at a minimum of fourteen millions, and taking into account that certain provinces are subject to special conditions, ought to bring in between 24 and 8½ millions of dollars, *i.e.,* 24 millions if the consumption of tobacco be reckoned on the basis of the amount consumed per head of the population in France; 8½ millions if the calculation be based on the consumption per head in Hungary. These scanty results of the Turkish Monopoly may be explained by the contraband trade, and are all the more significant as, in the other countries, at the most, one inhabitant in five is a smoker, whilst in Turkey even the women and children smoke all day.

The sphere of operation of the Council for the administration of the Public Debt has been enlarged since 1881. The Council is no longer solely a kind of trustee for the payment of interest on the debt guaranteed by the Decree of Mouharrem. It collects other revenues; it is charged with paying the interest on other loans. This extension of the Council's functions was brought about in the following manner.

Encouraged by the smooth working of the Administration of the Public Debt, the Deutsche Bank of Berlin made an offer to the Government in 1888 to undertake the construction of a railway in Asia Minor. Supported by the German Emperor, who understands how to use the political influence of his country in the interests of commerce, the Deutsche Bank stipulated that the tithes of certain provinces appropriated as a guarantee for the receipts of the line were to be administered by the Council of the Public Debt. The Council accepted this responsibility. The example of the Deutsche Bank was followed upon an extensive scale. Within the space of eight years, eleven important concessions have been granted, all being based on the administration of the guarantees by the Council; six of these concessions refer to the construction of railways; five relate to loans, three of which are based upon a recently borrowed capital of $45,000,000; one has for its object the conversion of five per cent. priority bonds into four per cent. consols; one concerns the collection of tithes given as a guarantee for the war indemnity due to Russia. The length of the railway lines conceded by the six contracts referred to above amounts to 2,315 kilometres.

In 1899-1900 the sum to be paid by the Government on account of these guarantees amounted to $4,140,000.

In consequence of all these contracts, the Council has been gradually induced to collect, by right of these new attributes, State revenues representing an annual sum of about $9,000,000, this being about the same amount as that which it collects in carrying out the Decree of Mouharrem. With its 720 agencies and 5,000 employés the Council has assumed a great importance in the country. Thanks to the admirable organization which it has introduced, the credit of the Empire has been strengthened; the establishment of new railroads, facilitated by its co-operation, has opened vast territories to trade which formerly were almost without communication with the rest of the world.

III.

Outside the sphere of administration of the Council of the Debt, another part of Turkish Finance is administered directly by the Malié (Ministry of Finance). The contrast between the two is striking. On one side we have the methods and organization of modern States, on the other the old Turkish régime main-

tained with little modification up to the end of the nineteenth century. A superficial examination would convey the impression that the post of Malié Naziri (Minister of Finance) is rather enviable than otherwise. This functionary, unlike his colleagues in Parliamentary countries, has not the trouble of submitting his anticipatory Budgets and his accounts of administration to a Parliament. He is free from the dread of seeing some member cut down grants which he considers indispensable, or on the contrary, impose upon him expenses which he regards as superfluous. He is also sheltered from the anxiety which ordinarily spoils the pleasures of office of the Ministers of Finance of countries whose affairs are not upon a sound basis—the nightmare of payments falling due at a certain date!

Since 1881, the Administration of the Public Debt has freed him from this task, at least to a great extent. What is incumbent upon the Malié is the payment of the Sultan's Civil List, of the contracts for armaments supplied, and of the Army and of the Civil Service. The Civil List, that is the chief thing! It figures at the head of the charges, and amounts to $4,000,000. As to the rest, the Minister need not be in a hurry to provide for them. The contractors for armaments make great profits; they have certainly made allowance in their calculations for the risk of having to wait a long time for their money; they would not like to see the door shut in their faces the next time that orders were given, through their pressing too much for payment. The officials are used to their salaries not arriving in time; they do not count upon them very much, and look for other resources. The soldier in Turkey has a broad back and especially a good digestion; a little rice and a great deal of tobacco, so easily procured in these times of monopoly, suffice him. Suppose that the Government already owes him for five months' pay; this month he is also not paid; that makes six months' pay which he will have to receive, and that will make a round sum!

The Malié is charged, among other duties, with the examination of new financial combinations proposed to the Government. This part of his task is neither the easiest nor the least disagreeable. The list of schemes which are being examined is very long; if all were realized, the era of the golden age would cease to be a fable for Turkey. There is not a thing out of which the Greek and Armenian financiers who are always hanging about

the Malié do not know how to make money. They prove to the Government that the war indemnity due to Russia could procure it several hundred thousand pounds by making it the object of a loan; they offer to establish monopolies on every imaginable article; they propose to buy back the different railroads of European Turkey and, by economies to be effected by centralizing their working, to find security for a loan of £2,000,000. Men of established position and abilities have taken up this question, which, however, encounters many obstacles. Everything, moreover, in this country is difficult and complicated. If the Government wants to raise the lighthouse dues, England objects; if it wants to create a monopoly on cigarette paper or playing-cards, France or Austria-Hungary puts a spoke in the wheel. If it is a question of petroleum Russia will raise objections, and even the Powers which are the least interested make their consent to any point whatsoever depend upon the settlement of such or such a question. We have lately seen the Americans protesting against the prohibition of importing salt pork, and all the Powers opposing the raising of the customs duties.

Among questions under examination at the Ministry of Finance two may be specially cited which will immediately be the subject of important negotiations.

The proposed increase of customs duties from 8 to 11 per cent. is estimated to yield from two to two and a half million dollars a year; by rights, this sum ought to serve for the increase of interest on the debt managed by the Council of Administration. Now this rise in interest would entail an increase of the rate of redemption of the debt, and it would be really exacting too much from the Government to request it to make efforts to obtain an increase of income merely to see the extinction of the debt rendered more onerous. A combination is therefore being sought for by which it may be possible to give up part of this new revenue to the Government, a part which, according to existing plans, would serve as basis of a loan for the continuation of the great Asiatic railway line towards Bagdad.

The other scheme relates to the conversion of the loans existing under the administration of the Decree of Mouharrem. The enactments of this Decree have the effect of maintaining the guarantees intact until the complete extinction of all the loans for which they serve as security. In the case of the other loans,

when a portion of the security is liberated by reason of the redemption of a considerable amount, it is possible to make use of it as security for a new demand upon the national credit; under the administration of the Decree, however, it is not possible to proceed in this manner with the securities appropriated to the converted debt. These latter, forming an indivisible whole, are not liberated in succession; but immediately on the redemption of the last of the shares under the control of the Council, the Government will be empowered to dispose of the whole of the securities at once. The scheme of conversion intended to remedy this situation, which is very unfavorable to the Government, is based upon the idea of offering to the holders a much higher fixed rate of interest than that which they receive at present, while continuing the same guarantees. This offer would be made in exchange for their profits resulting from the important purchases effected for purposes of extinction, which take the form of a gradual increase in value.

The Malié does not, as is the case in other countries, concentrate in his hands all the disbursements by the State. The Council of Ministers decides upon the amount of the sum to be expended by each Department, and the Malié hands over to his colleagues assignments for that amount on the different revenues of the State. These assignments are given by the Ministers in payment to contractors and sometimes even to officials; as they are payable in countries the most distant from each other, they are necessarily the object of continual traffic; their value fluctuates, and their more or less prompt cashing depends on the greater or lesser ability which the holder displays in getting them honored at the various provincial treasuries. One can imagine the abuses, robberies and jobberies to which this system must give rise.

We have seen that it is the Council of the Public Debt which is charged with paying the interest on the money borrowed by the State, by means of certain revenues which are conceded to it. But there are exceptions. Several loans are outside the jurisdiction of the Council, and the Minister of Finance is the authority who provides for the payment of their interest. The list of these loans comprises the loans guaranteed by the Egyptian tribute, and two loans created in capitalization of the returns due from the Tumbeki Society and from the "*Compagnie des chemins de*

fer de la Turquie d'Europe," returns also paid by their debtors direct to the banks to which is entrusted the payment of the interest. The only loan whereof the payment of interest falls directly upon the Malié, is the five per cent. 1886 loan of $29,575,000.

IV.

If we take a comprehensive view of the financial situation of the Ottoman Empire, we see that it presents itself as follows: a past, burdened with very grave mistakes and with which it was necessary to break, left Turkey with a Consolidated Debt of $522,607,000 guaranteed by the revenues controlled by the Council of the Debt.

This is a considerable amount. But the burden which it imposes appears heavier than it really is. The rate of interest being only one per cent., the yearly allowance necessitated by the dividends is not high, and thanks to the stipulation which appropriates for the gradual extinction of the debt a part of the proceeds of the conceded revenues, as well as the interest due on securities already redeemed, thanks also to the arrangement which allows repurchase at the Stock Exchange instead of redemption of the nominal capital, the Consolidated Debt diminishes very fast, in geometrical progression. In the first nine financial years, 3.978 per cent. of the debt was discharged, in the next nine financial years 12.692 per cent. The total extinction of debt thus amounts to $96,415,000 or 18.45 per cent. on the 1st (13th) March, 1901. Another portion of the debt amounting to a capital of $90,200,000 is guaranteed by the Egyptian tribute, and is therefore not a burden which really weighs heavily on Turkey.

Besides the debts which have been mentioned, there remains a capital of about $90,000,000 of various loans and of Floating Debt, and further, the annuity of $1,600,000 to be paid to Russia as war indemnity. One cannot say that the annual sacrifices necessitated by these liabilities are out of proportion to the resources of the Ottoman Empire.

The sums which Turkey has paid from her own revenues since the new era of the Administration of the Public Debt exceed by $276,000,000 the amount borrowed by her during the same period; and, as regards the capital of the debt, a far larger sum has been paid off than that which was borrowed on the other

hand. There are many States generally regarded as being in a highly prosperous condition, of which as much could not be said.

Of course, there is another side to the question. If we consider that portion of the finances dependent upon the Malié, and not under the power of the Council of the Debt, subjects of criticism are not wanting. The system of direct taxes recalls our Middle Ages; the assessment is arbitrary, while the method of collection is disgraceful. The Budget only exists upon paper; officials are paid in the most irregular manner, and creditors not possessing guarantees acknowledged by the Council of the Debt are often obliged to wait a long time for their money. When they are foreigners, and when the diplomatic Powers who look after their interests end by losing patience in consequence of repeated adjournments, crises arise like that which recently broke out between France and Turkey. Respect for a fixed time of payment is a notion absolutely foreign to the Ottoman intelligence, which has an instinct as well as a taste for petty expedients, subterfuges and deferments until the morrow or the following week. But one must not exaggerate the importance and gravity of the incidents which arise. On the whole, with more or less good-will, after more or less delay, under more or less energetic pressure, Turkey pays what she owes. Tergiversation injures her good financial reputation, and brings her absolutely no profit, except the necessity of paying large sums as interest for the delay. She would render her own credit a signal service if she would henceforth abstain from seeking to elude, by means of subtleties and vain promises, the execution of the engagements which she has contracted, and if she would seek to inspire foreign capitalists with complete confidence, and thus attract them towards the exploitation of her immense agricultural and mineral resources. Many portions of her territory were formerly counted among the most fertile and the richest of the world, especially the west of Asia Minor, Syria, and the regions watered by the Euphrates and the Tigris. To restore their former prosperity, the Turkish Government need not spend hundreds of millions on public works; there are certainly useful works to be undertaken, ports and railways to be established, but this must be done by proceeding methodically, by not doing too much at a time, and by not entering upon fresh and too onerous engagements.

The best and the most necessary guarantee and the most efficacious attraction which Turkey could offer to the capitalists of Europe and America is the organization of what it most needs: a good administration, an independent and impartial judicature, and the most absolute security for human life and property.

We must, at any rate, do justice to the financial management of the Ottoman Empire in its relations with the creditors of the State since the great reform of 1881. It has been one of perfect honesty, and that under very difficult circumstances. Who cannot call to mind the position of Turkey between 1895 and 1897? After the cholera epidemic, troubles and insurrection broke out in Armenia; the monetary crisis, provoked all over Europe by senseless speculation in gold mines, was exploited in Constantinople by political agitators who organized a run on the Ottoman Bank; the financial markets of Western Europe were seriously disturbed, and a four months' *moratorium* was decreed at Constantinople; the Asiatic Provinces were in a state of extreme agitation, and in Constantinople an attack was made by armed force on the Ottoman Bank. In 1897 came the Cretan insurrection and the declaration of war by Greece.

In less than six weeks the Turkish Government assembled 200,000 men in Thessaly and Epirus. There are few countries which, in presence of such extraordinary circumstances, would not have hesitated to invoke reasons of State for reducing or suspending the payment of interest on their debt. Turkey resisted every temptation of the kind. During that terribly agitated period, the interest on the debt was regularly paid; the gradual extinction of debt by drawing lots took place as usual, and the Council of the Public Debt calmly continued its operations. It redeemed in 1894-95 at the Paris and London Exchanges shares of the four series to the value of $5,860,000, in 1895-96 to the value of $5,616,000, in 1896-97 to the value of $6,080,000 and 35,633 lots, and it continues to increase the reserve funds for the augmentation of interest by $891,000.

"The Sick Man," as the Czar Nicholas used to call him, is in many respects subjected to very bad medical treatment, but the patience of his presumptive heirs is perhaps still to be exposed to a long trial; he has given in the last few years, especially in financial matters, conclusive proofs of vigor and vitality.

CHARLES MORAWITZ.

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whose name is familiar to those who have watched the development of American literature in recent years, is a native of Kentucky. After taking his degree in Transylvania University, he taught for a time in the University of Kentucky, and later was appointed Professor of Latin and Higher English in Bethany College in West Virginia. Since 1886, he has given his entire attention to literature, and his works have enjoyed a high popularity on both sides of the Atlantic. Among his published works are "Flute and Violin," "The Blue Grass Region and Other Sketches of Kentucky," "John Gray," "The Kentucky Cardinal," "The Choir Invisible" and "The Reign of Law."

HAMLIN GARLAND

was the subject of a note in the REVIEW for April last, to which he contributed an article on "The Red Man's Present Needs."

H. W. MABIE.

A note regarding Mr. Mabie will be found in the REVIEW for November, 1901, which contained an article from his pen on "American Opportunities and Education."

JOHN KENDRICK BANGS,

conspicuous among the most facile, fertile and versatile of contemporary writers, has not infrequently employed his rare faculty of humor, through which he has amused and delighted hosts of readers, to enforce sane views upon serious subjects. He was born in Yonkers, New York, in 1862, and, having graduated at Columbia University in 1883, he studied law. His tastes, however, led him to a literary life. He was associate-editor of "Life" from 1884 to 1888, when he assumed the conduct of "The Editor's Drawer" and "Literary Notes" in "Harper's Magazine." In 1898-9, he edited "Literature," on the discontinuance of which he became editor of "Harper's Weekly." Among his best-known works are "A House-Boat on the Styx," "The Pursuit of the House-Boat," "Mr. Bonaparte of Corsica," "Coffee and Repartee," "The Idiot," "The Idiot at Home," "Ghosts I have Met," "The Booming of Acre Hill," "The Bicyclers" and "Olympian Nights."

SIDNEY WEBSTER

was the subject of a short note in the number of the REVIEW for June, 1901, for which he wrote an article entitled "Revelations of a Senate Document."

E. W. HILGARD

was born at Zweibrücken in Rhenish Bavaria in 1833, and was brought to this country when his parents emigrated to it in 1836. He received his elementary education at Belleville, Illinois, but went for his university course to Heidelberg, where he graduated in 1853. He studied also at Zurich and Freiberg. In 1855 he was appointed State Geologist of Mississippi, a post which he retained for eighteen years. From 1873 to 1875, he was Professor of Geology and Natural History in the University of Michigan, and since the latter date he has been Professor of Agriculture in the University of California, and Director of the California Agricultural Experiment Station. In recognition of his services to science, the Munich Academy of Sciences conferred upon him the Liebig medal for distinguished achievements.

H. G. DWIGHT

was born in 1875 and educated in New England, graduating from Amherst College in 1898. For the ensuing three years he was connected with the American Consulate in Venice, during the latter part of the time acting as Deputy-Consul. While in Venice, Mr. Dwight was correspondent of several prominent American journals, and having abandoned the consular service, he is now engaged in literary work.

ARTHUR SYMONS

is of Cornish parentage and was born in Wales in 1865. He is a writer of prose and verse, and a regular contributor to the "Athenæum," the "Saturday Review" and other English journals. Among the books published by him may be mentioned "An Introduction to the Study of Browning," "Days and Nights," "Silhouettes," "London Nights" and "Studies in Two Literatures."

EUSEBIO A. MORALES

is a citizen of Colombia and a lawyer of high standing who practises in the City of Panama. He has been a close and interested observer of the course of political and economical affairs in his own country for many years.

ELDRIDGE L. ADAMS

is a son of the Hon. William H. Adams, Presiding Justice of

the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York in the Fourth Department. He was born at Canandaigua, New York, in 1866 and graduated from Williams College in 1887. Since 1889 he has practised law in Rochester, New York. He was a member of the Municipal Civil Service Commission of Rochester, under several administrations, for seven years. Mr. Adams was counsel for the successful parties in the right of privacy case, the judicial decisions in which form the text for his contribution to this number.

A. M. Wergeland

is Professor of History in the University of Wyoming, a Norwegian by birth and a member of the literary family of which the famous poet, Henrik Wergeland, was the most distinguished ornament. Professor Wergeland studied music for a time under Grieg, and has been a close student of folk-music and the history of music.

Geo. M. Sternberg

took his medical degree at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York in 1860. He was appointed assistant-surgeon in the United States Army in 1861; captain and assistant-surgeon in 1866; major and surgeon in 1875; lieutenant-colonel and deputy surgeon-general in 1891; and brigadier-general and surgeon-general in 1893. It is but a few months since he retired from the army. He first served in the Army of the Potomac and afterwards in the Department of the Gulf. At the end of the Civil War, he was in charge of the United States General Hospital in Cleveland, Ohio. General Sternberg has served through cholera and yellow-fever epidemics, and he had charge of the medical service in the war with Spain. In 1898 he was president of the American Medical Association.

Lieut.-Commander Roy C. Smith, U. S. N.,

entered the Naval Academy in 1874. He has cruised in the Pacific, aboard the "Pensacola," flagship of Rear-Admiral C. R. P. Rodgers, and subsequently aboard the "Quinnebaug" in the Mediterranean, and aboard the "Yorktown" and "Boston," of the original White Squadron, under Rear-Admiral Walker. He has commanded the torpedo-boats "Stiletto" and "Cushing"; and in the war with Spain he was attached to the "Indiana," and was present at the battle of Santiago. In 1885-88, he was Instructor in Mathematics and Physics at the Naval Academy. At the Newport Torpedo

Station, he carried out, under Captain Converse, in 1892-95, the experiments to test the endurance of life in a submerged boat in proximity to exploding charges of gun-cotton; and he was inspector of torpedo-boats building in New England from 1898 to 1900, during which time he was Lecturer on Military and Naval Science at Harvard University. Since 1901, he has been attached to the battle-ship "Massachusetts" as navigator. In 1897, he was awarded the gold medal and prize of the United States Naval Institute for an essay on "Torpedo-Boat Policy."

HERBERT C. HOWE

is Professor of English Literature in the University of Oregon. He is a graduate of Cornell University, and for some time was private secretary of President Schurman.

G. F. KUNZ,

one of the best-known collectors and writers on art in the United States, was born in New York City in 1856. At the age of twenty, he represented, at the Centennial Exposition, the American Museum of Natural History. Since then he has attended in an official capacity the Paris Expositions in 1889 and 1900, the South-African Exhibition in Kimberley in 1890, and the Exhibitions at Chicago, Atlanta, Nashville, Omaha, Buffalo and Turin. He has received the decoration from the French Government of Officer of Public Instruction.

MAGGIORINO FERRARIS

was born at Acqui, Piedmont, in 1856. He was educated at Genoa and Turin. In 1878, he went to University College, London, to study under Professor Jevons, and afterwards to Berlin University, where he was a pupil of Professor Adolf Wagner. Since 1886 he has represented Acqui in the Chamber of Deputies. He was a member of the Crispi Cabinet in 1893-96. Signor Ferraris is the editor and proprietor of the "*Nuova Antologia.*" Of late, his name has been prominently connected with a movement for improving the conditions of travel in Italy, so as to attract foreign tourists to the country, to promote which he established a National Association at Rome.

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WILL THE NOVEL DISAPPEAR?

BY JAMES LANE ALLEN, WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS, HAMLIN GARLAND, HAMILTON W. MABIE, AND JOHN KENDRICK BANGS.

"'Where do I think will the novelist of the future seek the plots and the environment for his novels?'

"Jules Verne leaned forward, and drummed gently on the table. 'I do not think there will be any novels or romances, at all events in volume form, in fifty or a hundred years from now,' he said. 'They will be supplanted altogether by the daily newspaper, which has already now taken such a grip of the lives of the progressive nations.'

"'But the romance, the novel, the descriptive story, the story historic, and the story psychological?'

"'They will all disappear,' said M. Verne. 'They are not necessary, and even now their merit and their interest are fast declining. As historic records, the world will file its newspapers. Newspaper writers have learned to color every-day events so well that to read them will give posterity a truer picture than the historic or descriptive novel could do; and as for the novel psychological, that will soon cease to be, and will die of inanition in your own lifetime.'

"Here M. Jules Verne got excited. 'I am second to no living man,' he cried, 'in my admiration of the greatest psychologist the world has ever known—Guy de Maupassant—and he, like all true geniuses, foresaw the trend of human ideas and needs, and wrote his stories in the smallest possible compass. Each one of De Maupassant's soul studies is a concentrated lozenge of psychology. The De Maupassants who will delight the world in years to come will do so in the newspapers of the

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day, and not in volumes, and they will, as you newspaper men express it, crystallize the psychology of the world in which they live by "writing up" the day-to-day events. The real psychology of life is in its news, and more truth—truth with a big T—can be gathered from the police-court story, the railway accident, from the every-day doings of the crowd, and from the battles of the future, than can be obtained if an attempt is made to clothe the psychological moral in a garb of fiction.'"—*From an interview with Jules Verne, printed in the London* DAILY MAIL.

I.

M. JULES VERNE is reported as thinking that the novel will disappear in fifty or a hundred years. He bares his reasons. Novels will not be needed; hence, there will be no novels. Novels are declining in merit; hence, there will be no novels. In future, there will be newspapers, and the world will file them as its historic records for posterity; hence, there will be no novels.

Whatsoever else a Frenchman may not be, when in earnest he is sure to be logical. The absence of logic here may conceivably be accounted for on the ground that M. Verne was not in earnest. He is a very keen, subtle, humorous Frenchman; he seems to have been in a playful mood; he may have wished to elude his interviewer; he is an old master of extravaganza and of hoax. Possibly, when the grave Englishman had captured these volatile statements and airy nothings, and taken leave, M. Verne may have shrugged his shoulders and congratulated himself that he is not an Anglo-Saxon. Any serious consideration of his views scarcely seems worth while.

Of course the novel is not going to disappear from the literature of the human race because M. Jules Verne possibly states that it will not be needed. The statement is commonly made now that the novel is not needed now. The statement was positively made a hundred years ago that the novel was not needed then. In every generation will be found persons of the highest authority (in other matters) to declare that stories of the imagination are not needed at any time. They settle the question for themselves. But they never settle it for the other portion of the human race, which insists that such stories are needed, always have been needed, always will be needed, for many reasons—one of these being that they add to the innocent and noble pleasures of life. The mind of the race in the past will continue to be the mind of the race in the future—on this subject: except that it will call more

and more for the development of the fine art of fiction to the end of time.

As to the second point, that novels are now declining in merit, and that hence hereafter there will be none, there is room for difference of opinion as to whether or not the novel is at present declining in all the countries that produce it. It is certainly declining in some. But suppose it to be declining everywhere. Must the conclusion follow that it will keep on declining everywhere till it is finally extinct? Once in Greece dramatic literature declined in merit. Once in Italy the art of writing history declined in merit. Once in France comedy declined in merit. Repeatedly in England novel-writing has declined in merit. But not one of these kept on declining everywhere. The history of no art is a long dead level or a long dead gain. It consists of movements, of periods of renascence and decadence. If the novel were now declining in merit throughout the world, in such a fact would lie the simple presumption that in the future it will be revived.

As to the third point—that the race will in future read newspapers, instead of novels, and will file the former as its best records for posterity—it might be suggested that posterity has nothing to do with the question. Newspapers are not issued as documents for posterity. One might as well say that the mastodon lived in order that its bones could be filed in a museum as a document for the zoölogist. If any novelist ever wrote a novel in order that the historian of posterity might find in it a document, he may be sure that such a historian is the only person who will ever read it. Neither newspapers nor novels are written for posterity. They may thus come into competition when they are dead, but so long as they are alive they no more interfere with each other than eating and drinking. While you eat you cannot drink, while you drink you cannot eat. But most people like to do both. It would be as reasonable to declare that the sounds which constitute noise will hereafter supplant the sounds which constitute music.

JAMES LANE ALLEN.

II.

Most men now nearing the Psalmist's limit will readily recall how in their hot youth there was much talk of the novel and its very immediate evanescence. The talk was more in print than

out of it, for the notion was one of those that people like to scare themselves with, while keeping a safe corner of unbelief below that surface mind which is chiefly employed in the higher journalism. They could bring plentiful proof of it in their articles and essays, but when it came to urging the notion by word of mouth, in the face of immeasurable and undiminished novel-reading around them, they were mostly mute. The year 1870, say, no more marked a decline in fiction, or in the passion for it, than any other year of our era, or any of those years of the world that run back to the beginning. The cave-dweller, sitting at his cavern door in the cool of the evening, and absently picking out the simple chords of stone-age music on the sinews stretched upon the thigh-bone of the brother he had eaten, listened with the same rapture to the tarradiddles of some gifted neighbor as the twentieth-century maiden feels in hanging over the page of the largest-selling book of the actual summer; and when time is getting ready to be no more, the Last Man shall say to the Next to the Last, "Now that we are not likely to be interrupted, here is a little thing of mine in three volumes that I would like to read you before we die"; and the Next to the Last Man will gather himself into an attitude of comfortable attention, and cling to each fleeting breath in the hope that the universal asphyxiation will spare him till he knows whether They get married.

It is our strong conviction of these facts which has enabled us to read with less alarm than we otherwise might an interview with M. Jules Verne which the London *Daily Mail* has printed, concerning the future of the novel. It is M. Verne's opinion that the novel has no future, but is destined, within the next century, "to be supplanted altogether by the daily newspaper, which has already taken such a grip of the progressive nations." He thinks that the world will soon begin to file its newspapers, as historic records, and that the reporters of every-day events have already begun "to color them so that they will give posterity a truer picture than the historic novel," and we agree with him that this might easily be. The average reporting on its own plane is certainly much better art than the average historical novelling, but the reporter will have still to refine very much upon his methods if he is to do the effect of the psychological fiction which M. Verne says men now living shall see the end of.

We think M. Verne reasons from particulars to generals with

too bold a despair. He himself formerly wrote a kind of fiction which we ourselves found entirely delightful: frank, fearless in design, scientific in its facts, inherently impossible, but preserving a respect for probability at every step, convincing of its reality by the author's air of absolute sincerity, and embodying a sort of rude, elementary character with a charming bonhomie—we should willingly have had it go on forever. But apparently the rest of the world would not, and no one thinks now of reading a Jules Verne novel any more than M. Jules Verne thinks of writing one. But because there shall be no more *Fur Countries* and *Hector Servadacs,* and *Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Seas,* and *Mysterious Islands,* shall there be no more cakes and ale? Aye, but there shall, and the ginger shall be hot in the mouth still. M. Verne has naturally argued from his own case, but he has not the less mistakenly done so; and incapable himself of the psychological novel, he has ingenuously but erroneously accused it of inanition. In his impatience with this, the supreme type of fiction, he has said in his heart, "There shall be no more fiction," and he no doubt believes it.

But, clearly, M. Verne has taken the passing of a manner of fiction for the passing of fiction itself. As this never had a knowable beginning, it will never have a knowable end. Novels of adventure, novels of character, novels of fashionable life, novels of crime and novels of its detection, novels of art and novels of business, novels of incident and novels of analysis—they all come and they all go,

"And change, and pass, and turn again,"

but the novels remain; and it is probable that the psychological novel will be the most enduring as it has been the most constant phase of fiction. Every other kind of novel lives or dies by so much or so little psychology as it has in it. Plots are really nothing as to vitality. They are all so shop-worn that it is wonderful anyone has the face to take them down from the shelf and offer them to a customer. Every moving accident, by flood, by fire, by frost, by falls from precipices, and by fights in imminent deadly breaches, by midnight burglaries and noonday robberies, has been used again and again, so that but for the renewal of the race from generation to generation the dealer in them would be mobbed at his counter. That which is as forever new as to-mor-

row morning, and much newer than to-morrow morning's paper, is the fascination of man for man, not to say the fascination of man for woman, or the reverse. Who cares for a frightful catastrophe, when he can have a divorce case? Who would prefer a battle in the Philippines to an engagement in Newport? What is a murder compared to a murder trial? In the catastrophe, and the battle, and the murder, we have the gross impersonal fact, the material of that novel of incident which is dead or dying, except in the interest of the innocent and the vulgar; and in the divorce, the engagement, the trial, we have the psychological romance which M. Verne is so much mistaken in supposing about to perish.

It is imperishable. Wherever two human beings, or twenty, meet, it springs up and flourishes from their talk. It hangs its orchid blossoms from stems rooted in the viewless air, and yet this divine miracle is as common as the grass under our feet. Listen to the gossips over their afternoon tea, or when they meet with their milk-pails in the lane at twilight, and as soon as they begin the old, eternal question of their neighbors, and their affairs, and their motives, you have the psychological novel, which shall never die. No, dear M. Jules Verne, there never was a person more widely astray in his premises or farther from the truth in his conclusions than you, either as to the novel in general or the psychological novel in particular. Even the poor, despised historical novel is fast grounded in the ignorance and imbecility of the race, and it will not be superseded by the newspaper story, or by every-day fact masking as fiction. The reporter's coloring may be no cruder than the romancer's, but his work is necessarily more hurried. He writes with the hungry linotyper at his elbow, ready to digest his material into type, and the press vibrating with impatience for his tale, which must be unvarnished, however vividly tinted. He is a good fellow, the reporter, and far better than some people would have him believe, but his art in its honesty is not invention; and when it becomes so, it is false and bad. He can very well develop on his own lines; there is ever so much outcome in him; but any one, even an aging and outworn novelist, who would have him believe that he is in any wise akin to the novelist, or even to the lowly historian, flatters him to his undoing.

WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.

III.

As usual, M. Jules Verne has given us food for reflection in pronouncing the doom of the novel, but I for one, though willing to admit that the novel will change (nothing in this world is more certain than change), am not convinced that the merit and interest of the novel are declining, nor that they are being subordinated by the newspapers. Seventy-five years ago the newspapers were few and small, and without dramatic interest, and there were not a half-dozen novels of any circulation in this country. To-day there are thousands of editions and millions of copies circulated every year. The newspapers have made corresponding growth. They circulate in billions, in tons. They long ago cut into the magazine field with their Sunday editions, but I do not find that they have cut into the circulation of the novel; on the contrary, they have widened the dominion of the novel by educating readers from devouring fact to consuming the novelists' artistic recreation of fact. I am willing to admit also that fiction is becoming each day more widespread, more democratic, and less of a set academic performance—in short, that it is becoming each day more contemporaneous. But I think M. Verne confuses the newspaper's function as a medium of conveying fiction to its readers with the actual production of the novel. As a means of dispersing literature the daily newspaper is likely to become all-important, but the production of the novel will go on quite independently of any medium of transmission. The reading public will produce the change, and there is no indication in America to-day that the public of the novelist is decreasing; rather would it seem that fiction is but just laying hold upon the millions living outside the circles of professed patrons of literature. Our people seem disposed not only to read the fiction of the world—of the past—but are ready to devour all that pours from our presses. Apparently the era of big circulation for novels has but begun. As to the *form* in which fiction will circulate—that is another question. There are, I believe, fewer stories printed serially in the newspapers now than ten years ago. The story syndicates are passing rather than coming on.

As to the truth and power of newspaper delineation of the facts of human life, I think M. Verne is in the wrong, so far as America is concerned. Our papers grow each day more instantaneous, and their views of life are like snap-shots by means of a kodak. Edi-

tion follows edition like reports from a Gatling gun. The thunder of the presses is incessant. Fiction, in the true sense of the word —calm and fateful delineation of human life—will never come from the swarming offices of our metropolitan dailies, but they may print and distribute stories as good as the best. The snap-judgment of the reporter seeking sensation and dealing with the abnormal in human life will never become a dangerous rival to the novelist who works at leisure and in repose, verifying what he writes from week to week as his story unrolls. From the sociological stand-point, the newspaper deals too largely with crime, with the abnormal, the diseased, to be in any sense a true chronicle of our time. The really dangerous rival of the novel, in my judgment, is the drama. We are soon to have an enormous revival of dramatic delineation of human life—a new drama, vivid, swift, humorous, and absolutely contemporaneous. Our ever-increasing centres of population demand the drama, and they will have it. The theatre is to be the rival of both fiction and journalism.

HAMLIN GARLAND.

IV.

M. Jules Verne, who has made effective use of modern methods and discoveries to give fiction journalistic interest, is reported to have expressed the opinion that there will be no "novels or romances, at all events in volume form, in fifty or a hundred years from now. . . . They will be supplanted altogether by the daily newspaper, which has already taken such a grip of the lives of the progressive nations. . . . They are not necessary, and even now their merit and their interest are fast declining."

M. Verne is always imaginative, and sometimes interesting; but neither as a critic of literature nor as a prophet of things to come has he yet established his authority. Men have been telling one another stories since the first days when they met at springs or places of barter; the story is, in all literatures, one of the earliest literary forms; it is, in almost all literatures to-day, the most vital and popular form. The early story-tellers began by being entertaining; that was their only duty and their most engaging quality; the story-tellers of to-day are studying every condition of human life and every form of human experience. The novel has not only gained immensely in all the qualities of good workmanship, but it has sunk its roots into the depths of

modern life. At the moment no books are so widely read as novels, and the recent sales of popular stories have been so entirely beyond all former records that they have alarmed those anxious persons who are always expecting the decline of serious writing, and perplexed those who thought they knew something about the purchasing capacity of the American public. It may be that the novel is about to expire in a blaze of popularity, but it is more probable that M. Jules Verne has been making another journey to the moon. It is a course of travel which literary prophets have taken before his day and will continue to take to the end of time. It is an amusing and interesting journey, and it is free from expense.

The fact seems to be that the love of the story is born in every child because he has no imagination and does not know precisely what is coming to him in the way of good or evil fortune. Men instinctively dramatize their experience because they have discovered that life is not a series of unrelated happenings, that one thing flows out of another, that the grapes which the fathers eat must be digested by the children, that a man's deeds have a way of lying in wait for him long after he has forgotten them, and that it is the unexpected which happens. So long as life is dramatic and men have imagination they will delight to tell and to hear stories, and the dreadful possibility of a world in which the *Arabian Nights* and *Vanity Fair* have been expelled by the newspapers may be dismissed.

HAMILTON W. MABIE.

V.

I quite agree with M. Jules Verne in his prophecy that the novel is passing, and that in a hundred years from now there will be no such form of literature, or at least not as we know it. History is being made so rapidly nowadays, events are piling up so quickly and in such enormous quantity, that the men and women of the future will have no time to read the story, which, whatever its intrinsic motives, is, after all, *pour passer le temps*. It will require all the leisure of that future public to keep abreast of their own times, and consequently the novel will cease to exist, unless, of course, the ideal publisher who publishes just for the fun of it comes into being with other improvements of the age—which is a doubtful prospect. Nevertheless, the same thirst for the story

of love and life which is inherent in our weak human nature will be as strong as ever, and it will be satisfied by the genius of the future, just as our present-day geniuses are satisfying all the immediate aspirations of men. If wireless telegraphy, why not bookless romances, typeless novels, pageless poems? We already have jokeless comic papers. These things are surely coming, and I foresee the day when without novels, poetry, or drama the public will be surfeited with romances and tales of the most stirring character; poems of stately measure and uplifting concept; psychological studies of the deepest dye; and dramas that will take the soul of man and twist it until it fairly shrieks for mercy—and all of these things men and women will get while they sleep. It is my impression that the literature of that period will be induced by pills taken before retiring and acting immediately thereafter. The man who wants a poem of a certain kind will swallow what, for the lack of a better term, we may call "The Alfred Austin Pellet," and live the resulting poem in his dreams. Then there will be "Caine's Capsules for Creepy Creatures," each guaranteed to contain ten grains of gloom, and absolutely free from humor, lightness, sunshine, or other deleterious substances, and which, taken three times a day, will enable every man to be his own "Manxman." In the drama "The Belasco Tabloid" will induce dreams that will make Du Barry seem like a Rollo book in contrast, and so it will go. Some clever druggist will meet the literary necessities of the hour, and put up all the literature that anybody can possibly want in small doses, in every variety, and at a price which will bring it within the reach of all. It will be a great boon, and will enable thousands of men who might otherwise have been novelists, poets, or playwrights to turn their back on letters and take up some really useful occupation.

JOHN KENDRICK BANGS.

THE NEW PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT.

BY SIDNEY WEBSTER.

THE law of July 1st, 1902, "temporarily to provide for the administration of the affairs of civil government in the Philippine Islands," is the first response to the stipulation of the Treaty of Paris made three and a half years ago, that Congress shall determine "the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants" of the archipelago.

The first section declares that the Constitution of the United States shall not have the same force and effect in the Philippines that it has within the organized territories of the United States.

The same section approves, ratifies and confirms the "action" of the President on three occasions: first, when he created the Philippine Commission on April 7th, 1900, and authorized it to take part in the government of the archipelago; second, when he created the offices of Civil Governor and Vice-Governor, June 21st, 1901; and, third, when he established four executive departments in the islands on September 6th, 1901.

It sets forth that, until otherwise provided, the said islands shall continue to be governed as prescribed in those three actions and in the present law.

Then follows, at the close of the first section, a requirement that in future appointments by the President, of Governors, Vice-Governors, Members of the Commission, and Heads of Executive Departments, confirmation by the Senate shall be necessary.

Whoever has felt interest enough in the subject to observe critically the evolution out of military government, of such civil government as existed in the Philippines before the first of July last, has seen that, in the view entertained by the Administration in Washington, the President, in a case of military occupation,

exercises all of the three differing powers described in the Constitution as legislative, judicial and executive, and that he may rule, as Commander-in-Chief, through civil as well as military officers. Consequently, a second Philippine Commission of five members was created; and on April 7th, 1900, authority was vested in it by the Commander-in-Chief to exercise, in the archipelago, that part of the President's authority which is legislative in character, including the establishment of judicial tribunals, but subject always to his approval, through the Secretary of War, of what may be done. In June of the next year, Judge Taft was authorized by the President to exercise, in certain pacified provinces, that part of his executive power as Commander-in-Chief which had been previously exercised by the General-in-Command at Manila, but subject always to the control of the War Department. To that end, Judge Taft was made Governor of the Island. In the following September, four separate executive departments were created, to which members of the Commission were assigned.

The Spooner amendment to the Army Bill of March 2nd, 1901, only declared that "all military, civil and judicial powers, necessary to govern the Philippine Islands . . shall, until otherwise provided by Congress, be vested in such person and persons, and be exercised in such manner, as the President of the United States shall direct." The army officers and members forming the Philippine Commission were by the President continued in power under the Spooner amendment, and the orders previously issued to them remained in force. The former government of military occupation survived, subject in every particular to the orders of the President, attested by the Secretary of War. The only modification of the former military régime was that a part of the agents of military power were civilians. That which had been referred to as legislative power was not exercised by legislators chosen by the natives to make laws, but by persons appointed by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, who were to observe some of the usual forms of legislation.

A "Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department" is established by the law of July, which shall have charge of all matters pertaining to civil government of the island possessions of the United States, subject to the Secretary of War, and a Colonel of the army is to be chief of the colonial bureau.

Such is the ingenious political contrivance, cleverly adapted to the situation in the Philippines, which has received Congressional sanction. When it shall become necessary to judicially ascertain the limits of the power conferred by Congress on the Philippine Commission, the previous orders issued by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army must be examined and interpreted.

The first section of the new law does not determine civil rights, or political status; but the third section does, when it declares that all of the natives who were Spanish subjects and inhabitants of the archipelago on April 11th, 1899, and were residing there on July 1st, 1902, shall, together with their children born in the islands after the first-named date, be "citizens of the Philippine Islands, and as such entitled to the protection of the United States," unless they shall under the treaty have preserved Spanish allegiance. Their "political status" is to be, not citizens of the United States, but "citizens of the Philippine Islands," entitled to the protection of the government in Washington.

Thus there are now citizens of the United States, citizens of a State, citizens of a Territory, citizens of Porto Rico, and citizens of the Philippines, each with different legal relations.

There need not be complications regarding a citizen of the Philippine Islands, entitled "as such" to Federal protection, when he is in foreign countries. Even if not permitted to expatriate himself, and assume a foreign allegiance, he will probably be permitted to go abroad, and will receive a kind of passport certifying permission to leave the archipelago, and requesting freedom to travel and proper protection "as such"; but the document will not certify American citizenship and nationality. If any existing statute forbids a passport to one not in that category, it will have been modified, *pro tanto,* by the recent enactment. Perhaps an inhabitant of the conquered but unpacified portions of the archipelago could, while under a government by military occupation, receive a passport, and be protected abroad "as such." But what are to be the rights of "citizens of the Philippine Islands," in regard to departure therefrom for the United States, and treatment on arrival? Will they be aliens? What will "equal protection of the laws" mean for them? Can they receive and convey a title to land in the States of the Union in which aliens are prohibited from owning real

estate? There will inevitably arise a large crop of similar questions, which the courts and future laws must answer.

The recent enactment having excluded the Federal Constitution from control in the archipelago, the natives would have been defenceless against the new Philippine government, had the enactment stopped with the first and third sections already described, and in the fifth, ninth and tenth sections their civil rights had not received valuable definition and protection. Congress has therein given to the Philippine natives the statute protection afforded by the Constitution and its amendments, excepting trial by jury, the right to keep and bear arms, a militia force, and just compensation for private property taken for public use. Those civil rights thus given, Congress can, it is true, take away from the Philippines (it cannot take them away from New Mexico), but yet they have by statute been generously conceded.

The fact may as well now be recognized that the theory upon which the Spanish treaty was negotiated—which was that the new islands could be held indefinitely as colonies outside of the Constitution—has prevailed in the recent legislation, which rests on the assertion than an alien people cannot be incorporated into the Union by the treaty-making power; that the government of the United States has the right to acquire and hold territory without immediately incorporating it into the United States; that places subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, but not incorporated into it, are not within the United States; that incorporation of territory acquired by a treaty of cession in which there are conditions against the incorporation until Congress has provided therefor, will not take place until, in the wisdom of Congress, the acquired territory has come into the American family; that the article of the treaty with Spain by which it is declared that the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants "shall be determined by the Congress" shows a purpose not only to leave the status of the territory to be determined by Congress, but to prevent the treaty from operating to the contrary.

Hence the Constitution does not yet control in the new islands.

The recent July enactment not only acquiesces in that as sound, constitutional doctrine, but also adopts the opinion expressed by Justice Gray, that a temporary government which is not subject to all the restrictions of the Constitution, may be set up by Con-

gress over conquered territory, if Congress is not ready to construct a complete government for such territory.

The dissenting opinions of four members of the court, led by the Chief Justice, have not been vindicated by Democratic leaders, in or out of Congress, and have been temporarily submerged.

The artifice of keeping an acquisition, made either by conquest or purchase, outside of the United States by refusing to incorporate, and by dealing with it much as England may deal with a crown colony, has been learned. Perhaps after the treaty of peace had been ratified there was possible no other and better solution of the Philippine problem. The territorial plan, used in 1850 and ever after, might have been perilous in face of insurrection in the islands. Even that plan did not rest on "consent of the governed," popular sovereignty and home rule. Only the people of a State can, under the Constitution, enjoy them. Therefore the natives of the Philippines must either have immediately been made into a State (which would have been preposterous), or left as an independent political community, if they were to regulate their social institutions, local concerns and internal polity in their own way. The citizens of New Mexico have, during half a century, been a subordinate political community subject to Congress under the Constitution. The inhabitants of a Territory, even when under the Constitution, do not govern themselves in their own way without interference by outsiders who are in Washington. Under the old plan which was in use till the last Treaty of Paris, the inhabitants of an organized Territory had immediately and unconditionally all the "civil rights" conferred by the Constitution; but under the new plan, such "civil rights" are either refused, or are doled out by Congress one at a time, and even then "with a string attached."

The ninth and tenth sections of the new law have given protection to the natives by the declaration that the Supreme Court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to review, revise, reverse, modify, or affirm the final judgments and decrees of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands, in all actions, cases, causes, and proceedings now pending therein, or hereafter determined thereby, in which (1) the Constitution, or any statute, treaty, title, right or privilege of the United States is involved, or (2) in causes in which the value in controversy exceeds twenty-five thousand dollars, or (3) in which the title, or possession, of

real estate, exceeding in value the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars, to be ascertained by the oath of either party or of other competent witnesses, is involved or brought in question.

It may be asked what part, under the first section, can the Constitution play before the court. A hopeful reply is to be found in an admission by some of the Justices in the insular cases that, possibly, there may be clauses of the Constitution applicable in the Philippines, even in the absence of Congressional legislation.

The fifth and seventh sections of the enactment on which I am commenting (not in the light of debates in Congress, which I have not read), in the light of the language the law-makers have employed, relate to a future probably very far off, when the existing insurrection in the Philippine Islands shall have ceased; when a condition of general and complete peace shall have been established therein, and the fact shall have been certified to the President by the Philippine Commission; when a census shall have been made and published, and when all is perfect peace outside the non-Christian tribes. Then an election can be held to select delegates to a Philippine Assembly, which is to be one of two legislative bodies of which the Philippine Commission is to be the other, both under the control of a Governor, who, like members of the Commission, is to be appointed by the President. Probably a Philippine Assembly, chosen by the natives, but unable to enact laws, is as much "home rule" as can now be safely promised. That portion of the law does not indicate a purpose on the part of the Congress enacting it, or the present Administration, either to alienate the archipelago, or turn it over within a definite future period, either long or short, to self-government by the natives.

The powers conferred by Congress on the new Philippine government will enable it to acquire by judicial proceedings, commonly known as "condemnation proceedings," any or all of the more than four hundred thousand acres of agricultural lands owned by the religious orders, or by their agents to whom the lands are said to have been colorably assigned. That legislation, when examined in connection with the elaborate report to the Secretary of War, dated November 30th, 1900, made by the Philippine Commission regarding the friars and their property, and when taken with the advice given by Secretary Root to the President upon the same subject on November 27th, 1901, seems

to leave no doubt that the government at Washington had decided that, for the speedy and thorough pacification of the archipelago, it had become, as the Secretary of War said,

"manifestly for the interest of the religious orders that they should convert into money this property, which they can manifestly no longer peacefully enjoy or practically make useful. At the same time, the peace and order of the community, the good-will of the people toward the government of the United States, and the interest of an effected settlement and disposition of all questions arising between the church and state in the islands, make it equally desirable that these lands should be purchased by the state, and that title upon proper and reasonable terms should be offered the tenants, or to the other people of the islands."

It is asserted in the opinion of the Philippine Commission that the four or five hundred Spanish friars, now in Manila, should not be permitted to return to their parishes.

It is more than eighteen months since the Taft Philippine Commission made to the War Department an elaborate report respecting the small remnant of the four religious orders expelled from their parishes a few years ago, and now surviving in Manila, the property, real and personal, owned, held, or claimed by those orders, the assignment, more or less colorable, of the property,—all based on an official examination by Governor Taft of the Archbishop of Manila, several bishops, the provincials of the religious orders, American priests and laymen, army officers, newspaper correspondents and other persons professing to be experts. The result was long ago published by Congress. It is to be relied upon by the country, one would say, as presenting essential facts and sound conclusions, if any official report regarding the morality, or immorality, or political fidelity of the friars, the vast landed interests of the religious orders, and the assignment to duty, by their superiors, of priests of any church, or ministers of any religious denomination, is to be thus regarded under the circumstances. It is to be inferred that Congress accepted those views as correct when it enacted:

"SEC. 63. That the government of the Philippine Islands is hereby authorized, subject to the limitations and conditions prescribed in this Act, to acquire, receive, hold, maintain and convey title to real and personal property, and may acquire real estate *for public uses* by the exercise of the right of eminent domain.

"SEC. 64. That the powers herein before conferred in section sixty-

three may also be exercised in respect of any lands, easements, appurtenances, and hereditaments which, on the thirteenth of August, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, were owned, or held, by associations, corporations, communities, religious orders or private individuals, in such large tracts, or parcels, and in such manner as, *in the opinion of the Commission*, injuriously to affect the peace and welfare of the people of the Philippine Islands."

The state will be mightier than the church. There will, however, not be, it is to be hoped, the executive visitations, confiscations, and spoliations of three centuries and a half ago in England, but judicial process, full payment of just compensation, and thorough inquiry into the character of the friars hitherto represented as so obnoxious.

The fifth section had ordained that no law shall be enacted in the archipelago depriving "any person of property without due process of law," but it had, for some reason, omitted the clause of the Constitution which forbids the taking of private property for public use without just compensation. That omission is, however, of less consequence in the present case, since the last part of the sixty-fourth section plainly requires payment for the expropriated lands.

Ever since the Supreme Court decided in 1884, in the Juillard case, that Congress had authority, in time of peace, to make a full legal tender out of greenback debt, because that authority is an attribute of sovereignty which had been exercised by England, many things have been attempted by Congress under a similar plea. New things have, first or last, been invented and applied in this new world of ours regarding sovereignty, which is the power to govern. One is that American sovereignty comes up from below, and does not come down from above. Another is that sovereignty can be partitioned among several governments in the same area. Another came to light in the last Treaty of Paris, namely, that sovereignty can be relinquished, abandoned and left floating for a time, as in the case of Cuba.

It was decided by the judgments in the insular cases that the Spanish treaty imparted to Congress an unfettered discretion to distribute in the archipelago those primary civil rights described in the Constitution, which, unlike political privileges, could not be withheld under former treaties of cession. Thus it was that the purchase of the Philippines broke away from the traditions

of our country, and began a new departure, glorious, it may be, but nevertheless novel.

The last phase in sovereignty development and world-wide power is, that, while the government at Washington is not completely sovereign in all domestic affairs, such as governing the Territories, it is sovereign in every foreign affair, and, therefore, could purchase the Philippines on the stipulated condition that they should be, till Congress has determined otherwise, external to the Union, but yet that they can as a domestic affair be lawfully governed outside the Constitution, because they must be governed somehow.

Biographies, letters and diaries are quite certain, soon or late, to reveal the name of the clever lawyer in the McKinley government, or among the American negotiators of the treaty which ceded the Philippines, who invented the novelty in our national jurisprudence, now adopted by Congress, as well as by the Supreme Court, that the archipelago can be kept for an indefinite period so far outside of our Constitution, and external to the United States, that the sovereignty conferred by the people of the several States is unable to reach and protect the natives, but yet that the martial hand of the President can govern them, for the reason that his sovereign authority over them must be as great as that of any Emperor, or King, or Sultan, over his colonies, inasmuch as the United States is sovereign, and therefore its Congress must be sovereign as the British Parliament is sovereign.

The right of "eminent domain" is as well understood and practised in Spain as in the United States. It is as well known in the civil law by the name of expropriation for the cause of public utility, as in the common law by the name of condemnation for a public use. All our Constitutions, national and State, recognize it, and perhaps as the right previously existed by the common law, it was not created by those Constitutions. In the body of the Federal Constitution, there is no mention of "eminent domain," nor of compensation for private property taken for a public use, nor of a religious establishment, nor of the free exercise of religion. Only the amendments of that Constitution cover them, but the amendments restrain only Congress, and not the States. It is Congress that cannot tax, or expend money, for religious work and instruction, and yet the Supreme Court (175, United States Reports 291), has lately upheld an appropriation

by Congress for hospital buildings in which paupers at public charge are to be under the sole control of Roman Catholic sisters. Not till the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries did the several States enact religious freedom, and rid themselves of church establishments, of a union of church and state, of religious qualification to exercise civil rights, of taxation for the support of a church.

Congress can, as it is now settled opinion, exercise the right of eminent domain in a State, without consent of the latter. Therefore it obviously can in an American colony. Congress can take private property anywhere within its jurisdiction, and so can a State. Two governments can exercise such sovereign power in the same locality, and that exhibits a partition of sovereignty.

The recent enactment should amply protect the religious orders in the Philippines, because there must, first of all, be "due process of law,"—which will present a judicial question that can go to the Supreme Court.

There cannot be impairment of contracts. There must be a public necessity for taking the lands. The religious orders will be free to argue in the courts that the question of "eminent domain," and "public use," is a judicial question, which Congress cannot decide off-hand, although the government will probably insist that Congress can, as it has attempted to do, confer on the Philippine Commission power to decide arbitrarily and finally whether or not "the peace and welfare of the people of the Philippines" require condemnation of the lands in controversy. Certainly the "use" must be public, but if the sole object in the Philippines is to deprive the religious orders of property or land, and substitute money therefor, is that a "public use"?

There must be a lawful taking of the lands, a just compensation awarded by a lawful tribunal after a judicial trial and ample notice thereof to the owner, and finally an actual payment in legal-tender money of the sum awarded.

If the religious orders are represented by competent, faithful and strenuous lawyers in the Philippines, they should be able, under the recent enactment, to carry every doubtful and important question to the Supreme Court at Washington.

SIDNEY WEBSTER.

THE CAUSES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANCIENT CIVILIZATION IN ARID COUNTRIES.

BY E. W. HILGARD, PROFESSOR OF AGRICULTURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

It has been noted as a curious fact that the majority of the ancient civilizations developed precisely where nature imposed the onerous condition of artificial irrigation upon the husbandman, who supplies the prime necessaries of life. Aside from Egypt, the permanent fertility of which is ascribed to the inundations of the Nile, we find to the westward the oases of the Libyan and Sahara deserts, whose high fertility has become proverbial, and caused them to be cultivated from ancient times to the present. Similarly, in southern Europe and northern Africa, we find that, instead of the humid forest country, it was in the arid but irrigable coast regions—such as the "vegas" of Valencia, Alicante, Granada, Malaga, the Græco-Syrian archipelago, and, on the opposite shores, the even more arid domain of which Carthage was the metropolis—that noted centres of civilization were developed and maintained. We observe the same phenomena in the other continents, and nowhere more strikingly than in Asia, credited with being the cradle of mankind. The arid belt requiring irrigation extends from Egypt and Arabia to Palestine, Syria and Persia, across the Indus and through the anciently recognized regions of Indian civilization—Sindh, the Punjab, Rajputana and Northwestern India—to the Ganges, embracing such well-known centres as Lahore, Delhi, Meerut, Agra, etc., and inhabited by much more hardy and progressive races than the highly productive and humid tropical portions of the Indian peninsula. Throughout this extensive and important region, irrigation is necessary in

order to maintain regular production, and in default of it, periodic famines ravage the country. Thousands of years ago, millions of treasure were spent upon irrigation works, as has been again done in modern times; yet, in the rainy, forested districts we find even yet large areas tenanted mainly by wild beasts. In Central Asia, as well as in Asia Minor, the ruins of ancient cities are seen where at the present time only the herds of nomads pasture. The khanates of southern Turkestan, with their historic cities, illustrate the same obstinate bias in favor of the arid climates. Nor is it otherwise in the New World. It was not the moist, exuberantly fertile forest regions of the Orinoco and Amazon, but the arid western slopes of the Andes, that developed the civilization of the Incas. In Mexico, similarly, it was the high central plateau, not the bountifully productive *tierra caliente,* over which the Aztecs chose to extend their dominion. Even to the northward, the inhabitants of the high, dry plains of Arizona and New Mexico were (as their descendants inhabiting the *pueblos* still are) superior in cultural development to their forest-dwelling neighbors of the Algonquin races; from time immemorial they have practised cultivation with irrigation, maintaining a comparatively dense population on very limited irrigated areas.

It was evidently not merely the stimulus of the struggle for existence that conditioned this remarkable phenomenon. It might be thought that the desire to avoid the labor of clearing forest ground was the motive which impelled ancient culture toward the choice of treeless regions. But if we consider the labor and cost of establishing and maintaining irrigation ditches, it certainly seems that a stronger motive, based on the intrinsic nature of the case, must have influenced the choice.

It appears to the writer that such a stronger motive may be found in the higher and more permanent fertility of the arid lands, whenever water is adequately supplied.

That arid soils should be more fertile intrinsically can be forecast *a priori,* when the processes of soil-formation in the arid* and humid regions are comparatively considered. That this has not been done until within recent years is one of the curious lapses

* By an "arid" climate is meant not merely one deficient in total rainfall, but especially one having practically rainless summers. Two belts of this character exist, intervening between the tropics and the temperate humid regions of summer rains, both north and south of the equator.

which we occasionally find in the progress of science. This is not the place for a detailed consideration of these processes; but the essential differences between the humid and arid regions may be briefly characterized in a manner intelligible to the layman in soil chemistry, since the general conditions of agricultural productiveness have now become a matter of popular knowledge.

Soils are formed primarily by the physical and chemical disintegration (weathering) of rocks, and these processes continue in the soil mass. They result in the formation of a certain proportion of water-soluble compounds, chiefly of sodium and potassium, also of calcium and magnesium. Wherever abundant rains occur more or less regularly throughout the year, these water-soluble compounds are leached out of the land, passing into the sub-drainage, and thence through springs, streams and rivers into the sea. But where the rainfall is scanty, this leaching can take place only partially or not at all; and we frequently find, during the rainless season, the salts of potassium, sodium and magnesium appearing as a superficial "bloom" or efflorescence on the land surface, being brought up by the evaporation of the soil moisture—sometimes in such amounts as to prevent the growth of ordinary vegetation, and permitting only that of "saline" plants. For, with the useful, nutrient substances, of course also the useless or injurious ones, such as common and Glauber's salt, and sal-soda, are left in the land. These "alkali" lands form the extreme contrast to the intensely leached, usually "red," lands of the tropics, known as laterite soils; which are extremely poor in plant-food ingredients.

But, while an excess of these salts is injurious to useful vegetation, it is obvious that, where such excess does not occur, there must be formed in the soils of the arid regions accumulations of plant food which may render it possible to defer for a long time the need of artificial fertilization, to which the farmer of the humid regions must devote so much money and energy.

So much might have been inferred *a priori*. But that this state of things actually exists, the writer has demonstrated by the comparative investigation of a large number of soils from the arid and humid regions of the United States. These investigations, with some of the conclusions flowing therefrom, were first published in Bulletin No. 2 of the United States Weather Bureau,

in 1892, and more extendedly in subsequent publications.* From these the following points, which have been abundantly verified since, may be briefly summarized.

Recalling to mind that the soil ingredients drawn upon by crops that require replacement by fertilization are potash, phosphoric acid, nitrogen and lime (or the elements potassium, phosphorus, nitrogen and calcium), it appears that:

1. All arid soils are calcareous (with a few local exceptions arising from the absence of calcium from the parent rock); that is, they contain a sufficient supply of lime (carbonate) to realize all the advantages known to belong to such soils, and which in the humid region it is sought to bring about by the costly process of liming or marling. On the average, the lime-percentage of the arid soils of the United States exceeds that of the lands of the humid region (where not specially supplied by underlying limestone formations) from twelvefold to fourteenfold.

2. All soils of the arid regions contain large amounts of potash in forms readily available to plants; aside from the actually water-soluble salts of potash always present in the "alkali" salts, sometimes to the extent of over twenty per cent. of the latter. Thus the need of fertilization with potash is, under ordinary cropping, almost indefinitely postponed.

3. Nitrates, the formation and leaching-out of which are a source of continuous and heavy losses of soil-fertility in the regions of summer rains, accumulate in the soils of the arid regions, so as sometimes to form over forty per cent. of the soluble salts in the soil, and as much as 1,200 pounds per acre. Even ammonia salts are sometimes present in notable amounts. Humus, the repository of the nitrogen supply of soils, is usually present only in small amounts in arid soils, but is on the average three times as rich in nitrogen as that existing in humid soils.

4. Phosphoric acid, the fourth of the plant-food ingredients usually supplied in fertilizers, is not more abundant in arid than in humid soils, not being subject to leaching-out. But in alkali lands we frequently find water-soluble phosphates, ready for root-absorption, circulating in the soil in notable quantities.

* See Wollny's "*Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Agriculturphysik*," 1893; "*Annales de la Science Agronomique*," 1893; "Reports and Bulletins of the California Experiment Station," 1894 to 1902; "*Verhandlungen des Internationalen Geographen-Congresses, in Berlin*," 1901, and elsewhere.

Thus frequently the watery extract of arid soils is of just such composition as the nutritive solutions compounded for the purpose of growing plants experimentally; and it is hardly necessary to say that such lands repay cultivation with extraordinary crops, so soon as the several sodium salts, mentioned above, are removed, or rendered innocuous by other means. It is no wonder that, as the Russian traveller von Middlendorf relates, the natives of Ferghana carry the alkali crusts from the lower grounds to the higher by donkey-loads, saying that "the salt is the life of the land." It is only the excess that is damaging; and the extraordinary productiveness of reclaimed alkali lands justifies considerable expenditure toward such reclamation. There are but few such lands that will not ultimately amply repay the cost.

Among the readiest means for that purpose is the neutralization of the carbonate of soda ("black alkali"), when present, by means of gypsum, which converts it into the relatively innocuous sulphate, or Glauber's salt; while, at the same time, it retains the previously dissolved humus and phosphates. Common salt, unfortunately, can be disposed of only by drainage, which, however, removes a corresponding portion of water-soluble plant-food, potash salts, nitrates and phosphates.

There can be no doubt, then, that arid regions offer to the husbandman not only unusual but also lasting productiveness as the result of the application of irrigation water, in consequence of the accumulation of plant-food in the soil. But the advantage does not end there; for it is one of the peculiarities of rock-weathering under arid conditions that there is very little true (plastic) clay formed; and hence the soils are throughout of a sandy, or rather powdery, nature, which manifests itself unpleasantly in the well-known dust storms of the deserts. As a consequence of this, and of the deficient rainfall, there is practically little or no difference between the arable soil on the surface and the underlying subsoil, sometimes to the depth of ten or more feet. Hence, air as well as water can penetrate to these depths unhindered by dense, impervious subsoils; and with them the roots of crops penetrate habitually to similar and greater depths, and can there exercise their nutritive functions. This means that, instead of two or three feet, from three to five times that amount of soil mass is ready to be drawn upon by plants; so that the purchaser of a given surface-area of land really obtains, in the

arid regions, several times as much productive land as he would have received in the humid. And while in the regions of summer rains the sandiness of the soil is closely correlated to infertility, because there sand consists essentially of quartz grains only, in the arid regions "sand" is the entire substance of the parent rock, more or less decomposed, and constitutes soils as "strong" as the best clay lands of the humid countries, so soon as it is irrigated.

All this explains rationally the high production of irrigated land in the arid region, and the fact that a much smaller unit of land-holding can and does prevail there, the land thus supporting a much denser population. Already, in Californian irrigated colonies, from ten to twenty acres is the unit offered to a family, instead of the 40 to 160 considered needful in the humid portion of the United States. The comparatively high prices of irrigated lands are the natural result of these intrinsic advantages, of which, however, not every newcomer knows how to avail himself.

It is hardly doubtful that the ancient "*Kulturvölker*" recognized these advantages by experience, and eschewed the laborious task of rendering cultivable the comparatively infertile, or, at least, readily exhausted, lands of the forest regions; where, moreover, an unseen enemy might lurk behind every tree. And it is also clear that, inasmuch as the establishment and maintenance of irrigation canals necessarily involve co-operation, and therefore a rather high degree of social organization, the conditions of the arid regions were exceptionally conducive to the establishment of the highly complex polities of which the vestiges are now being unearthed in what we are in the habit of calling "deserts." It is also quite natural that these wealthy and prosperous communities should have excited the cupidity of the "barbarous," forest-inhabiting, warlike races, and should, as history records, have been over and again overwhelmed by them—a similar fate often afterwards overtaking the conquerors after the Capuan ease of existence had weakened their warlike prowess. At the present time, the arid regions of the Old World are still largely suffering from having been overrun by the nomadic Turanians, whose original habitat—Mongolia and Turkestan—while also arid, does not permit of the ready and full realization of the advantages above outlined, on account of the rigorous climatic conditions. The advent of Mohammedanism, while on the one hand con-

ducive to a vast improvement in civil and social polity, as compared with the idolatry and fetichism which it is even now successfully superseding in Africa, first expelled, and has since repelled, Western civilization from the arid regions of the Old World, and remains there to-day as an obstacle to its progress. But Islam now seems likely to lose its power of repulsion through the peaceful aggression of railroads in its old strongholds; as in Egypt, it seems likely to be shorn of its claws in Turkestan, Asia Minor, Persia, and eventually in Arabia; and the bitter fanaticism even of the Tuareg tribes is giving way before the French highway from the Mediterranean to the Niger. When Timbuctoo becomes a transcontinental railway station, and Constantinople and Bagdad are linked together by steel bands, the Desert will soon lose its terrors, and the Bedouins and Koords will, as did the formidable Tekke of Turkestan under the influence of the Transcaucasian railway, adopt the arts of peace and make Mesopotamia and Babylonia garden lands, as of old, under the abundant waters of the Tigris and Euphrates. Doubtless, there is not water enough available for irrigation in the arid zones of the world to irrigate fully more than a fraction of the whole. But the high and lasting productiveness of that fraction, together with the more rational use of the unirrigable lands, will defer for a long time the fulfilment of the unpleasant forecasts made by Malthus, and latterly by Crookes. The intense production of foodstuffs now resulting from the copious use of fertilizers in the humid regions, can for long periods be maintained with the use of water alone, in regions where, though now classed as deserts, "the salt is the life of the land." Their soils and climate have not changed; but political misrule, following their invasion by warlike nomads, has paralyzed agricultural and social progress. The tide of civilization which has risen so high in the forest countries of Western Europe, will not recede, but will overflow into the arid countries, and revive, only on a higher plane, the pristine flow of milk and honey that, much critical speculation notwithstanding, made Palestine the Promised Land.

E. W. Hilgard.

AMERICANS IN EUROPE, AS SEEN FROM A CONSULATE.

BY H. G. DWIGHT.

PURELY as an interested and deeply prejudiced party, I often marvel at the strange Providence whereby our Consular Service is of the slightest efficiency. It is a rare tribute to American qualities if the commercial interests of the country derive benefit from the observations of so harried an individual as the average consul. That he is at his appointment ignorant of the country of his destination and its language, may be taken as an axiom. Paid at the same rate as unskilled mechanics at home, he has constantly to blush before his more respectable foreign colleagues. With every desire to make the Service his career, he is hourly in danger of being supplanted without so much as a notification from headquarters. Nominally under the orders of the Department of State, he is absolutely subject to the personal humors of politicians. He who can enlist the strongest "interest" has the longest career. The effect of such conditions upon the ordinary character would be to lighten its sense of responsibility, to say the least.

I suppose it is that, being a venturesome people, a certain percentage of the population elects the Consular Service as a new generator of emotion, for whatever may be in it. Which is exceedingly little! This fact, indeed, is to me one convincing proof that all Americans are not money-mad; for while, by our cheerful system of unofficial fees, a few consuls can make ten or fifteen thousand dollars a year, the great majority of them have to struggle along in the most helpless and squalid poverty. The indifference of Congress on the subject is perfectly comprehensible, aside from the prevalent ignorance with regard to our own and foreign services. Under our system of political patronage, the pressure for places would be intolerable if salaries were more

tempting. The thing difficult of comprehension is that the business men who are served by the Consular Service should permit so unbusinesslike an organization.

If these considerations were not enough to disturb the consul's peace of mind and unsettle his conscience, the fact that he is an American subjects him to more personal inconvenience than would be imagined. For Americans, more than any other people, partly because of their distance from home and partly through their political institutions, are wont to frequent the offices maintained by their Government in different parts of the world. I do not refer, of course, to those whose business takes them before a consul. Some make it a practice to visit all diplomatic and consular officers upon their route. Others call on those gentlemen only in case of emergency—to the caller more or less urgent, to the official in question generally less than more. What proportion may exist between the total number of travellers and those who habitually or casually frequent diplomatic and consular offices, I do not profess to know. But during four years' experience in the consulate at Venice—where the annual American invasion is as appalling to the lovers of that beautiful town as it is welcome to the merchants thereof—my acquaintance with my fellow-countrymen has been of the most extended and most varied character.

Let not the reader imagine that these observations issue from one who has the honor to sit in the seat of Donald Mitchell and William Dean Howells. If I were the consul I would hardly venture to write this story. I am but a Messenger, and I "touch"—as the French say so charmingly—I "touch" three hundred dollars a year, for which I send in duplicate vouchers every quarter to the Department of State. What the Department of State expects of a Messenger is not explicitly specified in the Regulations of 1896. He is a kind of catch-all for appropriations, a generic name for varying degrees of employment which would alarm the Ways and Means Committee if individually detailed, but which, classed collectively, make good the deficiencies of short-handed consulates. The word would imply a state of activity rather more exhausting than anything I am acquainted with. In general, my point of view is that of a chastened gondolier I knew, who promised that if his pay were doubled he would do twice as much work. I consider that by reason of the laughable

meagreness of my emoluments and the depth of my subordinacy, it is permitted me to make what capital I can out of circumstances, just as consuls of the lowest class are allowed to engage in private business. This for me consists largely in contemplating the bridge under my window, and the narrow water street which, just beyond our sight, reflects the high-swung arch of the Bridge of Sighs.

Our colleagues keep their consulates on the Grand Canal. But these are the consuls of "Effete European Powers," whose pay suffices them to live on. We, who are charged with the commercial interests of the greatest export nation of the world, cannot afford Grand Canal rents. There are, however, compensations in living in the shadow of St. Mark's, even though it be the rear shadow; and the view from the window atones for the window itself. That architectural feature might have been perpetrated in the most utilitarian of countries, so offensively rectangular is it among its more gracious Gothic and Renaissance neighbors. The small office which it illumines is a corner of the most insignificant building on our canal (that goes without saying): a three-story house, washed of a variegated yellow, whose sole exterior decoration is the Byzantine eagle painted many years ago by a well-meaning Venetian for the ensign of the United States. Between the sumptuous palaces of our unusually decorative canal, we make a painful impression. Portly gentlemen occasionally bustle in to say they wish we were better housed; but when they go home they vote down the Consular Bill, and here we are. Still, it is better to live in this house and see the others, than to live in one of the others and see this. And certain I am that from none of these stately *palazzi* is there a more engrossing view upon a bridge with a massive sixteenth-century balustrade, whose mellow marble is smooth from the touch of unnumbered hands. All nations pass here, to and from the Piazza; and, besides the people of the place, none are so frequent as the people of my own country.

I like my fellow-countrymen very much—to look at. There is something trim and sufficient about them that appeals to my prejudiced taste. One can always tell them by their clothes, if not by their faces. Many of them, however, think it necessary to distinguish their nationality by a lavish display of flags, commonly about the person. They will pin the colors in miniature to their button-holes, or wear them life-size at the corsage. I remember

one young woman who completely draped the upper part of her figure in a silk standard. I have a barbaric taste for red and white stripes myself, but the conspicuousness incident to ornamenting one's person in such a manner must at times be embarrassing. I must confess, too, that this waving of the American flag to every breeze affects me with something very much akin to distaste. The action has that air of insisting upon one's nationality which travel ought to dissipate. Nationality is, like the family, an excellent institution—at home. It is an institution indispensable to the development of man; but nothing really essential or human is confined within frontiers. Nationality is no more important when one is travelling in the world than family pedigree at an afternoon tea. Patriotism is a word easy to cite, the word always cited by those who wear their colors abroad; but there is danger of making it a misnomer for provincialism.

The circumstances that we live in a centre of attraction, and that the American has, above all other men, an inborn impulse to interview his consul, combine to bring it about that a considerable proportion of those who pass the window of our consulate do also come within our gates. Lord Salisbury once issued to the British public a circular to the effect that consulates were established for business, not social, purposes: that consuls received no allowance for entertaining; and that it was accordingly desirable for travellers to exclude consular offices from their itineraries, unless impelled by necessity to frequent the same. Such is the prestige of Lord Salisbury that his counsel has been largely observed. I have heard members of the cognate service of which I have the honor to be so humble a member express the wish that our State Department enjoyed equal influence with the travelling American. As a matter of fact, consulate visiting is rather encouraged than otherwise, and in a manner which often brings home to the consular officer, with humiliating vividness, his abject dependence upon the spoils system. Any member of Congress may issue or apply to the Secretary of State for a letter of recommendation to the diplomatic and consular officers of the United States, which entitles the bearer to special consideration. The vast number of these documents granted makes it impossible to take them very seriously. But they fill their holder with a sense of importance; and they are an added impulse to the indulgence of a national weakness.

For my part, however, I would be sorry to lose so many edifying acquaintances. When I was new in Venice, I considered it one of the misfortunes incident to my subordinate lot that I had to receive all comers. But with time I have grown to appreciate my opportunity.

Of the thousands who favor us with their presence, perhaps two per cent. come on legitimate business—to indicate the proper scope of which I might say that consulates are established for the protection of seamen, for the advancement of commerce, and, incidentally, for the execution of notarial acts. The other ninety-eight per cent. of our visitors either come on various kinds of illegitimate business or on no business at all. They desire to pay their respects to the Representative of their Country; that is the way they express themselves to the inquiring Messenger.

The Messenger suffered deeply in his youth from being dragged by peripatetic guardians to diplomatic and consular offices for the purpose of paying respects. He never could discover that anything was paid, nor that the honored official wore the air of gratitude germane to receipt. Having changed his rôle from attendant of the payer to attendant of the paid, he is often tempted to interpellate the caller as to his psychological state in a manner which might prove more inquisitive than courteous. Yet, after all, the thing is simple enough. Your American is a naïve person very far from home. He has that air of friendly patronage toward those in authority, mingled with deep respect, which is characteristic of our democratic country. It is as if he would say: "To-day I take off my hat to you, but to-morrow you may take off your hat to me." Where a service is closed to outsiders, its members acquire a prestige of organization and unfamiliarity. A European consul is one of the pillars of society, not lightly to be approached; but when a turn of the political whirligig produces a confusion in services recalling our youthful game of stage-coach, the citizen learns not to take his public servant too seriously. This is in some respects well; but it impedes the composition of consular reports.

They appear before me, those who desire to pay their respects to the Representative of their Country, and their air is more often jocular than not. Being, by the organization of their politics, somewhat accustomed to the sight of improbable persons elevated to responsible positions, they usually offer me their hand before

they discover that I am not he whom they seek. I like to let them extend the hand before I enlighten them, in order to see what they will do. It runs about half and half. Six will, for decency's sake, go on with the salute, though in a half-hearted manner, which I do not begrudge them. Half a dozen will retire the proffered member with some precipitation, inquiring if the object of their search may be interviewed.

Such is the prestige of office in this world! Were I the superior officer of the consulate, or did I say that I was, my visitors would not marvel at the strange circumstance of the President's having reposed such especial confidence in my character and ability as to appoint me, by the advice and with the consent of the Senate, consul of the United States at Venice, Italy. Nay, I venture to presume that they would find pleasure in my discourse, and would go away satisfied with their contact with greatness. But being informed as to my subordinacy, they cease to take interest in me. It is proper that this should be so. Office is a symbol; and, whether they know it or not, people adore symbols. People do no wrong when they run after a king that they may see him. A king is worth seeing. He incarnates an idea—a very essential idea, too—and it is seldom enough that our ideas put on ermine and walk palpably before us. The artist is commonly the only man for whom that happens. There is an illogical notion rampant in America—rather ill-treated by our citizens abroad—that, having got rid of the name of king, we have gotten rid of an odious reality. It is nothing of the kind. A President is exactly the same thing, without the inconvenient necessity of keeping him after we are tired of him. Our ancestors, with somewhat thoughtless haste, made away with the pomp and circumstance of government. They did ill to perform it so drastically. Government is a very important matter; and, being so, it should be treated with regard for its symbolic value. Our ancestors lacked imagination, I am afraid, or forgot that the ardor of their own idealism might cool. Which is why their grandsons turn imperialist, and their granddaughters marry coronets.

In a minor way we maintain a general postal, forwarding and tourist agency. We had to obliterate our personal addresses at the telegraph office; for, what with the notorious propensity of telegrams for arriving at indecent hours, and the number of cables directed to our care, the nights of summer were made

wretched to us by importunate messenger boys. At the opening of my first "season," the volume of the morning post used to make my heart sink. But peace returned to my bosom, upon finding that nine-tenths of the letters were for travellers, "care of United States Consul." This custom is natural enough, if a trifle foreign to the intentions of a consulate, and I do not resent it. But when it comes to being summoned at midnight from one's bed to deliver letters that are lying uptown at the office, one experiences something closely resembling resentment. This once happened to me. A New Yorker, arriving on his yacht late one evening, sent immediately for his mail. His messenger showed such courtesy and such embarrassment in the unusual commission and was, withal, such a jolly good man of the sea, that I could do no less than like him, and send for the letters. But not a line of explanation or apology did the sailor bear from his master, and not a syllable of acknowledgment was elicited from that person by the fulfilment of his extraordinary request. The most intolerable feature of the incident was —I learned too late—that the millionaire gave leave to offer "as much as fifty dollars" as an inducement for consular dignity to unbend to the proper point.

Would that all objects sent in our care were as portable as letters and telegrams. But no; we are also the honored recipients of express parcels, trunks, and packing cases, some of which we are asked to store, and others of which we are requested to forward to various indicated quarters of the globe. As I survey the accumulation of material awaiting the pleasure of my travelling compatriots, I am struck with the unanimity of sentiment that reigns in the human breast—at least in the American breast. My movements are impeded, my light is darkened, by the possessions of people I have not seen; whom, perhaps, it shall not be mine to know. But the continuing inconvenience affords me fresh proof of the Uniformity of Nature, although perhaps I am not so evangelically inclined as to long for new arguments in support of the theorem.

It is in our tourist branch that we are chiefly employed in helping our fellow-men, considerable as is our postal and forwarding business. As we are not actually engaged in the sale of tickets and time books, it is in search of counsel or redress that we are resorted to by the travelling public. I often marvel at the

tales of travel that are narrated to me, particularly when, as is frequently the case, my visitors affirm themselves to be abroad for recuperation. He of the seven league boots was nothing to them. They mention the number of towns they have "done" in as many days, and their reminiscences appear to be solely of accommodation. One wonders what idea they have in travelling. Their interest seems to be principally in motion; and when they find themselves out of a railway car, they are at a loss for employment. It is then that they come to us for advice. St. Mark's and the Ducal Palace once hurried through, the satiated traveller comes to ask if there is anything else he should "do" before going on! Certainly not; he should depart with all speed, and God be with him! What else can you say to a man whose sole interest in this enchanted town is that he finds in a café a trick of cooling beer that he has never seen? With regard to the Doge's Palace, the observation of many is that it lacks steam heat and has no elevator.

This is called "seeing Europe," and men who know nothing of Italy but half a dozen hotels, nothing of Italians but a few score *facchini* and waiters, will put me the country in a nut-shell, as if they had studied nothing else all their lives. When I think of those poor "done" towns, whose ancient splendors remain but a blurred recollection of arcades and *campanili,* individualized solely by an uncomfortable bedroom or a dragging lift, I am inclined to tell my interlocutors that they do not get the discomfort they deserve. But the fact of the matter is that we are a nation of Sybarites. The world will not satisfy us till we have illuminated its darkest jungles with electric light, and heated the poles according to the latest improved system. This is not what we set out to do: we set out to make our own wilderness habitable; but the struggle for existence so sharpened the natural Anglo-Saxon talent for improving a desert, that we have entirely spoiled ourselves with our little tricks of comfort. These practical expedients fill up so large a part of our lives, that, when we find ourselves ahead of the world in such respects, we are prone to talk about "God's Country" and "effete monarchies." The Most High must be more appreciative of the advantages of domestic economy than is usually believed, if the United States be His country. Americans are too apt to fancy that if they can travel a hundred miles faster than any one else, they have outstripped mankind.

While advice is easy for us to give, redress is not so much so. When your pocket is picked, or your trunk rifled at the frontier, it is only natural, in your ignorance of tongues, to carry your woes to your consul. But when unfortunate victims harangue so eloquently on the violent degeneration of Italy, I am tempted to recall to their minds the fact that the police records of their own country are not altogether of a virgin blankness. It is perfectly true that much petty pilfering goes on here, and the point of view of the burnt child is one that I heartily appreciate. But the more one sees of foreign countries, the more strongly does one become convinced that human nature, in its good phases and in its bad, is pretty much the same the world over. It is merely that methods differ. The Italian prefers to levy a small tax on all, whereas our own sharpers incline to the more exciting, if more dangerous, practice of winning everything at one *coup*. While the American is bolder, the Italian is really more just.

In a country where classes merge so constantly as they do in America, it is perhaps difficult to localize the traditions of the money-grabber. With us, your money-grabber after a certain stage is your fine gentleman; and, this Rubicon crossed, his operations are dignified with the style of Finance. In Europe, caste is less elastic; and your money-grabber remains your money-grabber to the end of the tale. Now, the making of money is a very simple matter. All you have to do is to take a certain sum per head from a certain number of people, and there you are. Of course the larger the sum, and the greater the number of heads, the better it is for you; that is a point for individual ambition. The thing is to hit upon a scheme essential enough or novel enough to induce the required number of people to part with the required sum. Take, for example, the keeping of hotels, the Italian industry most fruitful of complaint. The chief end in life of a hotel-keeper is to extract as large a percentage as possible of the worldly possessions of those who sleep within his gates. The calling is not altruistic: all acknowledge that. In America your hotel-keeper is very successful. He obtains so large a percentage of the incomes of others, that he stands a good chance of dying a Senator—if he have a clever wife. But his Italian confrère, even if equally successful, can entertain small hope of rising out of his class. Whence it is not surprising if he takes advantage of his class traditions.

In such small ways does one learn to appreciate the true beauty of democracy. It is difficult, however, to point out these dispassionate considerations to a despoiled lady under the obsession that the Italian nation, individually and collectively, is bent upon her undoing.

The propensity of Americans to travel in companies is very noticeable from my window. It is commonly a trait that they conceive themselves to be the sole persons in Europe cognizant of the English language, so that in the season when their hordes darken my bridge my native tongue would seem to be the only dialect spoken in Venice, so do its accents prevail over the less strident voices of the inhabitants. I never knew that such people existed until I came here. They used to make me pessimistic as to the future of our country. If such were fair specimens of the population, what was to become of us? But afterward the very fact that I had not known them at home reassured me. I remembered that I had seen other kinds of people in America, and I argued that among seventy-five million there must be ten righteous men to save us from destruction. Also, the beflagged and vociferous individual would naturally overshadow his less conspicuous brother. Also, there is something in a foreign air which tempts to throw off wonted restraints. Then, our scale of wages is so absurdly disproportionate to corresponding scales in Europe, that we see abroad a class of people who in other countries would stay at home. But it is a good thing. After a century of our mania for travel, much of the provincialism of an isolated country must wear off.

My personal experience with parties has been bitter, so that when I hear them afar, I pray God they be not minded to identify the Byzantine eagle that adorns the consulate with the bird of their country. The conductor of a party reported me to Washington once. He left his flock outside to take pictures of the Bridge of Sighs, and he asked what we could do for him. My unaffected amazement at this question wrought upon him so unfavorably that he complained to the powers that be. Of this fact he apprised me, with many capitals, by post: saying that his party included 100 of the Richest and most Influential Citizens of the United States (also many Young Ladies) whom it would be an Honor and a Pleasure for Anyone to entertain—who had, in fact, been Handsomely Received at every Embassy they had

hitherto Visited. He closed with the signal compliment that, of all indifferent clerks he ever met, I easily took precedence, and that he would not trouble me on his next visit. I could not remain untouched by this unsolicited tribute; I even went so far as to send a copy of it to Washington; but to this day I ask myself, in dull wonder, what he expected us to do for one hundred people. What? And this man carried a special letter of recommendation from the Secretary of State!

Another herd fell by the wayside in Venice, their conductor having failed, and they possessing nothing but their pin money. Of what use, forsooth, is a consulate, if not to give aid and comfort to its distressed compatriots? My distressed compatriots came, two hundred and fifty strong. One hundred and twenty-five of them wept upon my chief's bosom, and one hundred and twenty-five, for lack of more stable support, wept upon mine. We wept with them. It was all we could do. A paternal government makes no provision for any of its stranded children, save lawful mariners of the Merchant Marine. It would have been pleasant to take the course accredited to us by the local press. The city got wind of the affair, and people read, over their morning coffee, that the American consul had chartered a steamer to "rimpatriate" a party of his fellow-countrymen who found themselves deprived of funds. But, alas, the salaries granted by a paternal government hardly permit the chartering of steamers. Tears and sympathy were all we could give. On such cold comfort did the two hundred and fifty subsist until their conductor pulled himself together sufficiently to take them to the nearest Atlantic port.

Of all people in distress, I prefer the Destitute American Seaman. He is a gentleman in whose intercourse I have taken an infinite pleasure. His social gifts and his fertility of resource would recommend him, I sincerely believe, to even so practised a connoisseur as Mr. Rudyard Kipling. I have referred to the care of a paternal government for its stranded mariners. These are, in the legal sense of the term, such as have last served on an American vessel, and are, through no fault of their own, left without means upon a foreign shore. A distressed American seaman that falls under the provisions of the law I have yet to meet. The American flag never flies in the Mediterranean, unless from some stray yacht or man-of-war, whose mariners are usually so pampered that they dwell in a state of intermittent inebriation.

Nevertheless, while legislation nicely defines you the Destitute American Seaman, and carefully excludes him from Venetian possibilities, he serenely turns up about once a month, as American, as marine and as destitute as if no Congress sat in Washington to discourage his existence. And, of course, it is invariably through no fault of his own that he is obliged to request aid and comfort of his government! When I was new in Venice, his appearance before my window filled me with panic. I am but a chicken-hearted servant of my country, and the spectacle of a brother citizen in unrelievable distress weighed upon my spirit. This was before I learned. I used to go through the formula of asking for papers and an account of the cause and course of the destitution now culminating before my eyes. I knew with sickening certainty what the answer would be: that the papers had been stolen, and that the victim's ship had cruelly left him in port, slipping clandestinely away while he was taking a little needed refreshment on shore! Then would I patiently explain the terms of the law; and perhaps the victim, if green at the trade, would leave me in peace, content with the meagre spoils won from my compassionate hand. Oftener, however, he would return to paint his Distress in blacker terms than before, and I hardly dared go to the consulate of a morning. But custom, as is her wont, hath hardened my heart. The induration commenced when I recognized in the leading man of a Soudanese theatre, doing a brisk Carnival business on the Riva degli Schiavoni, a Virginia darky who had wrung my heart with his tale of woe. He sang "There'll be a hot time in the old town to-night," with variations, and the Venetian populace warmly applauded this pleasing specimen of the vocal art of Central Africa. The leading man, to the visible envy of the spectators, honored me with marked attention, addressing me in his native dialect, when there was an intermission in the performance. I was loftily prepared to play the rôle of Injured Virtue; but the Soudanese chieftain turned my tactics to naught by his entertaining account of how he was earning an honest penny until he could find a ship. I noticed, however, that he did not return to the consulate.

I once had a delightful variation in the story. A mountain boy of the South had gone down to the coast for work, and there a seaman's boarding-house master had turned a dishonest penny by getting him a one-way job on a steamer running to the Adriatic.

The lad had never seen the sea before, and was deathly sick all the way over, so that his captain dropped him with joy at the end of the trip. Sent here on one stage of his return, he gave me a new sensation. Imagine a Southern mountaineer dropped suddenly into Venice! It was too good to be true. The boy wanted to know how long the streets had been flooded, and he said his town looked just like that once in a freshet. St. Mark's did not strike him as being ecclesiastical in appearance, especially because the steeple was out in the road. Inquiring as to the denomination of the strange church, he was shocked. The Catholics were nothing his way, he said, they were all Baptis'. Where was the Baptis' Church in Venice? I shall long treasure the memory of that boy. As time passes, I find that I put into his mouth many speeches that he never uttered; but it makes no difference to ultimate verity. He is become to me a work of art—the typical expression of ingenuousness and world-innocence, suddenly confronted by all this ancient city has of world-sophistication and of splendor.

There is nothing like distance to give new perspectives. Since leaving my native land, to regard it from afar through my little consulate window, I have been struck by various unsuspected aspects of it. One or two of them I have suggested in these pages. It might seem that I have mentioned only the unusual or the grotesque, to the exclusion of what were more flattering to consider. But it is as in the leaded panes of a Venetian palace, the light of day comes greenly through the ancient glass, and only the more salient features of the outside world show misty or distorted outlines. It is the unusual which catches the eye and tinges the memory. The majority of Americans who pass through Venice probably do not dream of coming near us: for my own part, when in strange cities I would as soon think of calling upon the consul as upon the hangman. Others, who have legitimate business, perform it and go away, leaving no record but an entry in the fee-book. But certainly a great number, out of the friendliness of their heart or the temper of their understanding, do come in unto us upon one errand or another, and from these many a new impression is to be gathered.

H. G. DWIGHT.

CASANOVA AT DUX: AN UNPUBLISHED CHAPTER OF HISTORY.

BY ARTHUR SYMONS.

I.

THE "Memoirs" of Casanova, though they have enjoyed the popularity of a bad reputation, have never had justice done to them by serious students of literature, of life and of history. One English writer, indeed, Mr. Havelock Ellis, has realized that "there are few more delightful books in the world," and he has analyzed them in an essay on Casanova, published in "Affirmations," with extreme care and remarkable subtlety. But this essay stands alone, at all events in English, as an attempt to take Casanova seriously, to show him in his relation to his time, and in his relation to human problems. And yet these "Memoirs" are perhaps the most valuable document which we possess on the society of the eighteenth century; they are the history of a unique life, a unique personality, one of the greatest of autobiographies; as a record of adventures, they are more entertaining than "Gil Blas," or "Monte Cristo," or any of the imaginary travels, and escapes, and masquerades in life, which have been written in imitation of them. They tell the story of a man who loved life passionately for its own sake: one to whom woman was, indeed, the most important thing in the world, but to whom nothing in the world was indifferent. The bust which gives us the most lively notion of him shows us a great, vivid, intellectual face, full of fiery energy and calm resource, the face of a thinker and a fighter in one. A scholar, an adventurer, perhaps a Cabalist, a busy stirrer in politics, a gamester, one "born for the fairer sex," as he tells us, and born also to be a vagabond; this man, who is remembered now for his written account of his own life, was that

rarest kind of autobiographer, one who did not live to write, but wrote because he had lived, and when he could live no longer.

And his "Memoirs" take one all over Europe, giving sidelights, all the more valuable in being almost accidental, upon many of the affairs and people most interesting to us during two-thirds of the eighteenth century. Giacomo Casanova was born in Venice, of Spanish and Italian parentage, on April 2d, 1725; he died at the Château of Dux, in Bohemia, on June 4th, 1798. In that lifetime of seventy-three years he travelled, as his "Memoirs" show us, in Italy, France, Germany, Austria, England, Switzerland, Belgium, Russia, Poland, Spain, Holland, Turkey; he met Voltaire at Ferney, Rousseau at Montmorenci, Fontenelle, d'Alembert and Crébillon at Paris, George III. in London, Louis XV. at Fontainebleau, Catherine the Great at St. Petersburg, Benedict XII. at Rome, Joseph II. at Vienna, Frederick the Great at Sans-Souci. Imprisoned by the Inquisitors of State in the *Piombi* at Venice, he made, in 1755, the most famous escape in history. His "Memoirs," as we have them, break off abruptly at the moment when he is expecting a safe-conduct, and the permission to return to Venice after twenty years' wanderings. He did return, as we know from documents in the Venetian archives; he returned as secret agent of the Inquisitors, and remained in their service from 1774 until 1782. At the end of 1782, he left Venice; and next year we find him in Paris, where, in 1784, he met Count Waldstein, at the Venetian Ambassador's, and was invited by him to become his librarian at Dux. He accepted, and for the fourteen remaining years of his life lived at Dux, where he wrote his "Memoirs."

Casanova died in 1798, but nothing was heard of the "Memoirs" (which the Prince de Ligne, in his own "Memoirs," tells us that Casanova had read to him, and in which he found "*du dramatique, de la rapidité, du comique, de la philosophie, des choses neuves, sublimes, inimitables même*") until the year 1820, when a certain Carlo Angiolini brought to the publishing house of Brockhaus, in Leipzig, a manuscript entitled "*Histoire de ma vie jusqu'à l'an 1797*," in the handwriting of Casanova. This manuscript, which I have examined at Leipzig, is written on foolscap paper, rather rough and yellow; it is written on both sides of the page, and in sheets or quires; here and there, the paging shows that some pages have been omitted, and in their

place are smaller sheets of thinner and whiter paper, all in Casanova's handsome, unmistakable handwriting. The manuscript is done up in twelve bundles, corresponding with the twelve volumes of the original edition; and only in one place is there a gap. The fourth and fifth chapters of the twelfth volume are missing, as the editor of the original edition points out, adding: "It is not probable that these two chapters have been withdrawn from the manuscript of Casanova by a strange hand; everything leads us to believe that the author himself suppressed them, in the intention, no doubt, of re-writing them, but without having found time to do so." The manuscript ends abruptly with the year 1774, and not with the year 1797, as the title would lead us to suppose.

This manuscript, in its original state, has never been printed. Herr Brockhaus, on obtaining possession of the manuscript, had it translated into German by Wilhelm Schütz, but with many omissions and alterations, and published this translation, volume by volume, from 1822 to 1828, under the title, *"Aus den Memoiren des Venetianers Jacob Casanova de Seingalt."* While the German edition was in course of publication, Herr Brockhaus employed a certain Jean Laforgue, a professor of the French language at Dresden, to revise the original manuscript, correcting Casanova's vigorous, but at times incorrect, and often somewhat Italian, French according to his own notions of elegant writing, suppressing passages which seemed too free-spoken from the point of view of morals and of politics, and altering the names of some of the persons referred to, or replacing those names by initials. This revised text was published in twelve volumes, the first two in 1826, the third and fourth in 1828, the fifth to the eighth in 1832, and the ninth to the twelfth in 1838; the first four bearing the imprint of Brockhaus at Leipzig and Ponthieu et Cie. at Paris; the next four the imprint of Heideloff et Campé at Paris; and the last four nothing but *"A Bruxelles."* The volumes are all uniform, and were all really printed for the firm of Brockhaus. This, however far from representing the real text, is the only authoritative edition, and my references throughout this article will always be to this edition.

In turning over the manuscript at Leipzig, I read some of the suppressed passages, and regretted their suppression; but Herr Brockhaus, the present head of the firm, assured me that they are not really very considerable in number. The damage, how-

ever, to the vivacity of the whole narrative, by the persistent alterations of M. Laforgue, is incalculable. I compared many passages, and found scarcely three consecutive sentences untouched. Herr Brockhaus (whose courtesy I cannot sufficiently acknowledge) was kind enough to have a passage copied out for me, which I afterwards read over, and checked word by word. In this passage Casanova says, for instance: *"Elle venoit presque tous les jours lui faire une belle visite."* This is altered into: *"Cependant chaque jour Thérèse venait lui faire une visite."* Casanova says that some one *"avoit, comme de raison, formé le projet d'allier Dieu avec le diable."* This is made to read: *"Qui, comme de raison, avait saintement formé le projet d'allier les intérêts du ciel aux oeuvres de ce monde."* Casanova tells us that Thérèse would not commit a mortal sin *"pour devenir reine du monde": "pour une couronne,"* corrects the indefatigable Laforgue. *"Il ne savoit que lui dire"* becomes *"Dans cet état de perplexité;"* and so forth. It must, therefore, be realized that the "Memoirs," as we have them, are only a kind of pale tracing of the vivid colors of the original.

When Casanova's "Memoirs" were first published, doubts were expressed as to their authenticity, first by Ugo Foscolo (in the *Westminster Review*, 1827), then by Quérard, supposed to be an authority in regard to anonymous and pseudonymous writings, finally by Paul Lacroix, *"le bibliophile Jacob,"* who suggested, or rather expressed his "certainty," that the real author of the "Memoirs" was Stendhal, whose "mind, character, ideas and style" he seemed to recognize on every page. This theory, as foolish and as unsupported as the Baconian theory of Shakespeare, has been carelessly accepted, or at all events accepted as possible, by many good scholars who have never taken the trouble to look into the matter for themselves. It was finally disproved by a series of articles of the late Armand Baschet, entitled *"Preuves curieuses de l'authenticité des Mémoires de Jacques Casanova de Seingalt,"* in *"Le Livre,"* January, February, April and May, 1881; and these proofs were further corroborated by two articles of Alessandro d'Ancona, entitled *"Un Avventuriere del Secolo XVIII.,"* in the *"Nuova Antologia,"* February 1 and August 1, 1882. Baschet had never himself seen the manuscript of the "Memoirs," but he had learnt all the facts about it from Messrs. Brockhaus, and he had himself examined the numerous papers

relating to Casanova in the Venetian archives. A similar examination was made at the Frari at about the same time by the Abbé Fulin; and I myself, in 1894, not knowing at the time that the discovery had been already made, made it over again for myself. There the arrest of Casanova, his imprisonment in the *Piombi,* the exact date of his escape, the name of the monk who accompanied him, are all authenticated by documents contained in the *riferte* of the Inquisition of State; there are the bills for the repairs of the roof and walls of the cell from which he escaped; there are the reports of the spies on whose information he was arrested, for his too dangerous free-spokenness in matters of religion and morality. The same archives contain forty-eight letters of Casanova to the Inquisitors of State, dating from 1763 to 1782, among the *Riferte dei Confidenti,* or reports of secret agents; the earliest asking permission to return to Venice, the rest giving information in regard to the immoralities of the city, after his return there; all in the same handwriting as the "Memoirs." Further proof could scarcely be needed, but Baschet has done more than prove the authenticity, he has proved the extraordinary veracity, of the "Memoirs." F. W. Barthold, in *"Die Geschichtlichen Persönlichkeiten in J. Casanova's Memoiren,"* 2 vols., 1846, had already examined some hundred of Casanova's allusions to well-known people, showing the perfect exactitude of all but six or seven, and out of these six or seven inexactitudes ascribing only a single one to the author's intention. Baschet and d'Ancona both carry on what Barthold had begun; other investigators, in France, Italy and Germany, have followed them; and two things are now certain, first, that Casanova himself wrote the "Memoirs" published under his name, though not textually in the precise form in which we have them; and, second, that as their veracity becomes more and more evident as they are confronted with more and more independent witnesses, it is only fair to suppose that they are equally truthful where the facts are such as could only have been known to Casanova himself.

II.

For more than two-thirds of a century it has been known that Casanova spent the last fourteen years of his life at Dux, that he wrote his "Memoirs" there, and that he died there. During all this time people have been discussing the authenticity and the

truthfulness of the "Memoirs," they have been searching for information about Casanova in various directions, and yet hardly any one has ever taken the trouble, or obtained the permission, to make a careful examination in precisely the one place where information was most likely to be found. The very existence of the manuscripts at Dux was known only to a few, and to most of these only on hearsay; and thus the singular good fortune was reserved for me, on my visit to Count Waldstein in September, 1899, to be the first to discover the most interesting things contained in these manuscripts. M. Octave Uzanne, though he had not himself visited Dux, had indeed procured copies of some of the manuscripts, a few of which were published by him in *"Le Livre,"* in 1887 and 1889. But with the death of *"Le Livre"* in 1889, the *Casanova inèdit* came to an end, and has never, so far as I know, been continued elsewhere. Beyond the publication of these fragments, nothing has been done with the manuscripts at Dux, nor has an account of them ever been given by any one who has been allowed to examine them.

For five years, ever since I had discovered the documents in the Venetian archives, I had wanted to go to Dux; and four summers ago, when I was staying with Count Lützow at Zempach, in Bohemia, I found the way kindly opened for me. Count Waldstein, the present head of the family, with extreme courtesy, put all his manuscripts at my disposal, and invited me to stay with him. Unluckily, he was called away on the morning of the day that I reached Dux. He had left everything ready for me, and I was shown over the castle by a friend of his, Dr. Kittel, whose courtesy I should like also to acknowledge. After a hurried visit to the castle we started on the long drive to Oberleutensdorf, a smaller Schloss near Komotau, where the Waldstein family was then staying. The air was sharp and bracing; the two Russian horses flew like the wind; I was whirled along in an unfamiliar darkness, through a strange country, black with coal mines, through dark pine woods, where a wild peasantry dwelt in little mining towns. Here and there, a few men and women passed us on the road, in their Sunday finery; then a long space of silence, and we were in the open country, galloping between broad fields; and always in a haze of lovely hills, which I saw more distinctly as we drove back next morning.

The return to Dux was like a triumphal entry, as we dashed

through the market-place filled with people come for the Monday market, pots and pans and vegetables strewn in heaps all over the ground, on the rough paving stones, up to the great gateway of the castle, leaving but just room for us to drive through their midst. I had the sensation of an enormous building: all Bohemian castles are big, but this one was like a royal palace. Set there in the midst of the town, after the Bohemian fashion, it opens at the back upon great gardens, as if it were in the midst of the country. I walked through room after room, along corridor after corridor; everywhere there were pictures, everywhere portraits of Wallenstein, and battle-scenes in which he led on his troops. The library, which was formed, or at least arranged, by Casanova, and which remains as he left it, contains some 25,000 volumes, some of them of considerable value; one of the most famous books in Bohemian literature, Skála's "History of the Church," exists in manuscript at Dux, and it is from this manuscript that the two published volumes of it were printed. The library forms part of the Museum, which occupies a ground-floor wing of the castle. The first room is an armory, in which all kinds of arms are arranged, in a decorative way, covering the ceiling and the walls with strange patterns. The second room contains pottery, collected by Casanova's Waldstein on his Eastern travels. The third room is full of curious mechanical toys, and cabinets, and carvings in ivory. Finally, we come to the library, contained in the two innermost rooms. The book-shelves are painted white, and reach to the low vaulted ceilings, which are whitewashed. At the end of a book-case, in the corner of one of the windows, hangs a fine engraved portrait of Casanova.

After I had been all over the castle, so long Casanova's home, I was taken to Count Waldstein's study, and left there with the manuscripts. I found six huge cardboard cases, large enough to contain foolscap paper, lettered on the back: *"Gräfl. Waldstein-Wartenberg'sches Real Fiedicommiss, Dux-Oberleutensdorf: Handschriftlicher Nachlass Casanova."* The cases were arranged so as to stand like books; they opened at the side; and on opening them, one after another, I found series after series of manuscripts roughly thrown together, after some pretence at arrangement, and lettered with a very generalized description of contents. The greater part of the manuscripts were in Casanova's handwriting, which I could see gradually beginning to get shaky with

years. Most were written in French, a certain number in Italian. The beginning of a catalogue in the library, though said to be by him, was not in his handwriting. Perhaps it was taken down at his dictation. There were, also, some copies of Italian and Latin poems not written by him. Then there were many big bundles of letters addressed to him, dating over more than thirty years. Almost all the rest was in his own handwriting.

I came first upon the smaller manuscripts, among which I found, jumbled together on the same and on separate scraps of paper, washing-bills, accounts, hotel bills, lists of letters written, first drafts of letters with many erasures, notes on books, theological and mathematical notes, sums, Latin quotations, French and Italian verses, with variants, a long list of classical names which have and have not been *"francisés,"* with reasons for and against; "what I must wear at Dresden"; headings without anything to follow, such as: "reflexions on respiration, on the true cause of youth—the crows"; a new method of winning the lottery at Rome; recipes, among which is a long printed list of perfumes sold at Spa; a newspaper cutting, dated Prague, 25 October, 1790, on the thirty-seventh balloon ascent of Blanchard; thanks to some "noble donor" for the gift of a dog called "Finette"; a passport for *"Monsieur de Casanova, Venetian, allant d'ici en Hollande,"* October 13, 1758, *("Ce Passeport bon pour quinze jours")*, together with an order for post-horses, gratis, from Paris to Bordeaux and Bayonne.*

Occasionally, one gets a glimpse into his daily life at Dux, as in this note, scribbled on a fragment of paper (here and always I translate the French literally): "I beg you to tell my servant what the biscuits are that I like to eat, dipped in wine, to fortify my stomach. I believe that they can all be found at Roman's." Usually, however, these notes, though often suggested by something closely personal, branch off into more general considerations; or else begin with general considerations, and end with a case in point. Thus, for instance, a fragment of three pages begins: "A compliment which is only made to gild the pill is a positive impertinence, and Monsieur Bailli is nothing but a charlatan; the monarch ought to have spit in his face, but the monarch trembled with fear." A manuscript entitled *"Essai*

* See the account of this visit to Holland, and the reference to taking a passport, "Memoirs," v., 238.

d'Egoisme," dated "Dux, this 27th June, 1769," contains, in the midst of various reflections, an offer to let his *appartement* in return for enough money to "tranquillise for six months two Jew creditors at Prague." Another manuscript is headed "Pride and Folly," and begins with a long series of antitheses, such as: "All fools are not proud, and all proud men are fools. Many fools are happy, all proud men are unhappy." On the same sheet follows this instance or application:

"Whether it is possible to compose a Latin distich of the greatest beauty without knowing either the Latin language or prosody. We must examine the possibility and the impossibility, and afterwards see who is the man who says he is the author of the distich, for there are extraordinary people in the world. My brother, in short, ought to have composed the distich, because he says so, and because he confided it to me tête-à-tête. I had, it is true, difficulty in believing him; but what is one to do? Either one must believe, or suppose him capable of telling a lie which could only be told by a fool; and that is impossible, for all Europe knows that my brother is not a fool."

Here, as so often in these manuscripts, we seem to see Casanova thinking on paper. He uses scraps of paper (sometimes the blank page of a letter, on the other side of which we see the address) as a kind of informal diary; and it is characteristic of him, of the man of infinitely curious mind, which this adventurer really was, that there are so few merely personal notes among these casual jottings. Often, they are purely abstract; at times, metaphysical *jeux d'esprit,* like the sheet of fourteen "Different wagers," which begins:

"I wager that it is not true that a man who weighs a hundred pounds will weigh more if you kill him. I wager that if there is any difference, he will weigh less. I wager that diamond powder has not sufficient force to kill a man."

Side by side with these fanciful excursions into science, come more serious ones, as in the note on Algebra, which traces its progress since the year 1494, before which "it had only arrived at the solution of problems of the second degree, inclusive." A scrap of paper tells us that Casanova "did not like regular towns." "I like," he says, "Venice, Rome, Florence, Milan, Constantinople, Genoa." Then he becomes abstract and inquisitive again, and writes two pages, full of curious, out of the way learning, on the name of Paradise.

"The name of Paradise is a name in Genesis which indicates a place of pleasure *(lieu voluptueux)*: this term is Persian. This place of pleasure was made by God before he had created man."

It may be remembered that Casanova quarrelled with Voltaire, because Voltaire had told him frankly that his translation of *"L'Ecossaise"* was a bad translation. It is piquant to read another note written in this style of righteous indignation:

"Voltaire, the hardy Voltaire, whose pen is without bit or bridle; Voltaire who devoured the Bible, and ridiculed our dogmas, doubts, and after having made proselytes to impiety, is not ashamed, being reduced to the extremity of life, to ask for the sacraments, and to cover his body with more relics than St. Louis had at Amboise."

Here is an argument more in keeping with the tone of the "Memoirs":

"A girl who is pretty and good, and as virtuous as you please, ought not to take it ill that a man, carried away by her charms, should set himself to the task of making their conquest. If this man cannot please her by any means, even if his passion be criminal, she ought never to take offence at it, nor treat him unkindly; she ought to be gentle, and pity him, if she does not love him, and think it enough to keep invincibly hold upon her own duty."

Occasionally he touches upon æsthetical matters, as in a fragment which begins with this liberal definition of beauty:

"Harmony makes beauty, says M. de S. P. (Bernardin de St. Pierre), but the definition is too short, if he thinks he has said everything. Here is mine. Remember that the subject is metaphysical. An object really beautiful ought to seem beautiful to all whose eyes fall upon it. That is all; there is nothing more to be said."

At times we have an anecdote and its commentary, perhaps jotted down for use in that latter part of the "Memoirs" which was never written, or which has been lost. Here is a single sheet, dated "this 2nd September, 1791," and headed "Souvenir":

"The Prince de Rosenberg said to me, as we went down stairs, that Madame de Rosenberg was dead, and asked me if the Comte de Waldstein had in the library the illustration of the Villa d'Altichiero, which the Emperor had asked for in vain at the city library of Prague, and when I answered 'yes,' he gave an equivocal laugh. A moment afterwards, he asked me if he might tell the Emperor. 'Why not, monsigneur? It is not a secret.' 'Is His Majesty coming to Dux?' 'If he goes to Oberlaitensdorf *(sic)* he will go to Dux, too; and he may ask you for it, for there is a monument there which relates to him when he was Grand Duke.' 'In that case, His Majesty can also see my critical remarks on the Egyptian prints.'"

"The Emperor asked me this morning, 6 October, how I employed my time at Dux, and I told him that I was making an Italian anthology. 'You have all the Italians, then?' 'All, sire.' See what a lie leads to. If I had not lied in saying that I was making an anthology, I should not have found myself obliged to lie again in saying that we have all the Italian poets. If the Emperor comes to Dux, I shall kill myself."

"They say that this Dux is a delightful spot," says Casanova in one of the most personal of his notes, "and I see that it might be for many; but not for me, for what delights me in my old age is independent of the place which I inhabit. When I do not sleep, I dream, and when I am tired of dreaming, I blacken paper, then I read, and most often reject all that my pen has vomited." Here we see him blackening paper, on every occasion, and for every purpose. In one bundle I found an unfinished story, about Roland, and some adventure with women in a cave; then a "Meditation on arising from sleep, 19 May, 1789"; then a "Short Reflection of a Philosopher who finds himself thinking of procuring his own death. At Dux, on getting out of bed on the 13th October, 1793, day dedicated to St. Lucy, memorable in my too long life." A big budget, containing cryptograms, is headed "Grammatical Lottery"; and there is the title page of a treatise on *"The Duplication of the Hexahedron, demonstrated geometrically to all the Universities and all the Academies of Europe."** There are innumerable verses, French and Italian, in all stages, occasionally attaining the finality of these lines, which appear in half a dozen tentative forms:

> *"Sans mystère point de plaisirs,*
> *Sans silence point de mystère.*
> *Charme divin de mes loisirs,*
> *Solitude! que tu m'es chère!"*

Then there are a number of more or less complete manuscripts of some extent. There is the manuscript of the translation of Homer's "Iliad," *in ottava rima* (published in Venice, 1775-78); of the *"Histoire de Venise,"* of the *"Icosameron,"* a curious book published in 1787, purporting to be "translated from English," but really an original work of Casanova; *"Philocalies sur les Sottises des Mortels,"* a long manuscript never published; the sketch and beginning of *"Le Polemarque, ou la Calomnie demasquée par le presence d'esprit. Tragicomédie en trois actes, composée à Dux dans le mois de Juin de l'Année, 1791,"* which recurs again under the form of the *"Polemoscope: La Lorgnette menteuse ou la Calomnie demasquée,"* acted before the Princesse de Ligne at her château at Teplitz, 1791. There is a treatise in Italian, *"Delle Passioni"*; there are long dialogues, such as *"Le Philosophe et le Theologien,"* and *"Rêve: Dieu-Moi"*; there is

* See Charles Henry, "*Les Connaissances Mathématiques de Casanova*," Rome, 1883.

the *"Songe d'un Quart d'Heure,"* divided into minutes; there is the very lengthy criticism of *"Bernardin de Saint-Pierre";* there is the *"Confutation d'une Censure indiscrète qu'on lit dans la Gazette de Jena, 19 Juin, 1789";* with another large manuscript, unfortunately imperfect, first called *"L'Insulte,"* and then *"Placet au Public,"* dated "Dux, this 2nd March, 1790," referring to the same criticism on the *"Icosameron"* and the *"Fuite des Prisons."* *"L'Histoire de ma Fuite des Prisons de la République de Venise, qu'on appelle les Plombs,"* which is the first draft of the most famous part of the "Memoirs," was published at Leipzig in 1788; and, having read it in the Marcian Library at Venice, I am not surprised to learn from this indignant document that it was printed "under the care of a young Swiss, who had the talent to commit a hundred faults of orthography."

III.

We come now to the documents directly relating to the "Memoirs," and among these are several attempts at a preface, in which we see the actual preface coming gradually into form. One is entitled *"Casanova au Lecteur,"* another *"Histoire de mon Existence,"* and a third *"Preface."* There is also a brief and characteristic *"Précis de ma vie,"* dated November 17, 1797. Some of these have been printed in *"Le Livre,"* 1887. But by far the most important manuscript that I discovered, one which, apparently, I am the first to discover, is a manuscript entitled *"Extrait du Chapitre 4 et 5."* It is written on paper similar to that on which the "Memoirs" are written; the pages are numbered 104-148; and though it is described as *"Extrait,"* it seems to contain, at all events, the greater part of the missing chapters to which I have already referred, Chapters IV. and V. of the last volume of the "Memoirs." In this manuscript we find Armelline and Scolastica, whose story is interrupted by the abrupt ending of Chapter III.; we find Mariuccia of Vol. VII. chapter 9, who married a hair-dresser; and we find also Jaconine, whom Casanova recognizes as his daughter, "much prettier than Sophia, the daughter of Thérèse Pompeati whom I had left at London."* It is curious that this very important manuscript, which supplies the one missing link in the "Memoirs," should never have been discovered by any of the few people who have had

* See Memoirs, IX., 272, et seq.

the opportunity of looking over the Dux manuscripts. I am inclined to explain it by the fact that the case in which I found this manuscript contains some papers not relating to Casanova. Probably, those who looked into this case looked no further. I have told Herr Brockhaus of my discovery, and I hope to see Chapters IV. and V. in their places when the long-looked for edition of the complete text is at length given to the world.

Another manuscript which I found tells with great piquancy the whole story of the Abbé de Brosses' ointment, the curing of the Princesse de Conti's pimples, and the birth of the Duc de Montpensier, which is told very briefly, and with much less point, in the "Memoirs" (vol. III., p. 327). Readers of the "Memoirs" will remember the duel at Warsaw with Count Branicki in 1766 (vol. X., pp. 274-320), an affair which attracted a good deal of attention at the time, and of which there is an account in a letter from the Abbé Taruffi to the dramatist, Francesco Albergati, dated Warsaw, March 19, 1766, quoted in Ernesto Masi's "Life of Albergati," Bologna, 1878. A manuscript at Dux in Casanova's handwriting gives an account of this duel in the third person; it is entitled: "*Description de l'affaire arrivée a Varsovie le 5 Mars, 1766.*" D'Ancona, in the "*Nuova Antalogia*" (vol. 67, p. 412), referring to the Abbé Taruffi's account, mentions what he considers to be a slight discrepancy: that Taruffi refers to the *danseuse* about whom the duel was fought as La Casacci, while Casanova refers to her as La Catai. In this manuscript Casanova always refers to her as La Casacci; La Catai is evidently one of M. Laforgue's arbitrary alterations of the text.

In turning over another manuscript, I was caught by the name Charpillon, which every reader of the "Memoirs" will remember as the name of the harpy by whom Casanova suffered so much in London, in 1763-4. This manuscript begins by saying: "I have been in London for six months and have been to see them (that is, the mother and daughter) in their own house," where he finds nothing but "swindlers, who cause all who go there to lose their money in gambling." This manuscript adds some details to the story told in the ninth and tenth volumes of the "Memoirs," and refers to the meeting with the Charpillons four and a half years before, described in volume V., pages 482-485. It is written in a tone of great indignation. Elsewhere, I found a letter written by Casanova, but not signed, referring to an

anonymous letter which he had received in reference to the Charpillons, and ending: "My handwriting is known." It was not until the last that I came upon great bundles of letters addressed to Casanova, and so carefully preserved that little scraps of paper on which postscripts are written are still in their places. One still sees the seals on the backs of many of the letters, on paper which has slightly yellowed with age, leaving the ink, however, almost always fresh. They come from Venice, Paris, Rome, Prague, Bayreuth, The Hague, Genoa, Fiume, Trieste, &c., and are addressed to as many places, often *"poste restante."* Many are letters from women, some in beautiful handwriting, on thick paper; others on scraps of paper, in painful hands, ill spelt. A Countess writes pitifully, imploring help; one protests her love, in spite of the "many chagrins" he has caused her; another asks "how they are to live together"; another laments that a report has gone about that she is secretly living with him, which may harm *his* reputation. Some are in French, more in Italian. *"Mon cher Giacometto,"* writes one woman, in French; *"Carissimo e Amatissimo,"* writes another, in Italian. These letters from women are in some confusion, and are in need of a good deal of sorting over and rearranging before their full extent can be realized. Thus I found letters in the same handwriting separated by letters in other handwritings; many are unsigned, or signed only by a single initial; many are undated, or dated only with the day of the week or month. There are a great many letters, dating from 1779 to 1786, signed "Francesca Buschini," a name which I cannot identify; they are written in Italian, and one of them begins: *"Unico Mio vero Amico"* ("my only true friend"). Others are signed "Virginia B."; one of these is dated "Forli, October 15, 1773." There is also a "Theresa B.," who writes from Genoa. I was at first unable to identify the writer of a whole series of letters in French, very affectionate and intimate letters, usually unsigned, occasionally signed "B." She calls herself *"votre petite amie";* or she ends with a half smiling, half reproachful "good-night, and sleep better than I." In one letter, sent from Paris in 1759, she writes: "Never believe me, but when I tell you that I love you, and that I shall love you always." In another letter, ill-spelt, as her letters often are, she writes: "Be assured that evil tongues, vapors, calumny, nothing can change my heart, which is yours entirely,

and has no will to change its master." Now, it seems to me that these letters must be from Manon Baletti, and that they are the letters referred to in the sixth volume of the "Memoirs." We read there (page 60) how on Christmas day, 1759, Casanova receives a letter from Manon in Paris, announcing her marriage with "M. Blondel, architect to the King, and member of his Academy"; she returns him his letters, and begs him to return hers, or burn them. Instead of doing so, he allows Esther to read them, intending to burn them afterwards. Esther begs to be allowed to keep the letters, promising to "preserve them religiously all her life." "These letters," he says, "numbered more than two hundred, and the shortest were of four pages." Certainly there are not two hundred of them at Dux, but it seems to me highly probable that Casanova made a final selection from Manon's letters, and that it is these which I have found.

But, however this may be, I was fortunate enough to find the set of letters which I was most anxious to find: the letters from Henriette, whose loss every writer on Casanova has lamented. Henriette, it will be remembered, makes her first appearance at Cesena, in the year 1748; after their meeting at Geneva, she reappears, romantically *à propos,* twenty-two years later, at Aix in Provence; and she writes to Casanova proposing *"un commerce épistolaire,"* asking him what he has done since his escape from prison, and promising to do her best to tell him all that has happened to her during the long interval. After quoting her letter, he adds: "I replied to her, accepting the correspondence that she offered me, and telling her briefly all my vicissitudes. She related to me in turn, in some forty letters, all the history of her life. If she dies before me, I shall add these letters to these 'Memoirs;' but to-day she is still alive, and always happy, though now old." It has never been known what became of these letters, and why they were not added to the "Memoirs." I have found a great quantity of them, some signed with her married name in full, "Henriette de Schnetzmann," and I am inclined to think that she survived Casanova, for one of the letters is dated Bayreuth, 1798, the year of Casanova's death. They are remarkably charming, written with a mixture of piquancy and distinction; and I will quote the characteristic beginning and end of the last letter I was able to find. It begins: "No, it is impossible to be sulky with you!" and ends: "If I become

vicious, it is you, my Mentor, who make me so, and I cast my sins upon you. Even if I were damned I should still be your most devoted friend, Henriette de Schnetzmann." Casanova was twenty-three when he met Henriette; now, herself an old woman, she writes to him when he is seventy-three, as if the fifty years that had passed were blotted out in the faithful affection of her memory. How many more discreet and less changing lovers have had the quality of constancy in change, to which this life-long correspondence bears witness? Does it not suggest a view of Casanova not quite the view of all the world? To me it shows the real man, who perhaps of all others best understood what Shelley meant when he said:

> "True love in this differs from gold or clay,
> That to divide is not to take away."

But, though the letters from women naturally interested me the most, they were only a certain proportion of the great mass of correspondence which I turned over. There were letters from Carlo Angiolini, who was afterwards to bring the manuscript of the "Memoirs" to Brockhaus; from Balbi, the monk with whom Casanova escaped from the *Piombi;* from the Marquis Albergati, playwright, actor and eccentric, of whom there is some account in the "Memoirs"; from the Marquis Mosca, "a distinguished man of letters whom I was anxious to see," Casanova tells us in the same volume in which he describes his visit to the Moscas at Pesaro; from Zulian, brother of the Duchess of Fiano; from Richard Lorrain, *"bel homme, ayant de l'esprit, le ton et le goût de la bonne société,"* who came to settle at Gorizia in 1773, while Casanova was there; from the Procurator Morosini, whom he speaks of in the "Memoirs" as his "protector," and as one of those through whom he obtained permission to return to Venice. His other "protector," the *avogador* Zaguri, had, says Casanova, "since the affair of the Marquis Albergati, carried on a most interesting correspondence with me"; and in fact I found a bundle of no less than a hundred and thirty-eight letters from him, dating from 1784 to 1798. Another bundle contains one hundred and seventy-two letters from Count Lamberg. In the "Memoirs" Casanova says, referring to his visit to Augsburg at the end of 1761:

> "I used to spend my evenings in a very agreeable manner at the house of Count Max de Lamberg, who resided at the court of the

Prince-Bishop with the title of Grand Marshal. What particularly attached me to Count Lamberg was his literary talent. A first-rate scholar, learned to a degree, he has published several much esteemed works. I carried on an exchange of letters with him which ended only with his death, four years ago, in 1792."

Casanova tells us that, at his second visit to Augsburg in the early part of 1767, he "supped with Count Lamberg two or three times a week," during the four months he was there. It is with this year that the letters I have found begin: they end with the year of his death, 1792. In his "*Mémorial d'un Mondain,*" Lamberg refers to Casanova as "a man known in literature, a man of profound knowledge." In the first edition of 1774, he laments that "a man such as M. de S. Galt" should not yet have been taken back into favor by the Venetian government, and in the second edition, 1775, rejoices over Casanova's return to Venice. Then there are letters from Da Ponte, who tells the story of Casanova's curious relations with Mme. d'Urfé, in his "Memorie scritte da esso," 1829; from Pittoni, Bono, and others mentioned in different parts of the "Memoirs," and from some dozen others who are not mentioned in them. The only letters in the whole collection that have been published are those from the Prince de Ligne and from Count Koenig.

IV.

Casanova tells us in his "Memoirs" that, during his later years at Dux, he had only been able to "hinder black melancholy from devouring his poor existence, or sending him out of his mind," by writing ten or twelve hours a day. The copious manuscripts at Dux show us how persistently he was at work on a singular variety of subjects, in addition to the "Memoirs" and to the various books which he published during those years. We see him jotting down everything that comes into his head, for his own amusement, and certainly without any thought of publication; engaging in learned controversies, writing treatises on abstruse mathematical problems, composing comedies to be acted before Count Waldstein's neighbors, practising verse-writing in two languages, indeed with more patience than success, writing philosophical dialogues in which God and himself are the speakers, and keeping up an extensive correspondence, both with distinguished men and with delightful women. His mental activity, up to the age of seventy-three, is as prodigious as the activity

which he had expended in living a multiform and incalculable life. As in life everything living had interested him, so in his retirement from life every idea makes its separate appeal to him; and he welcomes ideas with the same impartiality with which he had welcomed adventures. Passion has intellectualized itself, and remains not less passionate. He wishes to do everything, to compete with every one; and it is only after having spent seven years in heaping up miscellaneous learning, and exercising his faculties in many directions, that he turns to look back over his own past life, and to live it over again in memory, as he writes down the narrative of what had interested him most in it. "I write in the hope that my history will never see the broad daylight of publication," he tells us, scarcely meaning it, we may be sure, even in the moment of hesitancy which may naturally come to him. But if ever a book was written for the pleasure of writing it, it was this one; and an autobiography written for oneself is not likely to be anything but frank.

"Truth is the only God I have ever adored," he tells us; and we now know how truthful he was in saying so. I have only summarized in this article the most important confirmations of his exact accuracy in facts and dates; the number could be extended indefinitely. In the manuscripts we find innumerable further confirmations; and their chief value as testimony is that they tell us nothing which we should not have already known, if we had merely taken Casanova at his word. But it is not always easy to take people at their own word, when they are writing about themselves; and the world has been very loth to believe in Casanova as he represents himself. It has been specially loth to believe that he is telling the truth when he tells us about his adventures with women. But the letters contained among these manuscripts show us the women of Casanova writing to him with all the fervor and all the fidelity which he attributes to them; and they show him to us in the character of as fervid and faithful a lover. In every fact, every detail, and in the whole mental impression which they convey, these manuscripts bring before us the Casanova of the "Memoirs." As I seemed to come upon Casanova at home, it was as if I came upon an old friend, already perfectly known to me, before I had made my pilgrimage to Dux.

ARTHUR SYMONS.

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMICAL SITUATION OF COLOMBIA.

BY EUSEBIO A. MORALES.

I.

To understand well the actual political and economical situation of Colombia, it is necessary to call to mind the happenings of the past eighteen years, a period of misgovernment, of confusion and of tyranny unprecedented in the annals of that republic.

In 1884 the country was governed by Dr. Rafael Nuñez, a man of strong intellect, who had always borne the repute of being attached from firm conviction to the principles of the Liberal Party, to whose support he owed his election. The republic being then divided into so-called sovereign States, in imitation of the United States of America, the majority of these were governed by parties with the title of Presidents or Governors, who belonged to the group or majority that had elected Dr. Nuñez. Against two of these Governors there broke out, in their respective States, revolutionary movements towards the end of 1884, one of which, that in the State of Santander, was terminated by a treaty whereby it was stipulated that a Convention should be elected for the designation anew of the President of the State. In that Convention, elected by the popular vote, members of the Liberal Party, who were opposed to the policy of Dr. Nuñez, were in a majority, and the President-elect of the State was General Sergio Camargo, a military man who at the time stood in high repute.

Dr. Nuñez, apprehensive of the failure of his political projects, till then unknown to the majority of the intelligent portion of the nation, dissolved the Convention of Santander by force, thus at a stroke overthrowing the federal Constitution of the republic, which gave the States ample authority for the control of their in-

ternal organization and government, and so breaking his oath to maintain and fulfil the fundamental laws of the country.

The Liberal Party, filled with indignation, rose in arms against the perjured ruler; but the Conservative Party that had been sedulously watching for an opportunity to come into power to seize the reins of government, arrayed itself on the side of the perjurer, and with such aid the revolution was put down in 1885.

The struggle once over, Dr. Nuñez proclaimed the cessation or non-existence of the Constitution from which he derived his authority; and through his provincial agents he caused to be appointed an assembly of eighteen members, called the Council of Delegates, for the framing of a new Constitution. This was the first instrument of the tyrannical regimen that has ever since been established in the country.

By the Constitution that was framed in 1886, the President of the republic was declared irresponsible; he was authorized to declare the country in a state of siege whenever he should think fit, and in such cases to establish laws; he was invested with absolute power to restrain the public press, even in times of peace, and to imprison or banish public writers; he was, in fact, invested with powers not held by any European monarch.

To maintain this regimen of oppression in a country used to the enjoyment of liberty, it was necessary for him to keep a large army and a numerous staff of public officers with enormous salaries, over and above the concessions, privileges and emoluments which he granted to his partisans in compensation for their adhesion. As, however, the revenue of a country like Colombia, in the period of its incipiency, could ill afford such extravagance, Dr. Nuñez had recourse to the simple expedient of issuing notes as legal tender, and this circulating medium soon became the national currency.

From the time of the introduction of this unpatriotic system, the sole foundation of which was the unbounded ambition of one man, Liberal statesmen strove to avail themselves of the public press to denounce it to the country and the world; but their publications were suppressed, and their authors, eminent men though they were, were imprisoned or sent into exile.

The Liberal Party strove to oppose by legal methods the régime of political oppression and financial disorder; and to that end it labored through the popular elections to send suitable deputies to the Departmental Assemblies and proper representatives and

senators to the National Legislature. But every effort was fruitless. Despite the majority of the Liberal Party in the nation, only in 1892 and 1896 did it succeed in sending each time a single representative to Congress. How can such an extraordinary phenomenon be accounted for? It was a so-called Election Law which sufficed to organize the fraudulent procedure. By that law, the President of the nation, the Chamber of Representatives and the Senate were authorized to appoint each an equal number of the six members of a body denominated the Grand Electoral Council, who were required to reside in Bogota and to hold their meetings in that city. The Ministers of State themselves, the Representatives and even the Senators, as well as other public officers in the Government's service, were eligible to that office.

The Grand Electoral Council, so constituted, was invested with the function of counting the votes and declaring the election of the President and Vice-President of the republic.

In the capitals of the nine departments, there assembled other corporations called Electoral Councils, similarly constituted, which appointed for every electoral district of fifty thousand inhabitants, or thereabouts, another corporation, styled Electoral Court *(Junta Electoral)*, which in turn appointed for every municipal district another body called the Electoral Jury *(Jurado Electoral)*. For all these Councils, Courts and Juries the public functionaries, military officers in active service and members of the police were eligible. The result was not open to doubt. The electoral machinery once set in motion by a Government that shrank from no fraudulent act, the appointments of members of all the Councils, Courts and Juries necessarily fell to the public functionaries who were interested in upholding the tottering structure; and so it has come about that, throughout the dark period that we have been passing through, not a single man of independent character has ever borne a part in the work of those bodies, in which were to be seen only unscrupulous wretches yoked like oxen to their Driver's cart.

The Electoral Juries so composed, whose office it was to form the lists of voters in each municipal district, obeying superior orders, only inscribed in those lists the public functionaries, the military and the police. The citizens who were not inscribed had the right, it is true, to claim and prove their rights; but, as the

term fixed for hearing and deciding such reclamations was only fifteen days, the Jury merely had time to attend to 25 or 30 applicants. In this way the Liberal Party was virtually excluded from the elections, and the barefacedness of the Electoral Jurymen grew to such a pitch that, on certain occasions, they refused to inscribe in the lists eminent men who had filled the highest posts in the republic.

Rural districts there were in which the Liberal majority was so overwhelming, that even the public functionaries belonged to that party (not through toleration or a sense of justice, but because the salaries were low), but at the electoral period new sheriffs, judges and policemen were sent there, with increased salaries, from the capitals of the Provinces, so that by fair means or foul the elections should be won.

And if, perchance, through unforeseen circumstances the Liberal Party came off triumphant in any district, the Jurymen, in drawing up the returns, would drop some ink upon the instrument, or erase a name, or commit some error, were it never so insignificant, in order that the document on reaching the higher Court might afford the latter a plausible reason for annulling the election and so suppressing the Liberal votes.

The men who have persistently performed these acts, who have altered numbers, falsified schedules and registers, and issued iniquitous judgments of nullity, have done so, and are ready at any time again to do so, relying upon the promise and guarantee of impunity made them by the Government, which impunity has always been effective despite the impeachments, supported by convincing proof, that have been brought before the tribunals of the nation. In the eyes of those people it was no crime, nay, not even a misdemeanor, to commit fraud in the elections; and even Dr. Nuñez himself, the prime factor in this moral perversion, used to excuse such infamous acts by saying "that it was better to falsify registers and annul the elections than to have to kill the voters."

Election-day in the cities and towns of importance in the republic was one for the display of power and violence. The troops garrisoned there and the police, from the first hours of the day, headed by their chiefs, surrounded the election tables and proceeded to deposit their votes. In that proceeding they nearly exhausted the time allotted by the law for the purpose to the

citizens; for each soldier and each police agent voted under two distinct names and under more, if necessary. The free citizen who might venture an effort to break through that barrier of soldiers to approach the urn and deposit his vote, was ill-used, beaten, wounded and threatened with death by the chiefs of the forces and the police; and, necessarily, the Government won the elections with overpowering unanimity!

Such is the history of the suffrage in the country that, through force of habit, one is accustomed to call the Republic of Colombia. These assertions may possibly be doubted in foreign parts, and ascribed to a love of exaggeration natural to our race; but the writer most solemnly declares that the foregoing is absolutely true and may be confirmed by the testimony of honorable men and impartial foreigners resident in the country.

A system established on such a foundation could only produce fatal results. A government without counterpoise, and animated with the purpose to remove all censorship of its acts and to impose silence on all opposition, must necessarily employ means, each day more disreputable and base, to maintain its existence in silence and impunity. Thence the illicit transactions with the public treasury, the contracts ruinous to the public wealth, the indemnifications for supposititious or exaggerated damages, the purchase of useless property merely for the gratification of the vender, and finally the forgery of legal-tender notes, since no other name can be given to the clandestine issues of such notes without the authorization of Congress or the knowledge of the public.

The National Exchequer *(Ministerio de Hacienda)* and the Ministries of the Treasury and of Public Works have been, from the year 1885, caves of still unveiled mystery; but an obvious fact has been the transformation of many of those who have filled these posts from a state of poverty to one of wealth. Such scandals, about which a volume might be written, were the occasion of a reactionary movement even in the bosom of the oppressor's party. Some honorable men who never compromise with deeds of iniquity, all the less with the felony of misappropriating the public treasure, raised their voices against such unbridled malversation, and occasioned a serious division in the party that seemed to be of a permanent character. Those who were for a just and honorable government styled themselves His-

torical Conservatives, while those in power appropriated the name of Nationalists, a vague appellation that has served to cover sudden and somewhat shameful transformations.

The Historical Party tried to create a press, in order to denounce the abuses and malversations that gave rise to the division in the ministerial ranks; but their writings were suppressed and their writers imprisoned, confined or banished, as had been done by themselves when in power to the writings and the writers of the Liberal Party. They also endeavored to send to the legislative bodies their eminent men, to enforce the wholesome doctrines they taught; but they too were turned away from the polls by their previous commilitants, in the same way in which the Liberals who thirsted after righteousness had been turned away by themselves in concert with their former confederates.

From that moment it became evident to every impartial observer, that the solution of the serious problem before the nation lay in the mutual accord of the two parties of the opposition, for the purpose of establishing a legal régime precursory to a definitive settlement that might satisfy the general aspiration.

The Liberal Party gave credit to the Historical faction for sincerity in its seeming repentance; and, performing an act of the most devoted patriotism, it canvassed for the election to the Presidency of General Marceliano Velez, the leader of the Historical Party and its candidate in 1891. The Liberal chiefs thus proved that they were not pursuing personal advantages, nor aspiring to the distribution of the public offices and sinecures among themselves, but that they simply had in view the re-establishment of a republican régime with the law for its foundation. The candidate of the Historical Party became the victim of unbounded electoral fraud, and his opponent assumed the government in 1892.

In 1897 the situation was still more grave and complicated. The Nationalist Conservatives proclaimed as their candidate for the Presidency of the republic Miguel A. Caro, the Vice-President, who had acted as President after the demise of Dr. Nuñez; while the Historicals presented as their candidate General Rafael Reyes, a politician of no definite tendency, who dared not even assume the aggressive attitude befitting the candidate of the opposition; and the Liberal Party awaited events, ready either to give its support to the candidate who would bind himself to

be a faithful upholder of the law and who would guarantee the effectiveness of its rights, or to proclaim a candidate of its own.

Caro, after a silence that seemed to signify his acceptance of the candidature, performed an act of disinterestedness, which certainly no one in the country expected of him, by making himself ineligible according to the Constitution, since he could not at the same time appear with the symbolical white mantle of the candidate and the staff of the Magistrate; but he caused to be proclaimed instead the candidature of Dr. Manuel A. Sanclemente and José Manuel Marroquin for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, respectively; and these were elected.

Dr. Sanclemente was an old man of over eighty, whose years rendered him unable to reside in the capital of the republic; and from the moment that he was designated for the Presidency, it was evident that the government, sooner or later, must fall into the hands of Mr. Marroquin. And so it did. In the absence of Dr. Sanclemente, on the 7th of August, 1898, the Vice-President-elect took possession of the executive power. To the general surprise, Mr. Marroquin abandoned the Nationalist Party by which he had been elected, and declared himself an Historical. The Liberal Party applauded acts which gave evidence of the firm resolve on the part of the Vice-President to place the country on the footing of a just, honorable and moral régime that would have regard to the popular suffrage.

But such a state of affairs could not be agreeable to those who had struggled, by fair means and foul, to perpetuate their hold on power, and before four months of the government of Mr. Marroquin had elapsed, the aged President was conducted to the capital to serve the purpose of supporting and safeguarding the Nationalist Conservatives, who resumed the reins of Government, now more uncompromising than ever, since they had found themselves for several months dispossessed of what they had grown used to consider their property, the Treasury.

In the course of the few months of the year 1898 during which the executive power was in Mr. Marroquin's hands, laws were dictated which were demanded by public opinion, such as that relating to the public press, that reformatory of the Court of Auditors, that providing for the indemnification of those of the industrial class who had been injured, or might so be in the future, by the establishment of official monopolies; and,

above all, there was secured the abrogation of the infamous law, vulgarly styled "the horse-law" *(ley de los caballos)*, which placed the liberty of the citizens at the mercy of the meanest village official. But what gave most satisfaction to the country at large, and inspired the most sanguine hopes, was that Mr. Marroquin declared, in public as well as in private, his inflexible purpose to enforce regard for the public suffrage and give access to all parties to the Electoral Councils, Courts and Juries.

Had Mr. Marroquin at that time refused to resign the Government into the hands of Dr. Sanclemente, as the majority of the House of Representatives and many conspicuous men of his party counselled him to do, then the Republic of Colombia would not have become what it is to-day, and what it has been for the last three years, an immense battle-field where the bones of thousands of its citizens lie bleaching in the sun, and where from smoking ruins there issues the haggard form of distress in the wretched garb of horror and dismay.

The civil war with which we are now afflicted is the consequence of that Nationalist reaction. The hopes that had been fostered by the Liberal Party once frustrated, the tempest could not be held back. The leaders of the party exhorted their partisans to peace; but their exhortations were powerless to inspire confidence in the bosom of the great mass of those who had suffered in their rights and in their property; and towards the end of October, 1899, the bloody struggle of arms began.

The writer of these lines was not in favor of the war, because he had then, as he has now, the full persuasion that that extreme resource solves no problem among our people, but rather renders more complex the problems which already exist, while giving rise to others from the quality of the men who present themselves as saviours or as valiant fighters. But in the face of the accomplished fact, which, to quote the language of Bismarck, removes every objection, the majority of the Liberal Party flew to arms, perchance in the belief that the Historicals would lend their co-operation to overthrow the structure of ignominy, and then with patriotic accord to seek a solution to all pending differences. Some Historicals declared themselves neutral; but the greater number hastened to seek the shade of the soiled and dishonored banner of the Nationalists,—thus

showing that they had only been adversaries on the grounds of emoluments, and making good the definition that Dr. Carlos Martinez Silva had shortly before given of them: "An Historical," said he, "is a Nationalist out of office."

The war being in full sway, on the 31st of July, 1900, another revolution broke out, headed by Vice-President Marroquin and General Manuel Casabianca, Minister of War to the legitimate President, Dr. Sanclemente, which overthrew the latter with the support of the military garrisons and the people of the capital. Dr. Sanclemente was imprisoned, and his post filled by the chief of the revolutionary movement, who, on his own authority and on the strength of the mutiny, declared himself better entitled to it.

One of the reasons adduced for the justification of the movement was a desire to terminate the war, assuming it to have been directed against Dr. Sanclemente and not against the régime of which he was the representative. If the purpose had really been such a noble one, why did it not attain its end—the only defence of such an act on the score of morality?

Dr. Marroquin must render his account to the tribunal of History, should he have the good fortune to escape being brought to account by one nearer at hand, and a more rigorous one. In August, 1900, he was the arbiter of peace in the republic,—the Liberal Party holding him to be a man of worthy, upright and unblemished character. He might have prevented the sacrifice of the lives of more than forty thousand Colombian citizens—and on his conscience abides the indelible stain of that abominable crime. He might have saved from destruction more than half the wealth of Colombia, but he closed his eyes to the glare of light that shone out of those devouring tongues of flame and stopped his ears to shut out the clamor of lamentation of bereaved mothers, widows and orphans! This unfortunate man gathered around him a circle of madmen who seemed to be possessed of the brutal passions of Ahenobarbus, the incendiary of Rome; they made him, a revolutionary, to believe himself to be the representative of legitimacy, at a time when the legitimate President was a prisoner by his orders. And, finally, he seemed to forget that, to justify his disloyal conduct, he had said that it was not possible to end the war under the rule of Dr. Sanclemente, leaving the country to hope that he would terminate it himself.

As a matter of fact, the war, after a short period of suspension for the purpose of learning what proposals Mr. Marroquin was prepared to make to the party in arms to end the conflict, continued with the redoubled intensity of despair. No proposition was made, nor was there a word spoken to invite to concord.

In the meanwhile, a vacuum was being formed around the Vice-President. With few exceptions his fervent partisans left him, seeing that it was impossible to govern in the face of a revolution every day more powerful, and a legitimate President imprisoned a few leagues from Bogota, but alive and resolutely determined not to legally resign his authority into the hands of his persecutor and jailer.

That disruption in the rank and file of the political forces that had realized the movement of the 31st of July, 1900, seemed to pass unnoticed by the person most interested in interpreting the signs of the time. The vacancies in the ranks were filled by ignorant men of bad precedents, so that men have been seen to attain to the offices of Ministers and Governors who were not capable of filling the post of Chief of Police in the meanest village. That group of incapable and ignorant men are they who rule Colombia to-day.

Such has been the course of Colombian politics in the last eighteen years, and the actual situation may be summarized as follows:

A government *de facto* rules the country by the power of its bayonets,—backed by no political party, for the Liberal Party opposes it by force of arms; the Nationalist Conservative Party repudiates it as the offspring of treachery; and the Historical Conservative Party, in a state of dissolution, is only composed of the public officers and the military chiefs for whom warfare is the most profitable of industries.

II.

The absolute Government established by the Constitution of 1886 and completed by subsequent laws, would have been in Colombia but a sorrowful and ridiculous experiment if the enactment of the same had not been contemporary with the disorder in the finances, and followed closely by the corruption which was diffused throughout the country by the new management.

The turbulent state of Colombian politics presented a brill-

iant opportunity for the speedy acquirement of fortune to unscrupulous men, who unfortunately abound in all communities, by aiding the new institutions and enslaving their judgment and will, while submitting to the terms of servitude imposed by their master.

It became necessary, in order to frame and maintain this artificial opinion, to augment the budget to proportions never known before, and this led to an increase of existing taxes, the creation of new ones, and ultimately to the employment of the lamentable expedient of issuing notes of compulsory circulation backed only by the name and the scanty credit of the State. Official monopolies also were instituted. All measures were taken to raise funds with which to satisfy the ever-growing greed of those who surrounded and rendered aid to the Government.

The tributary system expressed in the Constitution of 1886 is undoubtedly superior to the preceding one which originated in the Constitution of 1863; as, according to the latter, the States, which appeared to be confederated on an equal footing, reserved to themselves the most important right of freely creating their sources of income and establishing their contributions, and only granting certain specific revenues—such as custom-house duties, post-office and telegraph taxes, and the proceeds of the National estates—to the Nation. The Constitution of 1886 converted the States into mere administrative departments with clearly defined privileges for their internal development and progress, depriving them at the same time of their right to create their revenues. The creation and collection of certain imposts were authorized by the Nation through laws to that effect, the Nation reserving to itself the right to establish others if it should be considered necessary and convenient. On the other hand, the departments, by means of legislative acts decreed by their respective Assemblies, had the right to authorize the Municipalities to establish and collect other contributions.

The tributary system was thus constituted in the country in the following manner: national taxes and contributions decreed by the Congress of the republic; departmental taxes and contributions decreed by the Assemblies, by virtue of legal authorization issued by Congress; and municipal taxes and contributions decreed by the Municipalities, by virtue of authorization of the laws of the Nation and of the ordinances of the Department.

The principal sources of revenue of the Nation have been the custom-houses, the salt-mines, and the duties imposed on the slaughter-houses. These taxes and contributions have produced altogether an amount fluctuating between ten and twelve millions of dollars in national currency, up to the year 1897.

The total income of the public treasury has been from 1891 to 1895, as follows:

1891	$13,557,646
1892	12,465,513
1893	14,038,788
1894	13,273,592
1895	16,242,734

These revenues well managed and applied were more than sufficient to save from ruin a nation whose present population numbers not more than four million and a half; but nobody in the official regions ever occupied himself in employing these funds prudently and in introducing economy in the public service. On the contrary, *le mot d'ordre* seems to have been dissipation and malversation, and the disorder in the employment of the national funds became so notorious that, whilst in many places of the republic the wages of the judicial employees, for instance, were paid with punctuality or with a justifiable delay, the judges and magistrates of the Department of Panama were left without one cent on account of their monthly salaries for the space of two years.

The war budget, which in the administrations prior to 1886 never reached the amount of half a million of dollars yearly in time of peace, went on increasing until it aggregated the enormous sum of nine and a half million dollars (in round figures) in the two years' term of 1897-1898—say, more than one-third of the revenues, calculated at $28,224,000, for the same term.

While the War Department has been expending such a considerable portion of the revenues, other branches, like the external debt, have been completely obliterated from the budget, and the interests on said debt, which in years preceding 1886 were always considered as sacred engagements even in time of war, were entirely neglected. I consider it no exaggeration to assert that some have not been paid for over twenty years.

The internal debt, the proper study of which would require much labor, because of the diversity of the forms under which it has been contracted, has increased extraordinarily by claims for

recognized services which have not been covered, supplies, loans and expropriations, and for military recompenses. That has been one of the means selected to give protection to the partisans of the government.

As I observed before, it was not possible to maintain this system with the ordinary revenue and it became necessary to have recourse to the emission of irredeemable paper money and the institution of monopolies. The estimated deficit of $1,312,016 for the period 1887-1888 increased to $3,435,498.70 in 1897-1898, being one-eighth of the revenues. Although the persistence of an ever-growing deficit in the budget of the country would demand the application of the proper remedy or rigorous economy from any statesman, in Colombia these means were not adopted, because the provoking lithographic machines were ever and ever ready to cover the deficiencies.

The terrible and inevitable consequence was not long in making itself felt, for the reason that the economic laws are not to be trifled with with impunity. The paper money of compulsory circulation suffered a depreciation; and, as its exchange value fell, the government found itself obliged to issue a larger quantity in order to obtain the same benefit previously obtained for a smaller quantity; for this new deficiency, it was forced to make a new issue, which caused the same disastrous effect; and this evil went on growing daily in alarming progression. On the other hand, as the taxes, rents and contributions were payable, according to tariffs established by law, in the depreciated paper, the intrinsic value of these revenues dwindled in the proportion of the rise in exchange. So that the proceeds of the rents should maintain the intrinsic value estimated in the budget, it would have been requisite to change the tariffs daily in order that they might be always in accordance with the fluctuations of the paper money.

The exchange which fluctuated ten points at the utmost when the system was established, began to vary a hundred points in 1899, and by the year 1900 the fluctuations were counted by the thousand points.

Commerce, all industries and even the very life of the Nation, were highly affected by this situation, as may be easily understood when it is known that one American dollar is equivalent to fifty dollars in Colombian notes. Private credit completely disappear-

ed on account of these violent fluctuations, and as it was and is still prohibited to stipulate any other currency but the notes in private contracts, commerce had to choose between inaction and bankruptcy. But the foreign creditors will exact the payment of their credits in gold as soon as peace is restored, and when this happens there will be a frightful crash in the country of such lamentable consequences that the mere contemplation of it will cause the boldest to shudder.

Émile de Laveleye, the celebrated Belgian publicist, has said that an economic problem exists in the background of every political problem. Such a sentence seems to be confirmed in Colombia to-day. Is not the war that is devastating the country also a consequence of the deep-rooted evil which has stirred all classes, from the laborer and agriculturist to the capitalist and banker, without any party distinction? And this intense agitation, does it not arise from the economical disturbance produced by the paper money and by the abuses in its emission? Would the Liberal Party have gone to war if there had been sound money in the country, if the finances were scrupulously managed, and if the public wealth were not evaporating daily in the hands of speculators and people without a conscience?

Once the war is over, whatever be its result, then will the magnitude of the cataclysm be known.

It is not possible to state at this moment the number of millions of dollars in notes issued during the three years of civil war; but assuming the correctness of the estimate of a party who has been for some time a member of the present Government, the emission has been at the rate of eight millions monthly. This being the case, the total amount issued during the war amounts to nearly three hundred millions.

The crisis through which Colombia is passing at this moment is thus insignificant compared with that which threatens her. To avoid this crisis, a complete change of the *personnel,* of the ideas and of the purposes of the Government of the country is absolutely essential.

EUSEBIO A. MORALES.

THE LAW OF PRIVACY.

BY ELBRIDGE L. ADAMS.

HAS one the right to pass through this world, if he wills, without having his picture published, his business enterprises discussed, his successful experiments written up for the benefit of others, or his eccentricities commented upon either in handbills, circulars, catalogues, periodicals or newspapers? This was the interesting question which recently came before the New York Court of Appeals.

The decision, by a closely divided court, that, in the existing state of the law, there is no such right, as a legal and actionable right, has, curiously enough, received the disapproval of many newspapers, which, if a contrary conclusion had been reached, would be liable to some one for nearly every issue published. It has likewise excited some surprise in the minds of many persons who had thought that equity is nothing more nor less than the power possessed by judges, and even the duty resting upon them, to decide every case according to a high standard of morality and abstract right.

In view of the widespread interest which the case has attracted, it may be worth while to examine the grounds of the decision, and to discover, if may be, some remedy for what is undoubtedly a growing disregard for the rights of privacy.

The case before the Court of Appeals was this: A lithographic company had printed, and a milling company had circulated as an advertisement of its flour, some prints upon which appeared the likeness of a young woman, above which were the words "Flour of the Family," and below, the name and address of the milling company. A young woman claiming to be the original of the portrait brought suit against both the maker and user of the advertising matter, claiming that she had been greatly humiliated by the

scoffs and jeers of persons who had recognized her face and picture on the advertisement, and that she had been made sick and had been put to the expense of employing a physician, by reason of which she had suffered damage. She prayed to be compensated in damages and for an injunction restraining the further circulation of the picture.

Her complaint contained none of the usual averments of an action for libel, namely, a malicious or false publication, and defamation of character or reputation; nor did it allege that the picture had been obtained through a breach of contract. The relief sought was grounded solely upon the proposition that the circulation of the advertisement, without the complainant's consent, constituted an invasion of her right of privacy.

In reaching the conclusion that her complaint stated no cause of action known to the law, the court observed:

"While most persons would much prefer to have a good likeness of themselves appear in a responsible periodical or leading newspaper rather than upon an advertising card or sheet, the doctrine which the courts are asked to create for this case would apply as well to the one publication as to the other; for the principle which a court of equity is asked to assert in support of a recovery in this action is, that the right of privacy exists and is enforcible in equity, and that the publication of that which purports to be the portrait of another person, even if obtained upon the street by an impertinent individual with a camera, will be restrained in equity on the ground that an individual has a right to prevent his features from becoming known to those outside of his circle of friends and acquaintances. If such a principle be incorporated into the body of the law through the instrumentality of a court of equity, the attempt logically to apply the principle will necessarily result not only in a vast amount of litigation, but in litigation bordering upon the absurd; for the right of privacy, once established as a legal doctrine, cannot be confined to the restraint of the publication of a likeness, but must necessarily embrace as well the publication of a word-picture, a comment upon one's looks, conduct, domestic relations or habits. And were the right of privacy once legally asserted, it would be necessarily held to include the same things if spoken instead of printed, for one, as well as the other, invades the right to be absolutely let alone. An insult would certainly be in violation of such a right, and with many persons would more seriously wound the feelings than would the publication of their picture. And so we might add to the list of things that are spoken and done day by day which seriously offend the sensibilities of good people to which the principle which the plaintiff seeks to have imbedded in the doctrine of the law would seem to apply."

The court then proceeded to examine into the power of a court of equity to decide cases, not falling within any of the recognized principles of the law, according to natural justice.

In the formative period of Chancery jurisdiction in England, the judges, who were bishops and statesmen unlearned in the law, delivered their judgments without regard to principles or precedents. Every decision was, of necessity, an innovation to a greater or less extent upon the existing rules of the common law. These pioneers in the work of building up a new and less rigorous system of jurisprudence, appealed to, and were governed by, the eternal principles of absolute right, and were even guided in their judgments by their own individual consciences. It was this departure from certain rules and principles that provoked the sarcastic witticism of Selden in his "Table Talk":

"Equity is a roguish thing. For law we have a measure and know what to trust to. Equity is according to the conscience of him that is chancellor; and as that is larger or narrower, so is equity. 'Tis all one as if they should make his foot the standard for the measure we call a chancellor's foot. What an uncertain measure would this be! One chancellor has a long foot, another a short foot, a third, an indifferent foot. 'Tis the same thing with the chancellor's conscience."

After an orderly system of equitable principles, doctrines and rules began to be developed out of the increasing mass of precedents, this theory of a personal conscience was abandoned, and "the conscience came to be regarded, and has so continued to be regarded to the present day, as a metaphorical term, designating the common standard of civil right and expediency combined, based upon general principles and limited by established doctrines, by which the conduct and rights of suitors are tested." A court of equity, at the present time, cannot, therefore, by avowing that there is a wrong, but no remedy known to the law, create a remedy in violation of the law, or even without the authority of the law. It must act, not only upon established principles, but through established channels.

It has always been a principle of equity jurisprudence that obligations and corresponding rights which are purely moral do not come within the jurisdiction of the courts. The civil law is a business system dealing with tangible property and contractual rights, and does not undertake to redress psychological injuries. There are many matters of natural justice which cannot be en-

forced in any court, either because of the difficulty of framing general rules to meet them, or from the doubtful policy of attempting to give legal sanction to duties of imperfect obligation, such as charity, gratitude, and kindness.

The Court of Appeals could not, therefore, without an assumption of jurisdiction unwarranted by the history of jurisprudence, take cognizance of a complaint which was based wholly upon an injury to the feelings. Nor was it able to find any precedent for a decision in accordance with the plaintiff's contention.

There have been several cases, both in England and in this country, in which the "right of privacy" has received attention from the courts. The earliest of these was the case of Prince Albert, consort of the late Queen Victoria, who, as a citizen of the realm, brought an action to restrain the exhibition of etchings which he and the Queen had made for their own amusement, but which, through the turpitude of a workman employed to strike off some copies for presentation to their friends, had come into the hands of a London art-dealer, who proposed to exhibit them and had published a descriptive catalogue of them. One of the grounds assigned for the injunction desired was the invasion of the Prince's privacy, but the decision of the court was based upon the infringement of his property rights in his own artistic creations, and also upon the breach of trust by the workman in retaining impressions of the etchings for himself.

In this country, the attempt to engraft the right of privacy upon the body of the law goes back to the year 1890. An article in "Scribner's Magazine" for July of that year, by the late Mr. E. L. Godkin, entitled "The Rights of a Citizen—to his Reputation," called attention to the growing license of the press, and particularly to its insidious invasion of the sanctity of private and domestic life, and suggested the need of some extension of the law of libel. Inspired by this suggestion, the "Harvard Law Review," later in the same year, gave prominence to a cleverly conceived and written article, in which it was sought to build up, upon the analogy of the cases involving literary property, the principle of an inviolate personality, or the right to be let alone. This essay in theoretical jurisprudence in turn suggested the celebrated case which arose in the courts of New York in 1892, and in which the family of Mrs. Schuyler, formerly Miss Mary M. Hamilton, and conspicuous in her life-time for her philanthropic

work, attempted to prevent the exhibition at the Columbian Exposition of a statue of Mrs. Schuyler, intended to typify "Woman as a Philanthropist," alongside of a companion piece, a statue of Miss Susan B. Anthony, intended to represent "Woman as a Reformer." They asserted that the projected memorial was disagreeable and obnoxious to them, because it would have been so to Mrs. Schuyler, if living; and that it was annoying to have her memory associated with principles which Miss Anthony typified, and of which Mrs. Schuyler did not approve. They succeeded in the courts of original and intermediate appellate jurisdiction upon the theory advanced by the "Harvard Law Review" article; but the court of last resort denied their right to maintain the action, upon the ground that they, as relations, did not represent any right of privacy which Mrs. Schuyler possessed in her lifetime, and that whatever her right had been in that respect, it died with her. The court was also inclined to the view that the grievance was too trivial to excite any real mental distress or injury; but it carefully avoided any definite decision of the question whether there is such a legal right as the right of privacy.

The question next came up for adjudication in the Supreme Court of Michigan, which found no difficulty in deciding that a widow could not enjoin a manufacturer of cigars from using the name and portrait of her late husband, to designate a brand of cigars. The court said:

"Society may be depended upon to make proper allowances in such cases; and although each individual member may, in his own case, suffer a feeling of humiliation when his own name, or that of some beloved or respected friend, is thus used, he will, usually, in the case of another, regard it as a trifle. So long as such use does not amount to a libel, we are of the opinion that the individual would himself be remediless were he alive, and the same is true of his friends who survive. . . . This law of privacy seems to have gained a foothold at one time in the history of our jurisprudence—not by that name, it is true, but in effect. It is evidenced by the old maxim 'the greater the truth, the greater the libel'; and the result has been the emphatic expression of public disapproval, by the emancipation of the press and the establishment of freedom of speech, and the abolition, in most of the States, of the maxim quoted, by constitutional provisions. The limitation upon the exercise of these rights is the law of slander and libel, whereby the publication of an untruth that can be shown to be injurious, not alone to the feelings, but to the reputation, is actionable. Should it be thought that it is a hard rule that is applied in this case,

it is only necessary to call attention to the fact that a ready remedy is to be found in legislation."

In another case, the widow of Corliss, the inventor, brought suit to restrain the publication of his biography and picture, upon the distinct ground that it was an invasion of her right of privacy. The court denied the relief sought, saying:

"Freedom of speech and of the press is secured by the Constitution of the United States and the Constitutions of most of the States. This constitutional privilege implies a right freely to utter and publish whatever the citizen may please, and to be protected from any responsibility for so doing, except so far as such publication, by reason of its blasphemy, obscenity, or scandalous character, may be a public offence, or by its falsehood or malice may injuriously affect the standing, reputation, or pecuniary interests of individuals. In other words, under our laws one can speak and publish what he desires, provided he commit no offence against public morals or private reputation."

The English court of appeals has lately affirmed, without a dissenting vote, a judgment which denied an injunction to a London physician, of whom it had been published, with substantial truth, but without authority, that he had been prescribing the defendant's patent gout cure, and using it himself with good results.

It will thus be seen that when the question, whether the so-called right of privacy exists as a part of the unwritten or common law of the land, came before the New York court of last resort, there were no well-established precedents pointing the way to the affirmative of that proposition, and the court was therefore confronted with the necessity of making new law, or turning the plaintiff out of court. In exercising the latter alternative, the court was careful to say that it did not mean to hold that in every case where a picture is circulated against the will of the original, he is without a remedy, even under the existing law. The Penal Code of New York, and of many other States, punishes a malicious publication, by picture, effigy or sign, which exposes a person to public contempt, ridicule or obloquy, as a libel.

"There are many articles, especially of medicine, whose character is such that using the picture of a person, particularly that of a woman, in connection with the advertisement of those articles, might justly be found by a jury to cast ridicule or obloquy on the person whose picture is thus published. The manner or posture in which the person is portrayed might readily have a like effect. In such cases, both a civil action and a criminal prosecution could be maintained."

The court also pointed out—and this, we take it, is the conclusion of the whole matter—that the legislature might very well interfere and arbitrarily provide that no one shall be permitted, for his own selfish purposes, to use the picture or name of another for advertising purposes without his consent.

Here, then, we have judicial recognition of the necessity for positive legislation to meet a condition of modern society which is becoming intolerable; and, if we may interpret the comments of the newspaper press upon the decision, as faithfully reflecting public opinion, there is a widespread popular desire for relief. But relief will not be obtained if legislation is directed against advertisers alone; it must be broad enough to prevent journalistic, and even so-called literary, invasions of privacy.

The subject thus opened up is, we take it, really an extension of the law of libel. Modern society, goaded by the excesses of a sensational and scandal-loving press, has become sensitive. It is no longer satisfied with the reparation of its material wrongs—damage to reputation; it demands protection against spiritual wrongs —damage to feelings. This sentiment has already found expression in a statute enacted by the legislature of New York in 1900, which makes it a misdemeanor to publish any private letter, telegram or papers found on the person, or among the effects, of one who has committed suicide, or who has been found dead, with certain exceptions in the interest of the detection of crime.

In determining the scope and limitations of any legislation directed to the safe-guarding of the right to privacy, it will be well to avoid the extreme of sensitiveness exhibited by the French, who have had a law since 1868 which punishes the publication by a periodical of "any fact of private life." Under this law a man can have satisfaction if a newspaper print any gossip about him, even though it be harmless gossip.

The distinction between public and private characters must also be observed, difficult as it may be to draw the line. The idea which has been advanced by several judges, that, while a private character should be protected against the publication of his portrait, the case is different with a statesman, an author, an artist or an inventor, who asks for and desires public recognition, cannot be literally entertained. The right of privacy is not conditioned upon mediocrity. It would be more accurate to say that, when one seeks for and obtains public office, he must submit that so

much of his history and life as bears on his fitness for the position, shall be made a matter of public record; or that, when one publishes a book or exhibits a picture to the judgment of the public, the public has a right to discuss and criticise his literary or artistic career. Certainly, a modest and retiring woman who has painted a picture which is hung on the line at the Academy, does not thereby dedicate her private life to the public.

It might well be that one should be deemed to have dedicated to the public the right to use his portrait, or to comment on his private life, by his own voluntary publication; just as one may dedicate an unpublished book or drama by printing it or allowing it to be produced without first obtaining a copyright.

It is apparent, upon the most casual examination of the subject, that it will be difficult to draw up an act which will not give rise to many inconsistencies. The attempt which was made three or four years ago in the New York legislature to pass what was known as the "anti-cartoon bill" failed, because the newspapers pointed out the numerous flaws in it. It was shown, for instance, that, while the bill would prevent a New York periodical from caricaturing a citizen of that State, it could not prevent Boston and Chicago papers from lampooning him as much as they chose.

The State of California, however, which is quite as progressive in the science of law-making as any State in the Union, has succeeded in getting upon its statute books a law which is designed to prevent the unauthorized publication both of portraits and caricatures. The law, which was enacted in 1899, as an extension of the law of criminal libel, may be reproduced here because of its novelty. It is as follows:

"It shall be unlawful to publish in any newspaper, handbill, poster, book, or serial publication, or supplement thereto, the portrait of any living person, a resident of California, other than that of a person holding a public office in this State, without the written consent of such person first had and obtained; provided, that it shall be lawful to publish the portrait of a person convicted of a crime. It shall likewise be unlawful to publish in any newspaper, handbill, poster, book or serial publication or supplement thereto, any caricature of any person residing in this State, which caricature will in any manner reflect upon the honor, integrity, manhood, virtue, reputation or business or political motives of the person so caricatured, or which tends to expose the person so caricatured to public hatred, ridicule or contempt.

"A violation of this section shall be a misdemeanor, and shall be punished by a fine of not less than one hundred dollars, nor more than five

hundred dollars, or by imprisonment in the county jail for not less than one month nor more than six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

"All persons concerned in said publication, either as owner or manager, editor or publisher, or engraver, are each liable for said publication. Actions for the violation of this section shall be tried in the county where such newspaper, handbill, poster, book or serial publication, or supplement is printed or has its publication office, or in the county where the person whose portrait or caricature is published resides at the time of the alleged publication."

The second section requires that every article, statement or editorial contained in any newspaper or other printed publication, published in California, which tends to blacken the memory of one who is dead, or to impeach the honesty, integrity, virtue or reputation, or to publish the natural or alleged defects, of one who is alive, and thereby expose him or her to public contempt, hatred, or ridicule, must be supplemented by the true name of the writer of such article, statement or editorial, signed or printed at the end thereof, subject to a penalty of one thousand dollars for each offence, to be recovered in a civil action.

A critical examination of this statute discloses several defects in it. In the first place, it is obvious that it will not, and probably was not designed to, afford protection against the publication of one's private and domestic affairs. It would not, for instance, prevent a newspaper from printing all the prurient details of a family scandal or a divorce suit.

The exception of persons holding public office should be broadened so as to include candidates for public office; and there should be a proviso that persons who have themselves voluntarily dedicated their features to the public by some act of publication are not within the protection of the act. It may well be doubted, too, if the phrase "which caricature will in any manner reflect upon . . . . the political motives of the person so caricatured," is not too vague to be effective.

With these exceptions, however, the act seems to be a fair attempt to remedy the evil aimed at, and will afford a good basis for enterprising legislators in other States to work on.

ELBRIDGE L. ADAMS.

GRIEG AS A NATIONAL COMPOSER.

BY A. M. WERGELAND, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING.

RECENT criticism of the music of Grieg, while generally appreciative of his technical skill and lenient to his peculiarities, nevertheless plainly declares him to have fallen short of being a great musician—that is, one who treats themes of universal interest and whose ideas expand into the breadth of a symphony. The prevalence of the "national" element in his music is referred to as an instance of his limited lyrical and subjective temperament, which has seized upon the narrow field of folk-song and dance as a convenient and natural vehicle for personal peculiarities. Such misconception may arise from the point of view from which foreigners and theorists regard the peculiarly intimate element in Grieg's music. There is, perhaps, no great necessity for correcting it, since it must in course of time inevitably correct itself; but it is a curious sign of increasing scholasticism among critics, some of whom should know from personal experience what part the national element plays in the general development of all art, and not least in music. It may thus not be useless to attempt, for the benefit of the music-loving public, a more liberal, less dogmatic appreciation of the national element in Grieg's music, and possibly also to dispel some of the false conceptions and imperfect explanations which are so often associated with the work of a composer, and are allowed to grow and become a tradition without question as to their genuineness or likelihood.

That Grieg should be thus criticised is nothing wonderful. No doubt, when a composer becomes popular his days are, musically speaking, numbered. And Grieg has become popular; more, however, by virtue of his idiosyncrasies, his mannerisms, than

by appreciation of the intrinsic value of his music. People play his pieces and gloat over them who do not understand their chief trait. This piano-playing age seizes upon anything that sounds enticing to the ear and brings out the qualities of the instrument; but what does this signify? Not by any means that the essence of the composition is always taken into account, assimilated or rendered. The outside features, the musical tricks, the phrasing, are the things grasped. By degrees, the peculiarities at first charming and even seductive become stale, and the hapless musician is reproached for possessing what was previously accounted his virtue. So it has happened to all the individual composers from Weber to Schumann—lately to Franz and Grieg; and so it will happen to all who are still the idols of the concert-room, Tschaikowsky, Dvořák and the rest. Nor is this their fault. They have all, each in turn, expressed in their individual way the conceptions prevailing in their time, and it is the fate of all things made by mortals that time, as it constantly moves on to the morrow, forgets what was of yesterday. Nor can it be made a matter of reproach that the artist has chosen for himself some small sphere of expression wherein he moves supreme. Not the rendering of the macrocosm, in its constantly increasing vastness and manifoldness, can be the aim of his art, but only the microcosm, the world within himself, his circle, his nation. To be rendered at all, the universe must still be moderate in size and limited in its comprehensiveness, as it was in Beethoven's days, a world full of human force which broke itself against the bars of destiny; or it must be the universe reduced to its metaphysical entity, as it exists in Brahms' learned and philosophical work.

The variety of methods of human expression in which the microcosm can be rendered has given rise to such rather artificial standards of judging a composition as whether it is universal or personal, objective or subjective, epic or lyric, or even didactic or divertive in tone. Letting these criteria stand for what they may, what is it that, irrespective of skill of workmanship, ease or learning, makes the lasting quality of a musical work and establishes the final judgment of its value? Is it not the predominance in it either of thought or of feeling—the exquisitely melodious quality, spontaneous, direct, lucid; or the weighty, discursive, sometimes even argumentative, utterance which by degrees builds up the final issue and presses the idea home? Be-

tween these two poles—exclusiveness of thought on the one hand and expansiveness of emotion on the other; mountain-heights of pure vision and sheltered glades of sweet repose; the speculative quality, "*die verstandesthätigkeit,*" and the compassion charged with memory but remote from pain—all music of aspiration wavers: sometimes touching the one, sometimes both, sometimes remaining between. Although some would characterize the one as the more universal and objective, the other as the more individual and subjective expression, is it really worth while or even possible to say which is the best and the highest? Music, as the fluctuating expression of man's moods, can hardly be restricted to any formula or domain of utterance. This would be to deprive it of its greatest virtue, that of being responsive and sympathetic to all phases of life, to all shades of sentiment. In the end, does not our choice depend upon our individual disposition, and does not all music really begin, in its expression as well as in its appreciation, with the individual? If the artist pictures the elusive thing we call life, with its thousand mirages, or the majestic mountain-top, where the cool blue visions tell of immovable heights even more sublime, who shall say which is the more perfect?

It has been asserted, somewhat dogmatically, that Grieg's music has none of the objective value of the impersonal expression which characterizes the highest art, and that he is singularly individual, at most only national. But in their use of the word "national," his critics seem too narrow. Why always look upon the national as identical with the local? The national is not merely an expansion of the personal, it is likewise a step toward the universal; thus it unites both the objective and the subjective, the epic and the lyric. This distinction, however, often indulged in, between the individual and the universal, seems a mere play with words, sometimes only a question of change of opinion. No doubt, Mozart and Schubert, and Beethoven most of all, appeared distressingly subjective to their contemporaries; yet to us, whom by their individual rendering they have helped to reach a higher level of comprehension, they are universal. Such music as Scarlatti's and Bach's, because of its singleness of feeling, might be characterized as universal in the primitive sense of the word; and yet, although these men employed generally the same means and methods, they are not only

in name but in individuality separate, in a sense that characterizes one as German, the other as Italian. All composers of note have either expressed some degree of national reaction against foreign influence, or have sought in their work to interpret some phase of the national temperament to the nation itself. Thus even Brahms, in spite of his cool heights of thought which might stamp him as universal to a peculiar degree, has found his chief glory in expressing not only national exaltation in the hour of grief and memory, but also the peculiar spiritual problems with which the superior minds of his nation wrestle to-day—the eternal riddle of a true and worthy life, the single-minded devotion to a noble idea, the sacrifice of success in order to tend the light of superior knowledge; problems which, as Brahms presents them, are more thoroughly German than they are or could be English, French, or American.

Whatever, then, the individual critic may consider the essential meaning of universal or national, it seems necessary to admit that the importance of a composer must, first of all, rest on the message he brings to his people. His natural relation is to them rather than to humanity at large, and his music becomes universal only through voicing their aspirations and character. His message to the world can have genuine force and vitality only as it is filtered through his message to his nation. In Europe nationality has for too long a time been a latent and potent force not to exert influence even over an art which, like music, may claim to have cosmopolitan tendencies.

We think that critics in their estimation of Grieg's music have often allowed themselves to be unduly influenced by his personal appearance, and measuring the one by the other have found both wanting in such strength as the normally developed is presumed to possess. That psychological reasoning which bases an estimate of mental worth on physical singularities, in which the French have of late shown themselves especially proficient, is too easy and too cheap a trick to deserve much comment. To give the accidental the force of an axiom has always been looked upon as both unphilosophical and unscientific. The utter tactlessness of the remarks showered upon Grieg—that he is a dwarf, that one shoulder is higher than the other, etc., as if this had anything to do with his efficiency as a musician!—inevitably lowers the tone of the criticism containing them.

One critic, in speaking of Grieg's use of national music, calls such music a dialect rather than a language. The remark may, indeed, apply to the original random tunes and lays. But the artistic treatment of these national melodies, the elaboration of primitive harmonies and the use of them as *motifs* on which to build a structure of learned musical composition take away their original crudeness and abruptness without destroying their characteristics, and add these forgotten and secluded tunes to the great family of melodies with which the whole world may become familiar. Under such treatment, their limited exclusiveness exists no more, and a new chapter is added to the volume of human expression. Hence if a national composer becomes popular in a cosmopolitan sense, as Grieg has, this is due not merely to idiosyncrasies, but also to the good and legitimate reason that the message he brings is understood and appreciated by nations not akin to his.

Grieg's position toward his country is peculiar. Of course, other composers all over the world have made national music theirs, worked it over, drawn inspiration from it, feasted on its freshness of feeling, and embodied it in their works. Indeed, the national element concealed in modern music is much larger than people would at first be inclined to believe. Nay, upon examination the national element will show itself influential even in cases where the composer alone is credited with the invention of his melodies. But, however successful in their application of the national, none, from Weber to Tschaikowsky, has been so completely in sympathy with its nature, so obedient to its character, its form and color, as has Grieg. Many see in this a distinct limitation of his genius. Grieg ought to have done as his brethren did, they think. He should have treated the national material as a makeshift, as an interpolation or ornament. But this has not been natural to him to do, and the result seems to justify his attitude. What the possession of a national music such as his means to a people, the value of its stimulating and unifying power, Americans, who do not as yet possess any, cannot quite understand. It is the same with the man who does not know what fatherhood is until he himself has a child. While the music which claims to be universal expresses often the merest generalities, is vague, indefinite and theoretical—" attenuated cosmopolitanism," as Carlyle puts it—national music is strong, di-

rect, alive in every fibre. It is of enormous educational influence to the people, bringing the ideas all have in common home to their mind and heart, with the strength of what is home-grown and truly lived.

Of all the Norwegian composers of national music, none has touched, as Grieg has, the spring of the idiomatically national. The mountain fairy of whom Norwegian folk-lore tells, the mysterious spirit of the voices of the forest and the silence of the glens, the golden-haired and blue-eyed maiden, Muse of the peasants and inspirer of their lays, she who appears in the solitude and plays the "*langelek*" and "*lur*," of whom the poets have sung eloquently but abstractly,—she revealed herself at last in all her eerie power, when Grieg took these "boorish" tunes and lent them a voice that could reach farther than the faint vibration and whispering of her fantastic cithern. Thus Norwegian peasant-music has reached a development which it could not otherwise get, has become what it now is—bizarre, often morbid, sometimes boisterously gay, full of wild grace, taunting and jeering, yet plaintive and brooding; always singular, forceful and brilliant. Norwegians did not realize what possibilities were in them or their songs until Grieg put his hand to the elaboration of these tunes.

When I here apply the word "national" to the Norwegian peasant-music as it originally existed, I ought perhaps to do so with a certain reservation. It may be that there is no such thing as strictly national music; nothing in its beginning is quite home-grown, everything is somehow transmitted from elsewhere and then assimilated. In fact, several of the Norwegian folk-tunes, for instance, in their beautiful sensitiveness suggest strongly both Haydn and Bach, or even remoter sources. In the same way, the Swedish "polska" in its vivacity, mocking charm and martial clamor forcibly reminds one of Slavic folk-tunes. But whatever was the musical germ of these songs and dances, they have been so thoroughly recast according to the popular temperament that to-day they are Norwegian; and by Grieg's working of them into the mould of more universal tendencies, they are also in the broadest sense national.

Nor is it only the national in its ethnological meaning, but also the background of national feeling, of patriotism, the historical past recorded in song and tale which have been voiced

Grieg as they have never been voiced before and perhaps never will be again. It is necessary only to remember Sonata, Opus 7, with the meditative, almost religious, Andante, the majestic Menuetto and the fiery Finale, which maintains its proud bearing to the end and closes with strains of highest enthusiasm and assurance. When one compares the Menuetto with compositions of romantic and patriotic tenor, such as Chopin's Polonaise No. 7, Opus 53, one meets with the same reference to a heroic past. In Chopin's Polonaise, we have history brilliant and exhilarated by blares of trumpets, by beauty and valor, by the glamor of a great gathering, by the tramp of horses and the flash of swords, until, by a subtle change of mood, it all sinks into dust and the night-wind moans gently over forgotten graves. Grieg's Menuetto suggests no sense of bereavement, but a continuous and proud presence of the fairest and noblest of the land, crowned with strength and beauty—a throng of knights and dames, lords and ladies, the throne in the background, and the standards of many battles and adventures waving in the summer-breeze, while the torches glow and the music, now majestic, urging to deed, now gentle, persuading to pleasure, puts the crowd in motion responsive to its rhythm. If to this we add Grieg's music to Björnson's poems and dramas, which are epic if anything, his compositions for choruses and orchestra in which he has lent the poetic words a wonderful, soul-speaking power, his witty rendering of portions of "Peer Gynt" and his "Holberg Suite," we find he has expressed for his nation its greatest good of all: the feeling of its historical integrity and its oneness with the land that bore it. Such beautiful patriotism, never maudlin or chauvinistic, frank, earnestly devoted with a son's devotion, will suggest that he sank his own individuality in the larger unit, rather than that he made the national subservient to himself.

It is, perhaps, not altogether wrong to say that the bane of Grieg's highest work has been his settling for good in his villa by Bergen and secluding himself from the vigorous life elsewhere. Certainly, if one knows the temperamental likeness between himself and Mozart, whose ethereal and unworldly height of beauty and feeling he renders as no one else does, and his strong musical leanings toward Schumann, it is clear that not all he has had to say is embodied in the national. He has wished to express other things, which with unimpaired health, a different

environment, and greater means, he might perhaps triumphantly have said. Possibly, as has been declared, Grieg has not developed into the most powerful expression, into grappling with cosmic problems and solving them in symphonies. Yet the time-honored custom of considering a composer of but middling worth until he has foisted his aspiration to immortality upon the world in the shape of a symphony, is about as fallacious as the eighteenth-century theory that whoever had not written an opera was really no musician of note. It reminds one of the English literary notion that a poet who has not written a drama, however lame dramatically, is no great poet. Grieg has struck the pole of feeling rather than the pole of thought. And within the sphere of national feeling, at least, he has surely combined the opposite elements, voicing the epic and objective as well as the lyric and subjective. In fact, the two are in him so curiously blended that, contrary to current opinion, through Grieg's music it is the nation which speaks its innermost thoughts as much as Grieg himself. We agree that he has been more of an artist in his production than a philosopher. Hence, according to the demands of some æsthetic rigorists, he has failed to reach the very highest rank. But a composer is not made up according to a pattern, a universal pattern; he is made according to something which it is in his nature to become. Grieg with his opportunities and endowment appears to have made the most of both, to have expressed what he found most worth expressing with such surpassing beauty and oneness of feeling that the nation for which he did this owes his work an infinite debt of affection and esteem.

A. M. WERGELAND.

SANITARY PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ISTHMIAN CANAL.

BY GEO. M. STERNBERG, M.D. LL.D., SURGEON-GENERAL UNITED STATES ARMY, RETIRED.

Now that it has been definitely decided that the United States will construct an interoceanic ship-canal across the isthmus, it is well to give careful consideration to all the problems connected with this stupendous undertaking.

The engineering problems have been fully considered, and we have the assurance that a canal can be constructed, either by the Nicaragua or the Panama route.

It now seems almost certain that the United States will secure a satisfactory title to the property and concessions of the Panama Canal Company, and that the canal will be constructed upon this line. The financial problem is solved by the fact that the United States Government is fully committed to the undertaking, and whether the estimates submitted to Congress are adequate or otherwise, the final result is assured. A hundred millions, more or less, for a country which is spending from eight hundred millions to a billion dollars, annually, is a small matter, when we consider the magnitude of the enterprise, and the important advantages to the United States and to the world which will result from the completion of this interoceanic water-way.

But, while this is true, it is also true that, aside from the question of cost, the difficulties attending the enterprise and the time required to accomplish the task will depend largely upon conditions of a different order, which are too frequently ignored by engineers and financiers.

I have not the data at hand to enable me to state how many laborers and officials lost their lives during the progress of the work on the Panama Canal, but it is generally known that the

number was enormous, and that the insanitary conditions along the line of the canal, and the consequent sickness and mortality among the employees of the Canal Company, constituted one of the most serious difficulties with which this company had to contend.

The object of the present paper is to indicate how these difficulties may be avoided in future, and to impress upon those who will have charge of the work the fact that, in the present state of sanitary science, it would not only be costly, but criminal, to repeat the experiences of the past in this regard. From a humanitarian point of view, it will readily be conceded that an unnecessary sacrifice of the lives of those who are employed to do the work of excavating the canal, would be unjustifiable; but it is not to be expected that an undertaking of this kind will be postponed or delayed on account of the possibility that large numbers of human lives may be sacrificed in carrying out plans which have been made by expert engineers, and approved by the Congress of the United States.

The laborers and those who superintend their work will be very much in the position of soldiers who are sent to a distant and unhealthy country to promote the interests of their Government. They go without question or complaint; and if they fall victims to some infectious disease or to the bullet of the enemy, their places are promptly filled by others who willingly submit themselves to the same chances. But it is evident that, aside from the humanitarian point of view, the better they are trained for the service required of them—whether soldiers or laborers—the more difficult it will be to replace them, and the greater the financial loss when they are prevented by sickness from performing the special duties required of them. A Jamaica negro, who is employed simply to handle a pick or a shovel, may be easily replaced; but when an engineer who has charge of a steam shovel falls sick, the expensive apparatus which he has been trained to control may lie idle.

As great engineering enterprises now depend largely upon the employment of skilled labor, it is evident that the preservation of the health of these laborers is an economic question of prime importance. From our point of view, it is so important that it is incumbent upon the government which undertakes to construct an isthmian canal to give to those who will be engaged in the

actual prosecution of the work all the advantages to be derived from a well-organized sanitary service, based upon the present state of scientific information relating to the cause and prevention of those infectious diseases which are most likely to prevail under the conditions which will exist along the line of the proposed canal. We know what these diseases are; we know the conditions which lead to their epidemic prevalence; and we know how to prevent them. Under these circumstances, it would indeed be criminal not to apply this knowledge in a practical way for the preservation of the lives of those who are called upon to battle with those malign agents which appear to oppose themselves to man, in his efforts to overcome the barriers raised by nature to arrest his progress in the subjection of the earth to his material uses. In this battle the soldier of labor is supported by enormous and complicated engines of war, operated by steam, by electricity, or by explosives which rend the solid rock.

But when these are in position and the tearing down of a mountain has been fairly commenced, all his efforts may be paralyzed, and his steam shovels and diamond drills compelled to remain idle, because of the attacks of an unseen foe, such as the bacillus of typhoid fever, the parasite of malarial fever, or the unrecognized germ of yellow fever.

The laborers upon the isthmian canal will be exposed to the ravages of all these infectious diseases; and it may be confidently asserted that each one of them will claim numerous victims, unless the proper measures of protection are enforced. It is well known that the prevalence of typhoid fever depends, to a large extent, upon the quality of the water supply, and that, when there is any possibility that this may be contaminated, the simple and obvious method of prevention is to sterilize all drinking-water. This is best accomplished by heat; but it is not sufficient to give directions that all water used for drinking must be boiled. There must be some one to see that a sufficient supply of sterilized water, properly cooled, is always available, and that none other is used. We cannot depend upon precept alone, when it is a question of protecting soldiers or laborers from the invisible foes which surround them. They are accustomed to judging of the purity of water by its taste and appearance, and to drinking any water at hand when they are thirsty.

The question of water supply must therefore not be left to indi-

vidual judgment. No doubt, it will usually be practicable to bring an ample supply of pure water in pipes, from springs or mountain streams, to the places along the line of the canal where it is needed, and this will be best and cheapest in the long run. But it will not do to trust to sub-contractors to do this, or to carry out other necessary sanitary measures. It should be one of the principal functions of the general sanitary service, under government control, to provide a pure water supply for the entire line of the canal, and it should be expected that considerable sums of money will be required for this important work. A pure water supply should be insured before laborers are sent to any particular section of the line to commence work; and, at the same time, provision should be made for the safe disposition of human excreta, either by sewers, cremation or burial in deep pits properly located and systematically disinfected. The disastrous effects of a failure to do this are illustrated by the prevalence of typhoid fever in nearly all of our improvised camps during the earlier months of the Spanish-American war.

I had pointed out in a circular dated April 25th, 1898, the dangers to be apprehended and the proper means of prevention; but the officers and enlisted men of our hastily assembled volunteer army paid little attention to these admonitions, and the Surgeon-General of the army has no power for the enforcement of sanitary regulations. If we are again called upon to assemble hastily a large array of undisciplined troops, we may expect a repetition of our unfortunate experiences, unless we provide in advance for suitable camping grounds, supplied with an abundance of pure water, and with necessary facilities for the prompt and safe disposal of excreta.

In my paper on "Sanitary Lessons of the War," read at the meeting of the American Medical Association at Columbus, Ohio, June 6th, 1899, I called attention to this matter, and insisted upon the importance of providing such camping grounds in which to assemble our troops, in case another similar emergency should arise. In this paper I said:

"Want of discipline and experience on the part of officers and enlisted men, together with the apparent emergency which caused them to be brought together in large camps in great haste, and before proper preparation could be made for their reception and the supply of their many wants, were the fundamental and, to a large extent, unavoidable

causes of the extension of typhoid fever in our camps. But the first step in the development of an epidemic of an infectious disease is the introduction of the specific germ to which it is due. Unfortunately, typhoid fever is endemic in nearly all parts of the United States; and, when a thousand men are brought together from any section, there is a fair chance that one or more of them are already infected with this disease. Unless these cases are recognized at the very outset the camp site is liable to be contaminated by typhoid excreta, and the bacilli, through the agency of flies, or in a desiccated condition carried by the wind, effect a lodgement upon food being prepared in the company kitchens, and thus find their way to the alimentary tract of susceptible individuals.

"The attention of the profession has been largely attracted to the propagation of this disease through contamination of the water supply and to the distribution of typhoid bacilli by the milkman, and there has perhaps been a tendency to overlook other modes of infection, which, in the absence of sewers and under conditions such as existed in our camps during the first months of the war with Spain, were even more important. It is evident that one or two unrecognized cases might be sufficient to inaugurate an epidemic in a regimental camp which has been occupied for a period of a month or more. In many cases, it was brought to our large camps from the State camps where the regiments were mustered into service. . . .

"The value of the aphorism, 'In time of peace prepare for war,' has received additional support. This preparation should include a corps of trained medical officers larger than is absolutely necessary for the army on a peace basis, and systematic instruction in military medicine and hygiene for the medical officers of the National Guard, as well as for those of the Regular Army; also instruction of line-officers in the elements of hygiene, and especially in camp sanitation. It should also include the establishment of camping grounds in various parts of the country, having an ample supply of pure water, a proper system of sewers, etc. If our volunteers could have been assembled in such camps during the late war, a saving in lives and money would have resulted, which would, without doubt, have demonstrated the economy of such a preparation for war in time of peace."

The conditions under which laborers must live, while engaged in the work of excavating an isthmian canal, are in many respects similar to those under which our soldiers were assembled in camps of instruction during the Spanish-American war, with the added dangers due to a tropical environment. If questions relating to water supply and sewerage are postponed until after the laborers are assembled in the localities where the work is to be done, defilement of the camp site and contamination of the local water supplies will almost certainly occur. The ignorance and reckless-

ness with reference to sanitary matters of the average soldier, sailor and laborer have been demonstrated by sad experience; and the inexorable laws of nature will inevitably cause the same disastrous results in the future as in the past, unless we take advantage of the light shed by science upon the cause and prevention of those fatal epidemic diseases which during past centuries have scourged the human race. To ignore the teachings of sanitary science, at the outset of the twentieth century, would be both criminal and disgraceful. In tropical and semi-tropical regions, neglect of sanitary police and contamination of the water supply are the common causes of other infectious maladies which may even exceed typhoid fever in the numbers of their victims. Among these we may mention especially tropical dysentery, chronic diarrhœa, and the disorders due to various intestinal parasites. This whole group of diseases may be avoided if no food or drink is taken which contains the germs or ova which give rise to them.

But how about the so-called "climatic diseases"? Can these be avoided? Certainly they can; for, as a matter of fact, no infectious diseases are directly due to climatic influences, although climate has much to do with the prevalence of some of these diseases when the germs to which they are due are introduced to a given locality. Thus malarial fever and yellow fever prevail only where climatic conditions are favorable for the propagation of the species of mosquitoes by which the parasites to which these diseases are due are transmitted from man to man. Mosquitoes cannot multiply unless they can find water in which to deposit their eggs, and in which their larvæ can thrive. They lose their activity and soon die when exposed to a temperature below the freezing point. Therefore, malarial fever and yellow fever are diseases of tropical and semi-tropical regions, or of the summer months in the temperate zone; and they do not prevail in elevated and arid regions, even in the tropics.

I shall not attempt in this paper to present the evidence which justifies the assertion that malarial fever and yellow fever are contracted through "bites" of mosquitoes. The scientific demonstration that this is a fact is complete, and is accepted by well-informed physicians in all parts of the world. This knowledge has been gained so recently, however, that the public, generally, and many men of science whose studies have been in other

fields of investigation, are not fully convinced that their preconceived notions with reference to the etiology of these diseases are wrong. I may say to these persons, in brief, that we know the malarial parasite, which differs somewhat in different types of malarial fever, as well as the ornithologist knows his birds, or the farmer different kinds of grain which he sows. We know the different stages of its development in man and in the bodies of infected mosquitoes; we recognize it in the blood of patients, and unhesitatingly found our diagnosis upon the result of a microscopical examination of such blood. Finally, it has been proved that persons may remain indefinitely in the most intensely malarious regions, such as the Roman Campagna, without contracting malarial fever, if they are protected from the bites of mosquitoes by gauze mosquito-netting. The climate of itself is not only harmless, but salubrious. We may safely say the same of the climate of the Isthmus of Panama. If we can protect the laborers on the isthmian canal from the bites of mosquitoes, they will enjoy an entire immunity from the deadly infectious maladies which have been the scourge of the coast regions of the Caribbean Sea, the Gulf of Mexico, and the West Indies for centuries.

But how is this to be accomplished? A man cannot work under a mosquito bar. No; but he can sleep under one, and he should be compelled to do so when his health is a matter of prime importance to his employer. It has long been known that "exposure to the night air" in malarious regions is especially dangerous, and now we know the reason. Mosquitoes seek their food mostly at night; and man, when not protected by a mosquito bar, is especially exposed to their attacks while he is asleep. That sleeping under a mosquito bar affords a certain amount of protection from attacks of malarial fever, has been repeatedly reported by travellers in tropical regions, but the explanation of this alleged fact is of recent date.

We have recent evidence that a properly conducted war upon the mosquito, and especially upon its breeding places, may lead to notable results in diminishing the numbers of the pestiferous insect. Witness the success obtained by Major Gorgas, Surgeon, U. S. A., during the summer of 1901, in restricting the prevalence of yellow fever in Havana, by making war upon the mosquito, which has been proved by Major Reed and his associates to be the active agent in transmitting this disease from man to man. As

another instance of what may be accomplished by intelligent efforts and a reasonable amount of money, I call attention to the work done by Mr. Henry Clay Weeks on Centre Island and its vicinity.*

It has long been known that excavating the soil in so-called "malarious regions" is very likely to be followed by a serious outbreak of malarial fever, or sometimes of yellow fever. This we can now understand. Such excavations lead to the formation of pools of rain-water, which afford the best possible breeding places for mosquitoes. As pointed out by Mr. Weeks, the two principal methods of fighting mosquitoes out-of-doors consist in drainage and the use of petroleum. All pools of standing water are to be done away with by drainage, if possible. If not, the surface is to be covered by a film of petroleum, which quickly destroys the larvæ of the mosquito when they come to the surface to breathe, which is necessary for their existence. What has been undertaken in a small way on Centre Island should be carried out, with all the energy and resources that money and competent supervision can command, along the line of the isthmian canal. Let us remember that we are undertaking this great work at the beginning of the twentieth century, and that the means of preserving the health of those employed are as important for the success of the enterprise as the perfection of the steam ploughs and diamond-pointed drills which will be used.

In the army, we have a well-trained medical corps, every member of which realizes that the preservation of the health of our soldiers is a more important matter, even, than the treatment of the sick and wounded. To aid in this work, we have a body of trained enlisted men—the Hospital Corps—equal to about four per cent. of the enlisted strength of the army. The army of laborers which will be sent to the isthmus will require a sanitary corps having a personnel at least as great in proportion to the number employed as is provided for our army in the Philippines. At the head of this sanitary service, we should have a man fully informed as to the sanitary problems which are to be encountered and the best methods of meeting them, and also of demonstrated executive ability. Under him should be sanitary engineers, expert sanitary inspectors, and a corps of intelligent men employed especially for the sanitary service. He should be given the neces-

* See the *Century Magazine* for July, 1902, p. 424.

sary money and autocratic power for the execution of sanitary measures for the protection of the health of the employees engaged in the construction of the canal. He should also have general direction of the medical service, including the establishment of hospitals at properly located points, the purchase of medical supplies, etc. He should select the medical staff for service at these hospitals and at the various camps or stations where the work is in progress. The physicians at these stations should be required to make frequent inspections of the employees, for the purpose of placing upon sick-report or in hospital any man who has fever or dysentery, or any other symptom indicating that he is unfit to work. Rest, suitable diet, and proper medication will often restore such persons to perfect health in a short time. But if left to their own devices, soldiers and laborers often fail to report for treatment in the early stages of a serious malady, when treatment would be most efficacious, and not only endanger their own chances of recovery, but, in the case of certain infectious diseases, place their comrades in danger.

It is in this way that epidemics often have their origin. Mild and unrecognized cases of typhoid fever, of yellow fever, or of cholera are more dangerous, from a sanitary point of view, than severe and fatal cases which are promptly recognized and properly cared for. Careful sanitary supervision is therefore essential; it is, moreover, economical in the interest of the canal and of the government which has undertaken to construct it, as well as of those who are engaged in the actual work of excavation.

In the army, for military reasons, the medical department is not given any direct authority for the execution of sanitary measures outside of the general and post hospitals, which are under the direct command of medical officers. The commanding officer of a camp or of a military post is responsible for the execution of necessary measures which may be recommended by the Surgeon-General of the army, or by the surgeon of his command, or which may be required by army regulations and general orders from the War Department. In carrying out these sanitary measures the medical department has only an advisory function. An officer of the line, or of the engineer corps, or of the Quartermaster's department, is detailed, with enlisted men or civilian employees to assist him, to dig the sewer, or lay the water pipes, or drain the swamp, etc.; and the general sanitary police of the post or

camp is maintained by a detail of enlisted men, or by a squad of general prisoners under the direction of a "police sergeant," or in some cases by civilian employees engaged for this special service. Whether this method is best for the army has been seriously questioned; and it is contended by some medical officers that better results would be obtained if more authority were given to the medical officers, and they were made responsible for the carrying out of necessary sanitary measures, and not simply for making suitable recommendations. However this may be, there can be no question that the sanitary service on the line of the isthmian canal should be under one head, and that the carrying out of measures for the prevention of disease and the care of the sick should be placed in the hands of a competent "medical director," having an efficient staff and full power to act in accordance with his best judgment for the accomplishment of the desired results.

The cost of such a sanitary service would not be inconsiderable, but it would not be great when considered in connection with the magnitude and importance of the work; and I do not hesitate to affirm that, from an economic point of view, such a sanitary service as I have indicated would greatly reduce the cost of constructing the canal, and would shorten the time required for its completion.

A single epidemic of yellow fever occurring among the employees along the line of the canal, at a time when the work was being actively prosecuted, would, without doubt, be more expensive than the cost of an efficient sanitary service during the entire period of construction.

GEO. M. STERNBERG.

THE NAVY'S GREATEST NEED.

BY LIEUTENANT-COMMANDER ROY C. SMITH, U. S. N., GOLD-MEDAL-LIST, U. S. NAVAL INSTITUTE.

FOR some reason the navy's most pressing need at this moment is scarcely known to the people. It may be worth while to inquire how this may be the case. To make a clear presentation, certain premises will have to be assumed as a starting point. The first one is, that the people are interested in the navy, believing that it is essential to our national welfare, and that, while they do not advocate that it shall be stronger than that of any other nation, still they are of the opinion that it should be of adequate strength, up to date in its construction, and efficient. Another premise is that they believe that all necessary steps have been, or are being, taken to bring about in course of time a result that shall be satisfactory from the view-point of the earlier premise.

Now, these two premises may not be universally accepted. There are, of course, people who will deny either, or both. But it is necessary to have some groundwork to build on, and it is the belief of the writer that the premises express with sufficient accuracy the ideas of the mass of the people. The first is in reality almost self-evident, and needs scarcely more than a statement to ensure its acceptance. The interest in the navy has always been apparent, but especially so since the Spanish war, in which its preparedness and success seemed to commend it to the people. As to its being essential to the national welfare, there can be no doubt. Very few people desire war, but they want to be ready for it, if it has to come; and the mere fact of being ready for it will often prevent it. Moreover, the navy will have to bear the brunt of the next war. The army would come in for first place only in the event of operations against Canada or Mexico, both remote possibilities; whereas in any other conflict the navy would

necessarily be the main reliance. Of course, the term "adequate strength" is a little elastic; but it does not imply, for instance, that this country may some day have to struggle against any Power or combination of Powers for its very existence as a nation, which is the theory underlying the naval strength of Great Britain, a nation dependent even for its food supplies on other countries. Adequate strength with us would mean a power sufficient to uphold our treaty rights and maintain the Monroe Doctrine if necessary. This doctrine, by the way, gives us no definite rights; it is nothing more than a declaration of our intentions; and the weight it carries abroad is in exact proportion to our apparent ability to uphold it. As to the material of the navy, naturally the people will not be satisfied with anything short of the best in ships, guns, machinery, and armor. It has been a maxim with us since our earliest naval history to produce ships which, class for class, shall be just a little more powerful than those of a possible enemy. And the efficiency of these ships, once built, will depend on the skill, courage, discipline, and training of the crews, qualities in which American crews have never been deficient.

The evidences to justify the second premise are manifold. In nineteen years a modern steel navy has been erected out of actually nothing. Prior to 1883, ships, guns, and armor of the present type could not be built or manufactured in this country. Now the navy comprises nearly every possible type of construction; and, owing to a widespread interest and a strong national feeling, nearly every session of Congress sees the addition of several vessels of types suitable to round out the total aggregate of naval strength. The vessels as authorized are in course of time launched, with a fair sponsor, and are eventually commissioned; they are presented with a piece of bronze, or a library, or a silver service, by the cities or States after which they are named, and they then take their place in the fleet and begin a conscientious training of their crews, winter and summer, to the end that every quality of structure, armament, and machinery shall be capable of its highest efficiency. The press keeps the people informed of the movements of the fleet and prints full accounts of target practice and manoeuvers, with the general result that almost everybody knows something about the navy, where the ships are, and how we rank with reference to other Powers.

Hence, up to this point, everything seems as satisfactory as

possible. There is, however, something that has not been considered at all; and it is as important as, or more important than, all that has been mentioned. This is a curious state of affairs, and yet, too, it is capable of explanation, in a way. There is something in the word "navy" that is partly responsible for it. The first idea, and often the only idea, suggested by that word is of an aggregation of ships, usually under way, with smoke issuing, with guns and turrets prominent, and small vessels and torpedo-boats cruising in and out among the battle-ships. Now to establish a comparison, consider the word "army." At once there comes into the mind a picture of men and horses, with accompaniments of waving plumes and bright trappings, rifles, bayonets and artillery. Perhaps a battle presents itself, with all this mass in action. In either event, the prominent idea is that of living beings. In regard to the navy, as we saw, the idea is that of ships. The ships, however, without living beings to direct and control them, would be of no more use than stacked rifles and parked artillery. The navy, then, needs men, as well as ships, a fact which most people probably scarcely ever think of, or if they do think of it, they suppose the officers and men are provided in some way as need is found for their services. But this is not the case; there can be no crews for the new ships unless something is done to provide them; and here is the most crying need of the navy at the present moment, one in comparison with which the question whether we authorize three or six ships, or none at all, at any session of Congress is now actually insignificant, a question too of the very greatest concern to everybody, and one less likely to be fully considered from the very fact that the need is so little known.

These statements perhaps seem exaggerated. They are not so in reality. They are no stronger than the facts of the case warrant. They are borne out by the simplest kind of figuring. To state the case briefly, before giving the details, the number of officers and men in the navy is limited by law. While the tonnage of the navy has doubled and trebled, the number of sea-going officers has not been increased at all, and that of the enlisted men only to a limited extent. Each session of Congress, as a rule, sees an increase in the tonnage: the increases in the men have come at rare intervals and on strong presentation by the Navy Department; whereas there has been no increase of officers.

Nominally, the personnel act of 1899 made a slight increase, but the vacancies thus created, owing to a lack of graduates, have never been filled. To give an illustration from commercial life, suppose that a line of ocean steamers has ten vessels in its service, all suitably manned, and that it gradually increases its fleet to thirty vessels; but that, from some cause not entirely clear, as each new steamer is added, its officers and men are drawn from the older ships without any increase of the total number. How far could this method be pursued, and would the passengers be satisfied with the results? Naturally, there must be some sort of logical relation between tonnage and men, in the navy as in the merchant service. An effort will be made to find this relation, and to suggest a ready means of putting it in effect.

The case of the enlisted men will be considered first. To do this, it is not necessary to resort to a mass of figures. The significant fact is that with the present enlisted force the ships already finished cannot all be commissioned. When a new ship is ready for her crew, one or more of the older ships must be laid up. The report of the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation for last year (1901) contains a very temperate and convincing statement of the needs of the navy at that time. It showed that, at a low estimate, an increase of 3,000 men was needed for that year. These men were provided for at the session of Congress just ended. They bring up the total of authorized enlisted men and boys to 28,000. Now, this estimate is very low. It was only thought to be temporarily adequate because it was expected that a number of ships would be out of commission or laid up for repairs. But in order to be perfectly conservative and to avoid any possible exaggeration, this number will be assumed as expressing the proper relation of men to tons of shipping then completed. An examination of the Navy Register for January 1, 1902, shows that the total completed tonnage of the navy was at that time 481,967 tons. Now, bearing in mind that the allowance of men was assumed for the vessels then in serviceable condition, it will be seen that by taking the total tonnage, none excepted, the ratio to be arrived at will be at the lowest admissible figure. The above figures, that is 28,000 men and 481,967 tons, give a ratio in round numbers of 60 men per 1,000 tons of shipping. This then will be taken as the logical ratio of men to tons. If the legal authorized strength falls below this ratio, then a great risk is

being assumed, and also the people of the country are being unfairly treated. As has been stated, they believe that all needed steps are being taken to make the navy efficient; and should they find it deficient in men, they will have a right to feel that their interests have not been properly cared for.

In the above argument it has been assumed that, having the ships, and authority to enlist the men, all that will be needed will be simply to enlist them. This is only partially true. Plenty of men may be enlisted, but not always of the sort needed. The available sea-faring population of the country is in no way equal to supplying the demand for naval recruits. It was so equal at one time, but with the decline of shipping and the added circumstance that a merchant sailor is almost as ignorant aboard a battle-ship as a landsman, it is easily seen that some other source of supply must be drawn on to fill out the quotas. There are two such sources, the youth of the country, who may enter the navy as apprentices and undergo training during minority, and the young men of the country, especially those from the interior, in unlimited numbers. The latter are forming an extremely satisfactory element in the new navy, but it takes time to train them. It is quite evident that they cannot be of much use immediately on entering; but the time it takes to build a ship is always available to enlist and train her crew. All that is needed is the authority of law to enlist them. A point has now been reached where the one thing needful to be done seems apparent. If the authorization to build a new ship should carry with it the authorization to enlist and train a crew for her, the problem would be solved for all time. In practice this would resolve itself into ascertaining the completed and authorized tonnage at the beginning of each fiscal year and then enlisting the additional men needed, not to exceed 60 men for every 1,000 tons of shipping. The total tons for any one year would be the total for the previous year increased by the new tonnage authorized and diminished by the tonnage stricken from the list.

The completed and authorized tonnage by the last Navy Register, January, 1902, was in round numbers 750,000 tons. This will require, when all the vessels shall have been finished, an enlisted force of 45,000 men and boys. In the meantime, to ensure that efficient crews shall be ready to man the completed ships, what is needed now is that the Secretary of the Navy shall have

power to enlist men and train them as needed, not to exceed the ratio as above determined.

In the above estimates no account is taken of the large fleet of auxiliaries that will have to be impressed into service in time of war. The present small bodies of State naval militia will help to some extent in manning the inner line of defence. In addition, there should be a strong national reserve for use in time of war either on the inner line, aboard the auxiliaries, or to fill the war complements of ships of the navy.

The problem of officers is far more serious for a variety of reasons—among them that, while the enlisted force has been increased by small numbers from time to time, the sea-going officers have not been increased at all since the days of wooden steamers, and that, while a good man-of-war's man can be made in a cruise, it takes a dozen years beginning at boyhood to make an efficient lieutenant. In the report of the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, already referred to, it is shown that 1,026 additional line officers will be needed by the time all the ships then authorized shall be finished, and the estimate is stated to be at least 30 per cent. smaller than the practice abroad for ships in commission. As the navy then consisted of 1,042 line officers, counting the cadets doing sea duty, it meant that the number of officers would have had to be *doubled* in about three years from that time, or in two years from now. The 1,042 officers then on the list had been in training anywhere from four to forty-eight years. In the next two years an equal number must be added to the list to bring up the total strength to a minimum of efficiency! The problem is an impossible one. It means that there has been great short-sightedness in the past, but with that we are not now concerned. For the future, while 1,026 trained officers cannot be provided in two years, still something may be done, and it should be done at once; for every year of delay means the chance of national humiliation, which may however possibly be avoided by acting now. From the figures quoted, that is 2,068 officers and 750,000 tons of shipping,—and as in the case of the enlisted men, they are an exceedingly moderate estimate, made by considering the individual ships and the practice of foreign nations,—the proper ratio of line officers to tons of shipping is seen to be about 3 officers per 1,000 tons. This does not mean that all the officers are required for sea duty. There are some technical duties in con-

nection with administration and the preparation of ships that will always require some officers to be ashore. Also, a small reserve will be needed to allow for sickness, leave, and the interchange of duties. The total figure quoted above, that is 2,068 officers, was made up of 1,479 officers, or 71 per cent., at sea; 425, or 21 per cent., on shore duty; and 164, or 8 per cent., as a reserve. The total, as has been seen, amounts to 3 officers per 1,000 tons, which ratio should be authorized by law, as has been recommended in the case of the enlisted men, 1 officer for every 20 men, 3 officers and 60 men for every 1,000 tons of completed and authorized shipping, the tonnage to be ascertained at the beginning of each fiscal year, and the quotas of officers and men to hold for that year. The above refers only to line officers, though the same reasoning applies equally to the staff corps.

As has been stated, it will be impossible to provide for these extra officers at once. There are two methods of procedure—one is to appoint a large number of officers directly from civil life, the other is to increase temporarily the Naval Academy appointments to the limit of the resources of that institution. The first method would give the quickest results, the second the best in the long run. The people do not need to be told of the fatal impolicy of appointing officers in the navy who are lacking in a previous thorough naval training. Some there are who would prove capable, but their number is so small as not seriously to affect the issue. If men are appointed without this previous naval training, untold harm may result; for though there is no mystery in the naval profession, it does require a certain amount of technical knowledge, and that of a kind difficult to acquire when the start is not made early in life. It is also possible to commission men who have risen from the ranks, as is done now in a few cases; but owing to the necessarily technical character of the examination, few applicants are successful, not enough to affect the question of supply.

Hence the most available and the only desirable remedy seems to be to increase the appointments to the Naval Academy. The strength of the cadet corps, prior to the session of Congress just ended, was one from each Congressional District, one from each Territory, one from the District of Columbia, and ten at large appointed by the President—total 371. Supposing that all these graduate, which they do not, and assuming the course to be four

years, this would mean about 93 graduates annually. Actually, this number must be reduced at least a fourth (a half is nearer the experience of the last ten years) to allow for failures during the course. The resulting number has not been enough heretofore to supply the annual waste in the present navy list, as witness 145 vacancies at the foot of the list on January 1st, 1902. With the new apportionment of Congressmen, taking effect next year, there will be twenty-nine more appointments, and the recent naval act, besides changing the title of cadets to midshipmen, gives the President an increase of five appointments, and each Senator one appointment, making a total of 495. But, as has been stated, the list of officers should be doubled in the next two years. Hence the appointments should have been doubled, merely to prevent falling behind. To get ahead they should be more than doubled.

Under the present law, an appointment is made every four years from each Congressional District, except the midshipman fail during the course, when his place is filled. Doubling the appointments would mean one every two years; or, in other words, as Congressmen are elected for two years, each Congressman would then have an appointment, instead of every other one, as now. Then the Presidential appointments could well be made ten annually, instead of fifteen every four years as now; and each Senator, under this rule, would appoint a midshipman to the Academy every two years, instead of every four years, as now. This arrangement would, as stated, probably keep the navy supplied after it shall have reached the strength deemed essential to officer the ships already authorized. But to reach that number as early as possible, and to provide for new ships as they shall be authorized, appointments should be made to Annapolis to the full capacity of the Academy. By considering one from each district every two years to be the normal rate, the Secretary of the Navy could be granted authority to designate the various districts in rotation for extra appointments until the standard ratio should be attained, that is 3 officers for every 1,000 tons of authorized shipping. When this ratio is reached the authority should lapse, and the normal ratio should again hold until a further increase should be needed.

It may be asked how this great expansion may be made without upsetting the existing grades of officers and the duties they are required to perform. The answer is that the addition will neces-

sarily be spread over a number of years. In an emergency, a graduate of the Naval Academy may be given deck duty at once. In the same way, the present older officers may be given any duty up to and including the highest. Between these two extremes a natural adjustment will readily shape itself. But as the total number of officers on the list will be variable each year, within the limit of 3 officers per 1,000 tons of shipping, the number in each grade cannot be fixed as now, but should be rather a percentage of the whole. Fortunately a basis for arriving at the desirable percentage in each grade exists in the carefully thought out report already referred to. For the then needs of the navy it was shown that there should be a grade of vice-admiral, and that the lieutenants and ensigns should be increased by 300 altogether, leaving the other grades as at present. The complete list would then stand as follows:

Admiral	1	
Vice-Admiral	4	(an increase of 4)
Rear-Admiral	14	(a decrease of 4)
Captain	70	
Commander	112	
Lieutenant-Commander	170	
Lieutenant	350	(an increase of 50)
Lieutenant, Junior Grade, and Ensign	600	(an increase of 250)
Total	1,321	(an increase of 300)

The above list is in accord with the present law except in the variations as noted. The total number in the higher grades is not changed at all, the increase coming in the lieutenants and junior officers, where it is most needed. All that is necessary now is to work out the percentages corresponding to the above numbers. The admiral may be exempted from the percentage rule, simply stipulating that there shall be one admiral and that the other grades shall be a percentage of the whole. The result is as follows:

Admiral (1)	
Vice-Admiral	0.3 per cent.
Rear-Admiral	1.1 per cent.
Captain	5.3 per cent.
Commander	8.5 per cent.
Lieutenant-Commander	12.9 per cent.
Lieutenant	26.5 per cent.
Lieutenant, Junior Grade, and Ensign	45.4 per cent.
Total	100.0

The steps in order, then, are, to make appointments to the Naval Academy every two years, instead of every four years as

now; and if the capacity of the Academy will permit, to authorize the Secretary of the Navy temporarily to increase the rate until there shall be 3 officers in the navy for every 1,000 tons of completed and authorized shipping; then, of the officers on the list at the beginning of each fiscal year, to specify that one shall be an admiral, and that the numbers in the other grades shall be percentages of the whole in accordance with the list as given. In this way all the grades will be slowly increased, but increased in precisely the proportion required for the proper performance of duty; and eventually, perhaps in a dozen or more years, there should be enough officers to fit out all the ships at the rate of 3 per 1,000 tons.

The problem is thus exceedingly serious. With everything that can be done to build up from the bottom, provided the most energetic means are at once adopted, the grades cannot be properly filled for a number of years. The present session of Congress authorized about 60,000 tons of shipping. This will require 180 additional line officers. Add 40 for waste during the year, and we have 220 in all. There should have been 220 graduates to supply this demand; there were actually 60!

To illustrate the case still further, it is possible to compute the appointments that should be made annually to bring the navy up to proper strength in ten years, counting from 1903, which is the earliest date at which new appointments can now be made. There are at present, completed and authorized, about 800,000 tons of shipping. The average annual increase since the Spanish war (in one year there was no increase authorized) has been 54,000 tons. This is by no means an excessive rate; but, to be conservative and to allow for possible diminutions, assume that 40,000 tons (two-thirds the current appropriation) will represent the annual increase up to 1913, making a total at that time of 1,240,000 tons. At the ratio as above given this would require 3,720 officers. There are now about 1,060 officers on the list, counting the midshipmen who have passed the four-years course and are at sea. Thus, there must be an increase of 2,660 officers all told. The annual waste is now by law about 4 per cent. Suppose all voluntary retirements stopped and the waste cut down to 3 per cent. The average list from now till 1913 would be 2,390, 3 per cent. of which is 72 annually, or about 790 in eleven years, which added to 2,660 makes 3,450, the number of graduates required

for the eleven years. There will be this coming year at the Academy 466 midshipmen (495 less 29 for the new apportionment not yet in effect). Suppose three-fourths of them graduate, say 350. This taken from the total number required as above, that is 3,450, leaves 3,100 to be appointed and graduated under the new law. As the first appointment cannot be made till 1903, the first graduation will not be until 1907, and there will be seven classes altogether, up to and including 1913. Hence 3,100 must be divided by 7, which gives 443 as the number of annual graduates. Assuming still that three-fourths of those appointed graduate, there must be 591 appointments annually, beginning right away, or as soon as Congress can act, in order to have the navy officered to the lowest estimate of efficiency by 1913. This would mean a midshipman battalion of about 2,000, instead of the present 500, roundly; or for the next ten years an appointment by each Senator and Representative, not every four years as now, but every year or oftener.

To say that this is a serious state of affairs does not reach the outskirts of the situation. It is nothing less than astounding; and it is worse, because the people are absolutely ignorant that such a condition exists. Are we to fall down helpless, or are we to accept the situation and stir ourselves to meet it? It can be met; there are no buildings or appliances now available at Annapolis to accommodate such large numbers, but several ships that are now laid up can be ordered there in reserve and made to answer until other means shall be provided. Surely, now that the truth about this matter has been made clear, the American people will not sit idle and see an institution in which they take a just pride exposed to the risk of a humiliation that will be national if it should come, all because they did not know that the navy was not receiving every proper attention.

Now, all of the above is based on printed official reports, but official reports have no circulation. It may be stated in conclusion that in foreign countries, notably in England, "Navy Leagues" of patriotic citizens exist to keep the people informed of the truth about the navy. No such organization exists in this country.

ROY C. SMITH.

THE CONTRADICTIONS OF LITERARY CRITICISM.

BY HERBERT CROMBIE HOWE, PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON.

THE fundamental aim of all intellectual education is to awaken the power of independent thinking, and to train the individual judgment. Upon this truism we must invariably fall back for comfort after any survey of the hopelessly contradictory tangle of modern criticism. Only one who has had to guide classes of advanced students through a critical study of the novelists, essayists, and poets of the nineteenth century can begin to conceive the absolute completeness of the contradictions which form the body of "accepted" critical opinion. A teacher, brought to a vivid realization of the fact that good authority may be brought against everything he says, finds it a little hard to shape his own course as a lecturer. Three possibilities are open to him. He may ignore the critics altogether, giving his own judgments only, and basing them exclusively on principles of his own formulation. It is safe to say that few pursue this course, which savors, certainly, of intellectual arrogance. Secondly, the lecturer may cite from the critics only such opinions as coincide with his own views. This is what is usually done, consciously or unconsciously, by university teachers. It gives a settled and final air to the critical *dicta* of the lecturer, and imparts to the student a satisfied feeling that he knows, at last, "what is truth" in this field. Thirdly, the lecturer may frankly admit that every point, without exception, in modern literary criticism is in dispute, and cite the weightiest authorities both *pro* and *con,* on every point he touches. There is no air of finality about this method. The lecturer may, it is true, weigh the evidence and the authorities and pronounce his own judgment. But he knows, and his students know, that an appeal

always lies to the next critic or lecturer. In effect, therefore, this method of teaching literature amounts simply to a clear and systematic statement of the critical problems. Perhaps a student of weak critical decision may be left merely agnostic by such a course. It is, however, the most thorough and honest method, and a reference to the pedagogical principle with which this paragraph begins must justify us to ourselves for following it. Given his thought, not as a categorical positive or negative, but frankly as a problem, with the authorities both for and against, and referred then to the author criticised, and to his own acumen for his decision, the student is at least forced to develop some power of independent literary judgment.

It will be easy to formulate, from a press-full of critical works, complete schedules of these contradictions—concerning the nature of poetry; the function and correct method of the novelist; the general standing of any notable author; the value of any of his larger works, the truth, sincerity, taste, and imaginative insight displayed therein; the truth and power of any given characterization; and each and every other point worthy of consideration. It has proved stimulating to lay such schedules before the student at the beginning of his study of every novelist from Scott to George Meredith, of every poet from Wordsworth to William Morris, and of every essayist from Carlyle and Macaulay to Matthew Arnold and Walter Pater. Now, is it wise that the debatable character of all recent criticism should be hidden from the many? Should he who runs as he reads be left to suppose that the exact rank, and, still more, the exact worth of Dickens and Thackeray, Tennyson and Browning are already forever and immutably weighed and determined? Suppose we invite one of these hasty devourers of the pabulum offered in the "literary column" of the newspaper to weigh and consider a few of the more fundamental, striking, or amusing contradictions which an hour's search among the "authorities" will bring to light.

Perhaps Tennyson will best serve for illustration, not because the critics are any more at variance about him than about his contemporaries, but because the innocent are rather more given to believe that his exact position in the zenith has been determined. Would it be supposed that, while, out of the books of his admirers, we could, after the usual fashion, select sentences which, taken collectively, would elevate Tennyson at least as high

as Shakespeare, we might also, with little more trouble, choose other sentences from the very same books which, taken collectively, would indicate his proper rank as somewhere below Pope? The fact is that every critic condemns something in this author; only what one condemns the others praise, and *vice versa*. The proof follows; and first as to individual poems:

Is "Maud" a poem great in conception and intellectual content?

YES.	NO.
"Every great poem then—and no poem can be great without intensity of feeling—is also a treasure-house of the intellectual powers, and can be studied, like a universe, from that point of view. 'Maud' is not one of the least of these."[1]	"'Maud' is scanty in theme, thin in treatment, poor in thought."[2]

Does "Maud" reach the truth of men and manners?

YES.	NO.
"No poem since Shakespeare seems to show equal power of the same kind, or equal knowledge of human nature."[3]	"Its characterizations are not happy."[4]
"The prose of Dickens and Thackeray did not more firmly grasp real and actual manners."[5]	"In 'Maud' . . . the author's personality less obviously interposes a false atmosphere between the reader and actual life. But the falsification nevertheless exists. . . ."[6]

Well, then, is "Maud" a thing of beauty and a joy forever?

YES.	NO.
"'Maud' is so beautiful a poem that the small regrets of criticism are as nothing in comparison with the large delights it gives."	"The pity of it was that this production appeared when Tennyson suddenly had become fashionable. . . . and to this day Tennyson is deemed, by many . . . an apostle of tinsel and affectation."[2]
"'Maud,' in its joy and sorrow alike, is the loveliest of Tennyson's longer poems."[1]	

It will be observed that Mr. Stopford Brooke is here most fully quoted in admiration of "Maud" (though it should be added that Mr. H. Buxton Forman is even more enthusiastic, only less concisely quotable), and that Mr. Stedman is most severe in his strictures. We may, however, reverse the position of these two

[1] Stopford Brooke, "Tennyson, His Art and Relation to Modern Life."
[2] Stedman, "Victorian Poets."
[3] B. Jowett, in "Tennyson, A Memoir."
[4] Saintsbury, "History of Nineteenth Century Literature."
[5] Taine, "History of English Literature."
[6] Gates, "Studies and Appreciations."

critical warriors by simply passing on to the "Idyls of the King." Let us, as a sufficiently fundamental question, ask these gentlemen:

Do the "Idyls of the King" display epic nobility of thought? Has Tennyson elevated and ennobled the old story told by Malory?

YES.

"It is the epic of chivalry,—*the Christian ideal of chivalry* which we have deduced from a barbaric source,—*our conception of what knighthood should be*, rather than what it really was; but so skilfully wrought of high imaginings, faery spells, fantastic legends, and mediæval splendors, that *the whole work*, suffused with the Tennysonian glamor of golden mist, seems like a chronicle illuminated by saintly hands, and often blazes with light like that which flashed from the holy wizard's book when the covers were unclasped."

NO.

"Malory's book, though Tennyson decries its morality, is more human, more moral than the 'Idyls of the King.' . . .

"First, the old story of Tristram and Isolt is entirely changed and degraded. . . . No one has a right to alter out of recognition two characters in one of the great poetic stories of the world, and to blacken them. . . .

"Geraint falls too low, and his fall has not sufficient motive. . . . While Enid sits in the room, Limours drinks and jests and tells loose tales. Geraint is pleased, and bursts into laughter! . . . What follows is worse. . . . *These vilenesses are added by Tennyson* to the Geraint of the old tale.

"The condition of society in the court and country set forth in 'Pelleas and Ettarre' and 'The Last Tournament' is incredibly bad. Rome in its decadence, France under the Regent, were not so wholly evil as Arthur's court. . . . The chief thing that appears is that chastity is impossible."

Upon this theme, indeed, Mr. Stopford Brooke waxes righteously indignant, and speaks warmly and at much more length. All lovers, too, of the Tristram story must feel that Tennyson's debasement of it cannot be too severely condemned. But let us ask of him who runs as he reads, if "vilenesses" are usually added by "saintly hands" to the chronicles they illuminate? And whether a state of society worse than "Rome in its decadence" is really our "Christian ideal of chivalry"? This is certainly a little bewildering, until one gets used to it.

Now, turning from this ethical dispute, we may justly ask a question or two concerning the artistic value of the "Idyls." First:

Do the "Idyls of the King," in form and substance, constitute an epic?

YES.	NO.
"The shape is no longer idyllic, and doubt no longer exists whether a successful epic can be written in a mature period of national literature. We have one here."[1]	"The 'Idyls' have not the coherence required in the books of an epic."[2] ". . . . It is not an epic. Its form forbids us to call it by that name."[3] "Arthur is not an epic hero, and . . . this poem cannot be called an epic."[4]

Having now decided on high authority that the "Idyls" are and are not an epic, there is perhaps only one more question we need ask about them.

Are the "Idyls of the King" Tennyson's greatest achievement?

YES.	NO.
"We come at last to Tennyson's master work."[5] "His finest thoughts and finest lines are here. They are his *magnum opus*, and on them his claim to fame rests."[6]	"If M. Taine's theory of a decadence in every artist and school of artists is to be applied in this case, the decadence period of Tennyson must be taken as commencing with 'The Idyls of the King.'"[7]

Then there is "In Memoriam." Surely all are agreed in praise of it? Let us inquire:

Is it a poem of profound thought and heart-felt emotion?

YES.	NO.
"It is the central poem of the century, not only in date, but in scope and character. In its complexity and inwardness, its passion pulsing through every vein of thought, . . ."[8]	". . . Cold and monotonous, and too prettily arranged. He goes into mourning, but, like a correct gentleman, with brand-new gloves, wipes away his tears with a cambric handkerchief, . . ."[9]

There is no repose here for the lover of authority. But, it may be said, at least all will praise Tennyson's shorter poems? We will consider one of them before examining the opinions as to his work in general. Probably, none is more read by the average man than "Enoch Arden."

Is "Enoch Arden" simply and tenderly written?

[1] Stedman, "Victorian Poets."
[2] Walker, "Age of Tennyson."
[3] and [4] Stopford Brooke, "Tennyson, His Art and Relation to Modern Life."
[5] Stedman, "Victorian Poets."
[6] W. J. Dawson, "Makers of Modern Poetry."
[7] H. Buxton Forman, "Our Living Poets."
[8] Vida Scudder, "The Light of the Spirit in the Modern English Poets."
[9] Taine, "History of English Literature."

YES.

"His similes in 'Enoch Arden,' he said, were all such as might have been used by simple fisher-folk, quoting this as one of the tenderest (he thought) he had written:

'She heard,
Heard and not heard him; as the village girl,
Who sets her pitcher underneath the spring,
Musing on him that used to fill it for her,
Hears and not hears, and lets it overflow.'"[1]

NO.

"Walter Bagehot has pointed out that in no single instance throughout the poem is Tennyson content to speak in the language of simplicity. The phrases are often happy, often expressive, but always stiff with an elaborate word chiselling. To express the very homely circumstance that Enoch Arden was a fisherman and sold fish, we are told that he vended 'ocean-spoil in ocean-smelling osier.'"[2]

Is the poem true to the realities of men's lives?

YES.

". . . Noticeable, finally, for the loveliness and fidelity of its *genre* scenes."[3]

"The atmosphere of a remote seaside hamlet, and of its life from day to day, is fully preserved and felt."[4]

NO.

"Never for a moment in 'Enoch Arden' is the reader brought into touch with real characters or with the real experiences of sailors. . . . The poem has none of the savor of fact. It is lyrically falsified from first to last. . . ."[5]

These statements are assuredly in rather violent opposition, and they might be almost indefinitely multiplied. One more, perhaps the most amusing of all the Tennyson contradictions, must be cited.

Is Enoch a type of the hardy English seaman?

YES.

"Enoch—to speak first of him—is the type of the 'able seamen' of England . . . the mainstay of our navies—a type which has lasted more than a thousand years. . . ."[4]

NO.

"He is a sentimental, soft-hearted dreamer . . . anæmic and semi-hysterical; . . ."[5]

Can it be that the men who sailed and fought under Drake and Hawkins and Nelson, and England's other naval heroes for a thousand years past, have been anæmic and semi-hysterical? Some one has blundered, surely! The temptation is great to continue the citation of these diverting opinions about Enoch, but space forbids. We may, however, for its connection with this

[1] Hallam Tennyson, "Tennyson. A Memoir."
[2] Dawson, "Makers of Modern Poetry."
[3] Stedman, Victorian Poets."
[4] Stopford Brooke, "Tennyson, His Art and Relation to Modern Life."
[5] Gates, "Studies and Appreciations."

poem, place here the first of our disputed questions in general Tennyson-lore.

Is Tennyson unfailing in his good taste?

YES.	NO.
"Let me conclude my remarks upon the Laureate's art with a reference to his unfailing taste and sense of the fitness of things. This is neatly exemplified in the openings and especially in the endings, of his idyls."[1]	"So past the strong heroic soul away. And when they buried him the little port Had seldom seen a *costlier* funeral."[2]

A number of critics have called attention to the curious lapse in taste which led Tennyson to add this totally superfluous postscript about the expense of Enoch's funeral, with its unfortunate effect of throwing the accumulated emphasis of the whole poem on that adjective "costlier." The lines themselves, however, are a more pointed comment on Mr. Stedman's particularized praise than anything the critics could say. It may be added that this is not the only instance in which Mr. Stedman has strikingly exemplified the maxim "*De gustibus.*" For, in considering the "Idyls of the King," he selects for his warmest praise—"there is nothing finer in modern verse . . . . nothing loftier"—the particular passage,

> "O golden hair with which I used to play
> Not knowing! . . ."

which Mr. Stopford Brooke frankly wishes expunged on grounds of taste, namely, that it is "too literal," "too much in the flesh."

The mere lack of space prevents the continuance of extended citation from the field of general criticism. It is the less to be regretted, however, as the contradictions in this domain are chiefly amplifications of opinions implied in the quotations already given. A few of the disputed points should be mentioned, however. First of all, Mr. Stopford Brooke puts his finger on simplicity as the fundamental characteristic of Tennyson and his poetry. The present writer, who had pondered and accepted Matthew Arnold's dictum (in the essay "On Translating Homer") long before Mr. Brooke's study came out, found this the final and severest shock to his reverence for critical authority; for it will be remembered that Mr. Arnold picked out the fundamental

[1] Stedman, "Victorian Poets."
[2] Concluding lines of "Enoch Arden."

and invariable lack of simplicity in Tennyson as the reason for not inviting him to translate Homer. Some of us had thought that, if nothing else was settled about Tennyson, at least nobody denied that "the very essential characteristic of his poetry is . . . . an extreme subtlety and curious elaborateness of expression." Indeed, there remain some whom Mr. Brooke cannot persuade into considering the case reopened.

Another critical antinomy is in the matter of Tennyson's sympathetic understanding of the humble and lowly. Mr. Stedman will have it, *apropos* of "Enoch Arden," that "in study of a class below him, hearts 'centred in the sphere of common duties,' the Laureate is unsurpassed." On the other hand, Dawson, Brooke, Gates and other critics insist upon his alienation from, indeed his aristocratic scorn and contempt for, "the plain people." One might, indeed, suggest that Mr. Stedman's phrase—"a class below him"—indicates at least a subconsciousness on his part that Tennyson was not in brotherly sympathy with the lowly. The poets of human life, whether we look to Burns or Wordsworth, Whittier or Riley, do not make one feel that they were studying a class below them. But this is undertaking a solution of one of these problems, a task which this paper aims at inducing the reader to undertake for himself.

We cannot leave the whole subject, however, without some inquiry into the means of bringing order out of that critical chaos, some little glimpse of which has here been afforded. How shall we determine "what is truth"? We take it for granted that we all believe there is truth here somewhere, if we may only possess ourselves of some means of recognizing it. Shall we simply apply to our own critical consciences for an ultimate decision in each case? Very good, only then no two will announce the same things as truth.

Suppose instead, then, we begin by criticising the critics. Let us, by patient research, determine the personal idiosyncrasy of each critic, and by discounting it work all these contradictions down into smiling agreement. No doubt, much may be accomplished in this way. Some critical biases are easily discernible. Mr. Stedman, for example, is always praising the "art" of an author like Tennyson. But when he particularizes his praise of this "art," he does so altogether in terms of metre, "sinuous alliterations, unique and varying breaks and pauses, the glory

of sound and color," and other such details of technique. But the one essential which makes any work "artistic," as opposed to "mechanical" or "photographic"—namely, what the painters call "composition," and the architects "design,"—does not enter, apparently, into Mr. Stedman's working conception of the "artistic" at all. This, of course, explains why he can say of Tennyson, whose deficiency in large, shaping constructiveness is so unmistakable, that, "as an artist in verse, Alfred Tennyson is the greatest of modern poets." It is this tendency, too, to look exclusively to the polish of the parts, rather than to their grouping in a large and masterly design, which led Mr. Stedman into his hasty proclamation of the "Idyls of the King" as not only Tennyson's masterpiece, but a true epic; an opinion very warmly opposed by the majority of critics, who affirm the "Idyls" to be, on the contrary, considered as a single poem, hopelessly incoherent. "A more lamentable state of things than this it is hard to imagine as the sober and well-considered plan of a great poet," is the opinion expressed by Mr. H. Buxton Forman, after a detailed study of the plot of the "Idyls." It is easy, then, after a thorough reading of Mr. Stedman, to translate his praises of Tennyson's artistic pre-eminence into the single definite phrase "metrical elegance," which, happily, Mr. Stedman himself once uses, and very justly, in speaking of Tennyson's 1832 volume.

The key to some critics is, however, not so easily found. And it must be expected that criticism of the critics will prove as full of debate and contradiction as the criticism of poets and novelists. At the best, this method of attack will probably only shift the scene of battle; while, at the worst, it may lead to "confusion worse confounded," and a mere multiplication of inextricable entanglements. What hope is left?

There is only one more chance,—let us out with it at once,—the systematic application, by some critic of synthetic genius, of the famed Hegelian method. The world still refuses, it is true, to accept, in entire seriousness of mind, the Hegelian postulate that human thought—which is always critical—has in all lines and in all times arrived at truth *via* contradiction. Nevertheless, the thorough-paced application of this maxim by its author to various fields of thought proved it to be one of the most practically illuminative forms assumed by the doctrine of evolution. Applied, for example, to the study of the Greek philosophers,

whose theories seem at first blush quite as chaotic as those of our recent literary critics, the Hegelian method did actually produce therein the semblance of an orderly evolution of thought. There is, then, hope that, if this method should be applied to our literary critics with all the patience, intelligence, and comprehensiveness exercised by its author, we might here also lay hold of some clue which would lead us through these very contradictions to the beauty and fullness of truth. But, until the arrival of this new Hegel, we must look for our only comfort to the educational theorem with which this paper opens.

HERBERT CROMBIE HOWE.

THE MANAGEMENT AND USES OF EXPOSITIONS.

BY GEORGE FREDERICK KUNZ.

SIX expositions, each significant of new and important developments in art and industry, have been in progress this summer, in Turin, Düsseldorf, Frankfort, Karlsruhe, Bruges and Krefeld. The best interests of civilization will be advanced by each of these enterprises. In proportion as expositions, international, national and local, are conducted on proper principles—radically different from those heretofore in vogue in the United States—they benefit the public as well as the exhibitors and concessionnaires, not to speak of the contractors and creditors, who, in our country, have occupied a position peculiarly unprotected and not infrequently painful.

In Turin, the capital of Piedmont, a beautiful city of more than 300,000 inhabitants, the first International Exhibition of Modern Decorative Art has been in progress. In no country might a nobler or more lavish display have been made; yet so clearly were the purposes of the Exposition defined that neither reproductions of styles already known, nor simple industrial productions lacking an artistic stamp, were admitted. The United States, thanks to its æsthetic revival in architecture and house decoration, was able to make a most gratifying showing in the very midst of the loftiest ideals of the mistress of ancient art.

Most modern expositions, when international, represent all classes of industries and become so unwieldy that it requires long study to grasp even a part of their exhibits; and the great expense of their administration generally results in heavy loss to the exposition companies. Unlike these, the Turin Exposition was devoted entirely to modern decorative art, with a section of fine arts added. Thanks to this specialization, the achievements of

the various European countries, of the United States and of the various Italian States, in this direction, were susceptible of careful study within two days. That astonishing and intensely interesting development of our time, whose ultimate conceptions we cannot now surmise, *l'Art Moderne,* found fitting expression in the exposition buildings themselves in beautiful Valentino Park, on the banks of the River Po. The panorama was most impressive. On the left stretched an arc of lovely hills, including Superga, with the royal burial church of the house of Savoy; on the right, the crescent of the permanently snow-clad Alps.

The King and Queen and the entire Italian Court have shown the most kindly attitude toward the Exposition, which is partly due to the fact that both King Victor Emanuel III. and the Duke d' Aosta, his brother, are men of remarkable intelligence, desirous of learning and taking a personal, friendly interest in everything that pertains to the advancement of art and industry in Italy. Many European countries, including France, were more than friendly, although the French exhibit in its early stages was not what it should have been, which fact was attributed to dissensions among the members of the French committee.

The disciples of the new art never had a better opportunity to show their devotion to the cause, as the entire Exposition was devoted to their work. Walter Crane of England, Mackintosh of Scotland, Bing of France and Sacher of Holland were represented, as well as other exponents of the art from Russia, Hungary, Austria and Sweden. Austria was the only country that decided on a pavilion of its own, which was entirely constructed on the new art principles.

Probably no exhibition has been made abroad by the United States in which the pecuniary value of the exhibits amounted to less, excepting those of Tiffany & Co., Tiffany Glass Co., Graham Co., Rockwood, Taft and Belknap. The exhibits were, however, pleasing even to an American, as they were original designs growing out of the new movement in industrial, decorative and architectural art in the United States. Our greatest architects furnished drawings of our modern buildings, and our decorators exhibited completely appointed rooms showing the American methods of decoration. The results thus achieved, largely through the disinterested efforts of General L. Palma di Cesnola, director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New

York, organizer and president of the American Commission, will undoubtedly be far-reaching.

The Exposition will greatly benefit Italy, as each province made its own exhibit; and, instead of hackneyed reproductions of the Roman and the Renaissance periods, there were presented new creations and new studies. The interchange of ideas between the members of the various Exposition boards will also do much for that country.

Specialization, which must, it seems to me, be more and more the distinguishing characteristic of successful expositions, as it is indeed of contemporary life, has been carried out effectively in Turin. The decorative whole was the ideal aimed at. In the Modern House and its Decorative Elements, for example, were grouped oil or frescoed sketches of ceilings, friezes, etc.; the friezes and panels themselves, of stone, metal, plaster, etc.; doors, windows, chimney-pieces; vases, bricks, tiles; stained and decorative glass; pavements and mosaics in general; artistic hangings; laces, embroideries, linens, wall papers, leather work; basket work; arms and their accessories; warming apparatus; lighting apparatus; furniture; silver, jewelry, enamels; decorative plates, seals, plaquettes; posters, prints and the products of the bookbinder's craft. Here was not only art, but artistic completeness. In the same way, the Modern Room included, in its artistic whole, pavements, walls, ceilings, furniture and accessories. In its decorative whole, the Modern House and Street comprised plans of buildings and of their parts; plans of streets, squares, bridges and porches; and, for the exterior, decorative designs for railings, balustrades, posts, door-knobs, door-handles, fountains, sconces, lanterns, benches, house-fronts and summer-houses. Here was a triumph of detail, which might be called a definition of art itself.

At Düsseldorf, the home of the powerful Kunstverein of Rhineland and Westphalia, the National and Historical Exhibition of German Art has been both beautiful and instructive. When one recalls the vital initiative given to art study and art collection in the United States only twenty-six years ago by the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, one may understand what the Kunstverein has been able to do for German Art since its foundation in 1829. Since 1880, when there was a similar exhibition in Düsseldorf, the population of Rhineland and West-

phalia has grown from 5,700,000 to 9,000,000, and the city of Düsseldorf from 80,000 to 250,000 inhabitants. Every trade, art and industry on the Rhine banks has been highly organized. Under the auspices of the Künstlerschaft, Düsseldorf has again witnessed the assembling of a wonderfully varied and rich collection of art objects—oil paintings, aquarelles, pastels, plastiques, illustrations of architecture and photographic reproductions of historic minsters. Here also were seen for the first time a representative array of their gold and silver reliquaries, monstrances, crosses, images, shrines, statuettes, altar-pieces, altars, embroideries, goblets and books of hours. The priceless treasures of the cathedrals and cloisters in the Rhine Valley were here assembled and viewed for the first time. Not even the famous ring of the Holy Elizabeth of Wagner's Tannhäuser was forgotten. The whole was under the auspices of the Crown Prince of Prussia and of the German Empire. The popularity of this exposition was proven by the attendance of 1,000,000 visitors in a single week in July.

The practical results of such exhibitions and of the organization which makes them possible are thoroughly understood in Germany. At Frankfort on the Main this summer's exposition has been devoted to a splendid gathering of groups or collections of art antiques, chiefly mediæval. Private collectors all over the Empire were glad of an opportunity of helping the national movement by lending their treasures, objects of art often unique and priceless, and not to be found in any national or public museum: carved, inlaid and gilded furniture; figures in wood; bronzes; gold and gold-and-silver vessels, chalices, fonts, etc.; iron hammers, chests and helms; medals and plaques; ivory objects; paintings and enamels; carved rock-crystals, majolica, glass, stone and horn ware; textiles, medallions, manuscripts and books of hours. No one could form an idea of the riches of the private collections of Germany until this assemblage or exhibition of collections was made, by the generosity of their owners, in April at Frankfort. Nor is it to be forgotten that such an assembling of the treasures of private collections results frequently in their ultimate donation to some noble public purpose, or their absorption in some larger collection. When the Municipal Art Society of Baltimore, a city of historic and artistic distinction in the United States, recently held on a modest scale an ex-

position of this description, many of the treasures of private collectors were for the first time revealed to Baltimoreans. Most instructive and valuable was the exhibit of the original manuscript of "The Star Spangled Banner," the first proof of it from the printing press, the portrait, by Peale, of Francis Scott Key, its author, and of other historical souvenirs of this famous song. Here were lessons in history for all Americans, such as no books nor orations could furnish. The ladies of Baltimore went to the wealthy and modest collectors of the Monumental City and solicited the loan of their treasures. For the first time Baltimore held an exhibition without calling on the collection of Mr. W. T. Walters, now owned and admirably administered by his son, Mr. Henry Walters, and always so generously shown. The son is widely recognized as a worthy successor to his father, whose generous traditions he inherits. It was the elder Walters who discovered the French sculptor, Barye, whose portrait by Bonnat is a feature of the Walters gallery, as is Mr. Walters's own portrait by the same hand, and Bonnat's portrait of himself. When there was talk of the purchase for America of the Oriental art objects exhibited at the Centennial in 1876, Mr. Walters could truthfully say, "I have no competitor." There were few collectors, indeed, in this country, and almost no museums or artistic homes in which to house such collections appropriately.

This year's exhibition at Karlsruhe has been a Jubilee Art Exposition in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of the accession of the Grand Duke. What the Düsseldorf Fair did for Rhineland and Westphalia, Karlsruhe has done for Baden. There has been a most interesting and instructive showing of the fine and industrial arts, especially of *l'Art Moderne.* Here have been assembled the works of the men who are doing the new art work in South Germany.

At Krefeld, in the Kaiser Wilhelm Museum, a *Farbenschau,* or Color Scheme, the first of its kind in Germany, has been exhibited under the direction of Dr. Dencken, who has supervised many exhibitions of the useful arts. Primarily intended to develop and train the color sense, the Krefeld Fair afforded an opportunity for the assemblage of a collection of objects in gorgeously beautiful colors. There were eighty tables upon which were arranged the silks, velvets, stuffs, precious stones and minerals of other descriptions, marbles, shells, butterflies, birds,

and even color sketches by artists—each sequence scientifically designed, and the whole contributing powerfully, as will readily be seen, to the material and artistic welfare of a community in which the dyeing of silks, velvets and stuffs forms an important branch of trade.

At the Exposition of the Primitives, opened in Bruges in July and still in progress, the works of the early Flemish masters, gathered from the chapels, churches and museums of Antwerp, Rouen, Bruges, Brussels and from as far as Spain and Scotland, have been grouped for the first time, to the delight of all art lovers, and decidedly to the advantage of painters and art collectors as well as the public at large.

In addition to the fairs at Turin, Düsseldorf, Frankfort, Karlsruhe, Bruges and Krefeld, 1902 has seen in Paris the usual exposition by the Beaux Arts Society in the Grand Palace of the Fine Arts in the avenue d'Antin, and an exposition at Wolverhampton, in England, of glass and pottery distinctly educational in effect.

Few persons realize that the first exposition held was that of Prague, 1791. At its centennial in 1891 at Prague, the until then inaccessible treasures of gold, silver, crystals and vestments of its nobles were gathered, for the only time, in the Bohemian capital. Next in historic importance was the great exposition at London in the Crystal Palace in 1851, the buildings of which to this day stand a monument to the wisdom and far-seeing prudence of Prince Albert. That fair has had much to do with art conditions in England, which, while excelling in painting and pottery, is yet behindhand in gold and silver work. A direct result of the Crystal Palace is the famous South Kensington Museum. English potters had no superiors at the 1889 Paris Exposition. But Director Sandier's management of the porcelain works stimulated French potters so that in 1900 they again led. Following close upon the London World's Fair, that at New York in 1853 was the first on this side of the Atlantic. The New York Crystal Palace was patterned closely after the former in style, and though much smaller, was no less beautiful, perhaps even more so, from its more compact and symmetrical outlines. It was the first illustration in this country of the architectural possibilities of iron and glass; and it gave to multitudes, at a time when European travel was limited to a few, the opportunity of seeing

a rich and worthy representation of the art and industries of the Old World. Among American displays, too, it was the beginning of a new epoch.

In the United States, beginning with the Centennial Exposition in 1876, expositions have been held in Philadelphia, Denver, Chicago, Atlanta, Nashville, Omaha, Buffalo and Charleston. Ours is and must be more and more the country which has the most use for expositions. There is no other, in the world, of such widely separated communities, of such diverse resources. Tastes, manufactures, wants and objects of interest differ with climate and elevation; so that there is continually room somewhere in the United States for some new exposition which shall especially make known the products and the people of the region in which it is held, and yet shall appeal eloquently to the whole country. Why should there not be held, for example, in Santa Fé an Exposition of Aboriginal Art, in which the pottery and blankets, weapons, embroideries and picture-writings of the Pueblos, the Navajos, the Apaches and the Sioux would be comprehensively illustrated, with the finest bucks and squaws of each band and tribe in attendance, in all the glory of their savage finery? Would not the ethnologists of the world come eagerly to our shores to see such a sight, to improve perhaps the last opportunity of studying at first hand the fast-vanishing characteristics of one of the most unfortunate and interesting races of history? Simultaneously there might be held in the East, as a complement and foil to this peculiarly Western show, another exposition of the Art, Literature, Furniture and Historical Relics in general of the American Colonies. Nothing more interesting to collectors and students of history, and indeed to every American, could be conceived of in this era of Americana. Then there might be a third—to be held in the South—illustrating the life and order of the Ante-Bellum Epoch, the history and progress of the Negro race in the United States, the delightfully patriarchal plantation life, with its vast cotton fields and its negro quarters. What better answer could there be to "Uncle Tom's Cabin"—a book which so many good people believe to be a libel, and which lives on in spite of them, written in sincerity, hence its hold,—than such an exposition, to which the whole South, the Old and the New, should contribute? These would be, however, only passing illustrations of the usefulness of national expositions in this

country. The lessons which their managers might draw with profit from the conduct of the six expositions now in progress abroad, may also be read between the lines of the history of most of the expositions held in the United States.

The indictment lies that such enterprises in our country have been largely planned and managed for the pecuniary benefit of their promoters; that the expenses of their administration have been continually evaded; that business men who risked their money, their goods and their time in an enterprise which they had a right to believe national, have in the end been forced to the conclusion that they were drawn into a private speculation from which real estate dealers, railroad companies, hotels and local tradesmen derived huge profits, profits which should have gone into a general fund to pay all just debts and charges before any individual benefited by a single dollar. The time must come when the public and the exhibitors at American expositions will cease to suffer from the greed of private speculators, the brutality of inefficient management and the misdirection of the Man Who Does Not Know.

On the last day of the last session of Congress, bills were passed appropriating $500,000 for the unpaid expenses of the Buffalo Exposition and $160,000 for those of the Charleston Fair. Had those two enterprises been managed on the lines of the current exposition in any one of the six European cities I have named, such an appeal to the National Legislature would have been unnecessary. Had they been managed as all such affairs are managed abroad, their expenses would have been paid out of moneys which should have gone into the general fund instead of to private beneficiaries. Why should the contractors at Buffalo who built the splendid and beautiful structures which justified the name of "The Dream City" have gone unpaid, when the railroads and hotel-keepers made profits? A study of the statistics of the Philadelphia Exposition, the Chicago Fair, and of the expositions at Nashville, Omaha, Atlanta and Charleston supports the argument. There may in time be one exposition, or several expositions, each year somewhere in North America. But the plan and scope of them all must be materially different from those of their predecessors, it seems to me, if they are to confer upon the people at large and the business men specially interested the benefits they have a right to expect.

The Exposition of 1876 resulted in a collapse in Philadelphia real estate due to over-speculation in the vicinity of the Fair. This over-speculation in land led to over-speculation in other directions, and a long period of depression ensued. Nor did the patriotic subscribers to the stock of the Exposition—which from its very nature seemed to them surrounded by national guarantees—ever receive a dollar in return.

Yet in every large city of the United States the quarter of a century just passed witnessed the building and endowment of art museums and the creation of art collections worthy of splendid homes, and to this art movement of national proportions the Philadelphia Exposition contributed largely. Another most useful outcome was the Memorial Hall, and its sequel, the Philadelphia Commercial Museum, as yet only in its infancy. One of the most delightful features of the Philadelphia Fair was the attendance of that genial monarch, Dom Pedro, who was quite as interesting at the Centennial as the Shahs of Persia have been at the Paris expositions. He came to learn and to buy, and he bought $2,000,000 worth of railroad supplies for Brazil, to establish Petropolis, the yellow-fever-proof city upon a mountain, 35 miles from Rio Janeiro, the most ideal suburban town near any large city in a warm climate.

Financially the Columbian Exposition had a history similar to that of Philadelphia.

Yet it could never be said that the management of the Chicago Fair did not make an effort to secure the very ablest director in the country. It is said that to a gentleman who is now at the head of one of the best managed American corporations, an offer was made of a salary one and a half times as great as that of the President of the United States. His services would have been cheap at twice that sum.

It is not difficult to look back and point out reasons for the insufficiency of cash receipts. Conspicuous among them is the Sunday-closing issue. The great Paris Expositions averaged an attendance of 500,000 every Sunday. In a speech in the United States Senate on July 11, 1892, on the proposition to open the Columbian Exposition on Sunday, Senator Hawley declared:

"Up to this time there has never been a State exhibition, a State fair, a county fair, or a city fair or a circus, or a show of any description, opened on Sunday. There has never been a secular convention, social, po-

litical, scientific, literary, or commercial that has not adjourned over Sunday."

Americans in general do not seem to want Sunday opening. But it nevertheless remains a fact that the religious or appropriate Sunday features of expositions have never been properly exploited.

At Chicago, at Buffalo, and indeed at the intervening fairs, the landscapes, water-courses and works of art could have been viewed by the public on Sunday without violating proprieties. The Congress of Religions at Chicago might have been held in the Exposition Grounds, and on Sundays just as well as on week days, and so have furnished to many thousands of religious people a legitimate reason for passing the gates on Sunday. The stadium at the Pan-American would seat 15,000 people comfortably. The morbid feeling inspired by the shooting of President McKinley in the Exposition would have been largely dissipated, had McKinley Memorial Services been held there on a Sunday, the Exposition being open without charge. The deficit of the Buffalo Exposition might have been largely reduced, if not overcome, had the great preachers of the country been called upon to hold services in the Fair Grounds to which the usual admission fee, or one-half the usual fee, could have been charged. Much good would have been done, and the strongest element in the country would have sustained the Fair.

The Chicago Fair also exerted a powerful influence as an educator of the people, a means of introducing new ideals and standards of architecture and art into their homes. Before the Columbian Exposition had closed its doors, every piece of Sèvres porcelain and royal Copenhagen exhibited there had been sold, and had gone on its way into a new home and a new environment, educating and elevating the community.

American expositions have been distinctly beneficial to the cities in which they were held and to the country at large. A great boom in mines followed the Denver Mining Exposition of 1882. While the Chicago Fair illustrated the first and the Buffalo Fair the latest developments in electric lighting, the intermediate stages were beautifully shown at Omaha. At the Atlanta Exposition there was a handsome exhibition of the arts and industries of the Southern States. Booker Washington made his first great speech in Atlanta. At Nashville, where the develop-

ment of local industries and of negro handiwork, manufactures and buildings was well shown, incalculable good was done to Southern consumers and Northern manufacturers as well, by the introduction of the more modern goods of the latter, such as packing-house products, to that virgin market.

An exposition is an ordered collection of exhibits, and without exhibitors there could not be an exposition. Paid officials should always be appointed, to protect, advance and bring out the greatest features and values of exhibits, if expositions are to be a success. But if the exhibits are neglected for social tufts or the hunt for decorations, they are much less so.

If legitimate manufacturers could be engaged not to make a salesroom of a fair, but an exposition of fine wares, millions of money would often be spent by the visitors, greatly to the encouragement of exhibitors, who have been known to spend a fortune at a single exposition. Few persons realize the cost to such exhibitors as Edison, McCormick, Krupp, Tiffany and other grand prize medallists.

Many expositions are not successful owing to poor representation, or to the neglect and absence of employees or agents, who, when the vigilant eye of the employer is not upon them, fail to appear until noon. The exhibitor who sends the most adaptive, courteous and active of his staff, almost invariably meets with success.

As a benefit to exhibitors, Nijni Novgorod may be taken as a contrast and an example. At the great fair held there annually for over a century, a French prime minister was amazed to learn that the sales within six weeks' time amounted to 1,000,000,000 francs; and all Central Asia has there had an annual exchange with the whole territory of Central Europe.

Abroad, the expenses of a fair are provided for before the doors are opened. The personnel of the management comes from the staffs of various government departments, consisting of trained and skilled men. Private individuals are not permitted to form companies, by which they can contrive to reap profits, while the creditors whistle for their money, should the enterprise prove unsuccessful. The failure on the part of the management of a fair to meet authorized obligations incurred on its credit or to promote its legitimate purposes, would be considered there as disgraceful as the failure of a private citizen or firm in business—a

scandal of which even the relations of the bankrupt feel the shame. The exposition management is, therefore, of necessity composed entirely of men of good social and financial standing, who either devote their entire time to the public welfare without recompense, or who are appointed after a careful selection from the various guilds of the professions making up the exposition committees. The member of the committee representing the leather workers or the furniture or piano manufacturers is always a man of eminence in his craft, a man of undoubted integrity, and he has sufficient tact to work jointly with the many exhibitors in his own line without producing discord among them. He generally places his own exhibit, if he has one, *hors concours*. By doing this his recognition is quite as great as that of the exhibitor who receives the greatest prize. The exposition company almost invariably manages to clear expenses and not to leave a great debt or deficiency at the close as a burden upon patriotic citizens who had every hope of receiving back their loan from the exposition. In many of the foreign expositions, the concessions are sold very reasonably, frequently for no more than the price of the building in which the exhibit is placed. The result is that better accommodations at reasonable rates do much to attract visitors to the exposition, who provide an income from gate receipts and benefit the exhibitor by their presence and encouragement. And, as a souvenir, every such enterprise leaves to the city in which it has been held some lasting and beautiful monument, such as the Trocadero, the Alexander Bridge, the Great Art Palace and the Small Art Palace in Paris. Each of these recalls to the French people the World's Fair which gave it birth. Yet no American should see the Eiffel Tower without recalling that it was the American elevator which made it practicable, as it was the American electric lights and the American pumps which contributed so greatly to the general success of the Paris Fair of 1889. "You can't exhibit your elevators," said the always far-sighted Frenchman; "it is honor enough for you to have them there!" And so it was.

Buffalo will recall the Pan-American Exposition in the classical marble building of the State of New York, now the permanent home of the Buffalo Historical Society, and likewise its even more stately companion, the Albright Art Gallery, which, if it had been completed in time for the Exposition, might well

have drawn a million additional visitors. The public patronize the Fine Art galleries; and the good accomplished by their presence at such expositions is perhaps more lasting than the evil done by the "Midways," as they have been conducted on most of such occasions recently,—shall we call them midways between propriety and impropriety? These should and can be so regulated as to amuse and yet not to corrupt.

The whole tendency of our time is, as I have said, towards specialization. It is more and more necessary for that reason that there should be an increasing number of expositions, so that the world may learn of what is being accomplished and has been accomplished in each line of special effort, art, industry, manufacture or science. Expositions have come, therefore, to be a necessary factor in the development of science and art, whose great men and companies perfect with increasing rapidity in the laboratory and the studio that which they demonstrate in the exposition hall. There should be a World's Fair in 1908 on Manhattan Island in honor of the tercentenary of Henry Hudson's arrival in the "Half-Moon," as has been suggested by that able Dutch-American, Jan Theodore van Gestel. By that time the Hudson and the East River will have been tunnelled; the achievements of the Steel Trust and of the great railroad corporations will have revolutionized rapid transit in, under and through the city; the Palisades under which Hudson sailed will have been safeguarded and parked—largely through the generosity of the private citizen in whose honor Morgan Boulevard will have been named; and the imperial city which has criticised so many expositions and has learned something from them all, will be in a position to accommodate a million visitors a day and to show the world what an exposition should be.

By that time the new wings will be added to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and to the American Museum of Natural History.

The Botanic and the Zoological gardens will by that time have reached a further growth, and the buildings and grounds will have lost their marks of newness, and will thus compare better with similar institutions of the Old World.

Where now is the chaotic ruined region of Reservoir Square will then be our great public library, a building that for its out-

ward stateliness and the combination of literary treasures in its contents, will be a worthy evidence of the intelligence and desire to learn of the residents of the Empire City.

This great library and these great museums, parallel in position, in activity, and in richness, each in its special sphere, will themselves furnish a greater display to the visitor than any exposition yet held upon the continent.

The water-front elevated structures and the new station at the Bronx suggested by Mayor Low, if built, will do much to aid the installation of exhibits and to carry passengers to an exposition; so that 1,000,000 strangers could pass as quietly in and out of New York as a quarter of a million do to-day.

Just now, and for some time to come, the good wishes of the world are and will be concentrated on St. Louis. We all expect great things of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. No exposition ship has ever sailed under clearer skies. There have never been more ample financial provisions, nor a president better equipped than David R. Francis in strength, ambition, executive ability and integrity. With him is associated a local board of high character. Too much money to spend seems to be the chief peril in the path of the St. Louis Fair. And the integers of 1903 add up thirteen—although the change of date to 1904 puts it out of the power of the superstitious to do harm.

Surely some of the great St. Louis fund should be used for the construction of a permanent art or industrial structure, of which the country might always be proud—just as the Field Columbian Museum would probably never have existed had it not been for the Chicago Fair.

There will be other expositions, before and after those two, whose distinction must be pronounced. But they will not always be managed on American precedents. The methods of specialization and organization which are prevailing everywhere in American business life will be introduced also into exposition management. In every other than a financial sense, every exposition held in the United States has been successful. No one of them has failed to benefit directly and indirectly every part of our great country—a result far better than if they had succeeded as money-making enterprises but failed in the higher ideals and utilities.

GEORGE FREDERICK KUNZ.

THE PUBLIC DEBT OF ITALY.

BY MAGGIORINO FERRARIS.

THE history of the Italian Public Debt reflects the long and generous struggle for national unity and independence, and the noble efforts which, since the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy in the year 1861, have been made in order to promote and strengthen national finance and prosperity.

The whole system of Public Debt in Italy rests on the Act of Parliament of July 10th, 1861, by which the so-called *Gran Libro,* or "Great Book of the Public Debt," was instituted. Practically, the Great Book represents the amount of the national debt, which is by law inscribed in it, under the guarantees and the privileges which the law provides.

These guarantees have their first foundation in the *Statuto,* or Constitution, which King Charles Albert granted to Piedmont in 1848, and which became lately, without any change, the Constitution of the Kingdom of Italy. Clause 31 of the Constitution provides that: "The Public Debt is guaranteed. Any engagement of the State towards its creditors is inviolable."

The present Kingdom of Italy, with an area of 110,646 square miles and a population of about thirty-three millions, is the result of the union and amalgamation of all the old petty States into which the peninsula was divided. It is obvious, therefore, that the present amount of the Italian Public Debt must be traced to the following sources:

(1) The unification of old debts inherited by the small States which existed before national unity.

(2) War debts, chiefly contracted in order to carry on the great national wars of 1859 and 1866.

(3) Debts incurred for the purpose of consolidating and improving the new kingdom, both by making up the deficit of the

annual Budget and by developing public works, railways and the economical resources of the country.

Before examining the items of the Debt in detail, let us consider the different kinds of stocks and debentures which compose the Public Debt of Italy. Unfortunately, the Act of Parliament of the year 1861, creating the Great Book, was not always or uniformly carried out, so that we have a great variety of arrangements, from which a certain confusion arises. Practically, we find at first a fundamental distinction, between (1) debts administered by the office of the Public Debt; (2) debts administered by the Treasury; and (3) Floating Debts. The first class is inscribed in the Great Book, under different headings; the second and the third classes are not. But this distinction has no real practical importance; it is only of an administrative character. All public debts, whether inscribed or not, are equally guaranteed and inviolable.

A more important distinction is that which reflects the nature of the different kinds of stocks issued. They may be classified as follows: (1) Consols; (2) Redeemable Debts; (3) Treasury Bills; (4) Inconvertible paper money; (5) Miscellaneous. Each of these classes presents several subdivisions; we can only point out the most important ones.

Consols are the real foundation of the Italian Public Debt, and they may be classified in the following way:

OLD CONSOLS.

5 per cent. Consols, gross, international.
3 per cent. Consols, gross, international.

NEW CONSOLS.

4½ per cent. Consols, net, internal.
4 per cent. Consols, net, international.
3½ per cent. Consols, net, international.

According to this classification, we must begin by distinguishing between debts whose *gross* interest is subject to income tax, even abroad, and debts whose *net* interest is totally exempt from taxation. The income tax on the interest of Public Debts was introduced in the year 1864, and was gradually increased till it reached 20 per cent. in the year 1894. Practically, it amounts to a deduction from the interest, as the coupon is paid net; so that 5 per cent. consols give a revenue of 4 per cent; 3 per cent. consols, a revenue of 2 2-5 per cent. On the contrary, no deduction

is made on the coupons of 4½ per cent., 4 per cent., or 3½ per cent. consols.

Another important distinction is that between *international* and *internal* debt. The great mass of Italian Public Debts is of an international character; it can be and it is, in fact, negotiated at the exchanges of different countries, especially in Paris, Berlin and London. The coupon is paid in gold in foreign cities; it is paid in inconvertible paper currency at home.

The total amount of the Italian Public Debt may be described as follows in round figures:

Description.	Annual Interest. (Dollars.)	Total Capital. (Dollars.)
5 per cent. Consols (4 per cent. net)	80,000,000	1,600,000,000
3 per cent. Consols (2.40 per cent. net)	960,000	32,000,000
4½ per cent. Consols, net	12,000,000	268,000,000
4 per cent. Consols, net	1,550,000	39,000,000
Miscellaneous annuities	1,200,000	27,000,000
Redeemable debts	20,000,000	425,000,000
Floating debt, railway annuities, and miscellaneous	22,000,000	600,000,000
State notes	—	89,000,000
Total dollars	137,710,000	3,080,000,000

A recent Act of Parliament of June 12th, 1902, has created a new description of consols: the 3½ per cent., as a net and international stock, into which some of the old stock is being converted. Great importance is attached to this new stock, of which a small quantity, to the amount of $16,000,000 was issued quite recently by the Treasury, at the price of 96. It is expected that the new 3½ per cent. consols will become the staple stock of the near future, and the principal aim of Italian finance is to bring about a conversion of the 5 per cent. stock (4 per cent. net) into 3½ per cent.

In the second place, we have the so-called Redeemable Debts, mostly consisting of 3 per cent. and 5 per cent. Railway Bonds, issued at different times for the construction and purchase of railways. They do not deserve special notice, except for the fact, that besides the income tax at the rate of 20 per cent. to which the interest on them is subject, they also pay a small yearly tax on their negotiability. This description of Redeemable Debts includes a rather large variety, comprising about 40 different kinds of bonds. Their total extinction will not take place till 1985. The so-called 3 per cent. Railway Bonds are the principal item

in this class. Bearers of these have the option to change them into the new 3½ per cent. consols.

No special observation is required as to Treasury Bills, which the government is authorized to issue to the maximum amount of $60,000,000, for the temporary needs of the Exchequer. They represent the substantial part of the Floating Debt. It would be also useless for practical purposes to give any detailed information as to the great variety of miscellaneous debts, which have frequently arisen from accidental causes: purchase of railways, local wants, extinction of different charges, etc. As an interesting fact it may be stated, however, that in the year 1871, when Rome and the Papal States were annexed to Italy, a permanent annuity of $645,000 was inscribed in the Public Debt in favor of the Holy See. But the annuity has never been claimed by the Pope, and no money has been ever paid on this account.

Paper money is the weak point of Italian finance, since the patriotic but unfortunate war of the year 1866 with Austria. As soon as a forced currency was introduced, there was almost no limit to the variety of notes, especially of small 10 *centesimi* and 20 *centesimi* notes—issued by private banks and even by small shopkeepers. Great confusion and disorder were the natural consequences, and it is now almost impossible to understand how this state of matters could have lasted for several years. It was only by the Act of Parliament of April 30th, 1874, that private issues were stopped, and a regular system of forced paper currency was introduced. According to that law, paper circulation was divided into two classes: (1) Bank notes issued by the six Banks of Issue: Banca d' Italia, Banca Nazionale Toscana, Banca Toscana di Credito, Banca Romana, Banco di Napoli, Banco di Sicilia;* and (2) State notes issued by the same banks, but on account of the Treasury.

As soon as the inconvertible paper currency was introduced in the year 1866, there appeared, as its natural outcome, the gold premium. The history of Italian finance for the last quarter of a century is but a continuous though ineffectual effort to redeem the country from the bane of the gold premium and from its deleterious consequences.

* "*Banco*" is the old term, and is still the official designation for the Banco di Napoli, Banco di Sicilia, which are public corporations. "*Banca*" is the modern term for the new Joint Stock Companies, like the Banca d' Italia.

In the history of inconvertible paper currency in Italy, four distinct periods may be traced:

(1) From the war of the year 1866 up to the Banking Act of April 30th, 1874, by which some order was introduced into the paper currency of the country;

(2) From the Banking Act of 1874 to the Act of April 7th, 1881, for the resumption of specie payment;

(3) From the Act of the year 1881 to the new Banking Act of August 10th, 1893, which, after the failure of the Banca Romana, and the union with the Banca d' Italia of the two Tuscan banks, reduced to three the number of the Banks of Issue, viz., the Banca d' Italia, Banco di Napoli, and Banco di Sicilia.

(4) From the Act of the year 1893 up to the present date.

The following table contains the principal figures relating to the above-indicated periods:

Period.	Circulation of Banks.	Proportion of Metallic Reserve.	Circulation of State Notes.	Exchange on Paris.		Price in Paper Money of Five Per Cent. Consols.	
	Dollars.	Per Cent.	Dollars.	Highest.	Lowest.	Highest.	Lowest.
1866–1874 .	125,000,000	33	176,000,000	115.70	108.55	76.00	56.20
1874–1881 .	147,000,000	33	188,000,000	101.55	98.72	92.55	86.32
1881–1893 .	244,000,000	33	70,000,000	115.95	103.97	97.49	89.35
1893–1901 .	197,000,000	40	89,000,000	107.05	104.35	102.57	97.00
June, 1902.	192,000,000	40	89,000,000	101.50		104.50	

The three Banks of Issue are also empowered to issue notes to an unlimited amount, provided that they are fully covered by gold. The present amount of such notes is about $20,000,000.

Several circumstances characterized these different periods.

In the first period (1866-1874), besides complete disorder in the issue of paper money, national finance, owing to the campaigns of the years 1866 and 1870, was in a very bad condition. The deficit in the State Budget reached $144,000,000 in the year 1866, during the war with Austria, and gradually fell to almost $2,000,000 in the year 1874, chiefly owing to the noble efforts of Sella and Minghetti, the two leaders of the Conservative party then in power.

The second period (1874-1881) gave hopes of a rapid improvement in the economic conditions of the country. The Budget presented an increasing surplus, which reached almost $11,000,000 in the year 1881. The Liberal party having come to power

in the year 1876, abolished the unpopular flour tax; projected railways and large public works, and increased public expenditure of every kind in a rather lavish way. At the same time, government attempted to resume specie payment. The forced paper money in circulation amounted to $188,000,000; $68,000,000 were converted into small one-dollar and two-dollar notes; $120,000,000 were redeemed at par in gold. This amount of gold had been obtained by a loan, through the issue of consols, especially on the English market, through Messrs. Hambro & Sons. The prospects of the country at that time were so good that, as soon as the Bill for the resumption of specie payment was introduced into Parliament, the rate of exchange on Paris dropped very rapidly almost to 100, and the gold premium totally disappeared.

No sooner had this period of growing prosperity set in, than the government and the country lost sight of every principle of wise economy. Public expenditure increased continuously, so that the unprecedented surplus of almost $11,000,000 in the year 1881 soon converted itself into a small deficit in the year 1884, which increased up to $47,000,000 in the year 1889-90! The State construction of new railways proceeded so rapidly that large loans were issued every year in order to pay for them, up to the amount of nearly $60,000,000, in the single year 1887-88. Exchange speculation, unsound joint-stock companies, overbuilding in large towns, especially in Rome and Naples, grew to such an extent, as to induce both the government and the Banks of Issue to make an illegal over-issue of paper money. Under such conditions, the resumption of gold payments soon became a failure; the gold premium reappeared; consols fell; banks failed or were utterly crippled; and there ensued a protracted financial and economical depression. This crisis reached its climax in the years 1889-1892.

When Crispi's cabinet was formed in the year 1893, the financial situation of the country was most serious. Especially through Signor Sonnino's endeavors, there began a new period of financial retrenchment and of economical reconstruction. Unfortunately, the war with Abyssinia broke out, and the country again passed through a short period of depression. That war, though most unfortunate, did not cost the country more than $30,000,000, which were added to the Public Debt. But, the Di Rudini cabinet soon began to restore order to the public finances,

and by the year 1896-97, the surplus of effective income over expenditure reappeared. This surplus has been increasing from year to year, as appears from the following figures:

SURPLUS IN THE ITALIAN BUDGET.

Years.	Surplus Millions. Dollars.
1900–1901	11.67
1899–1900	7.68
1898–1899	6.51
1897–1898	1.85

The surplus—owing especially to large imports of wheat, subject to the duty of $1 50 per double cwt.—increased up to almost $12,000,000 last year; but the surplus is seriously diminishing in the present year. While the third period (1881-1893) was one of long depression and of serious crisis, the new period (1894-1902) presents a constant and gradual improvement in the conditions of the country. During the last two years, not only could the government stop new issues of loans or consols, but it even began to pay off a certain amount of redeemable debts. Even the construction of new railways, to the amount of about $4,000,000 a year, and the expenditure on account of China, at the rate of $2,000,000 a year, are paid out of current revenue, without having recourse to new loans.

The course of national finance and of the Public Debt reflects the political events through which the country has passed. In the second half of the past century, the great deed of national unity, independence and consolidation was accomplished. It was a period of continuous patriotic agitations, of external wars, of internal development. The present Kingdom of Italy is the result of a great patriotic movement which ended with the amalgamation into one nation of several small States, which often presented very inferior economical and social conditions. In many provinces, especially in the South, there were no railways, no highroads, no bridges, no schools. Everything had to be created; and those who frequently complain of the present social condition of Italy, most probably ignore the fact that it was an enormous task, beyond the power of a single generation, to build up the new edifice of civilization and progress.

Several technical points relating to the management of the Public Debt have for many years been the subject of much debate.

The fact that a certain amount of the Italian Public Debt is still held by foreign holders, especially in France and Germany, has two opposite consequences. On the one hand, it increases the capital and the credit of the country through the influx of foreign capital. On the other, it constitutes a heavy foreign debt in gold, for which the country must pay annual gold interest. Whenever any sudden political or financial crisis of an international character arises, Italian consols fall at foreign exchanges more rapidly than at home, and the rates of exchange are so immediately troubled that the gold premium rises. This fact has led some competent observers to believe that a permanent resumption of specie payment in Italy is hardly possible so long as a considerable proportion of our National Debt is held abroad. Though we do not believe that there are solid grounds for such an apprehension, we must remember that the country is gradually redeeming her foreign debt, by national savings. The gold interest which the Italian Treasury yearly pays on consols and stocks held abroad is gradually diminishing, as appears from the following figures:

INTEREST PAID ABROAD IN GOLD ON PUBLIC DEBTS.

Year.	Dollars.
1900	12,300,000
1899	14,800,000
1898	16,200,000
1897	17,300,000
1896	17,800,000
1895	19,400,000
1894	19,000,000
1893	39,400,000

In round figures it may be said, that during the last seven years Italy redeemed about $200,000,000 of the National Debt held by foreign holders, and that about $280,000,000 of her Public Debt is still held in foreign hands, especially in Germany and France. But the absorption of our National Debt from other countries is going on well.

Though there are some dissentient voices, the preference for stocks of an international character is increasing, and the new 3½ per cent. consols belong to this category. The general opinion is, that notwithstanding our foreign debt, the annual monetary balance is in favor of Italy, on account of the large remittances of our emigrants, scattered over all the world, especially in Amer-

ica, and of the continuous increase of foreign travellers in Italy. The movement of foreigners in this country is greatly developing: from San Remo and Nervi in the Riviera, to Florence, Rome, Naples and Sicily, the whole country is visited by a continuous crowd of foreigners. Associations are now being promoted all over the country in order to encourage and facilitate such a movement; and it is estimated that the annual remittances to Italy on account of foreign travellers amount to as much as $80,000,000. A large proportion of this sum is contributed by citizens of the United States, and the whole movement goes far towards determining a monetary balance in favor of the country.

Another point, which is frequently raised, relates to the issue of consols or of redeemable debts. No doubt the issue of gradually terminable annuities is to be preferred in theory. But in a new country, like Italy, public wants are so numerous, that every attempt to issue annuities failed. As soon as the sums to be devoted to the extinction of annuities increased to a high figure, proposals arose to convert redeemable debts into consols, in order to avoid new taxation. As a natural consequence, the extinction of Public Debts is progressing rather slowly, and much less rapidly than was often contemplated.

In old times, especially during the period of the national wars, consols were frequently issued at a heavy discount below par. Frequently enough 5 per cent. gross consols were issued at a price between 70 and 80; more recently 3 per cent. gross Railway Bonds were issued at about 60. At present, the best authorities agree that loans must be issued as near par as possible, and the new issue of 3½ per cent. net consols has been made, as we have said, at 96.

It is often affirmed, chiefly by foreign writers on Italian finance, that the country is crushed by the amount of her Public Debt. There is much exaggeration in this statement, though it may have an apparent foundation in the fact that out of a total annual revenue of $346,000,000, the Budget is charged with $137,000,000 of interest on Public Debts of various descriptions, besides civil and military pensions to the amount of $16,000,000. This apparent proportion of 40 per cent. between the interest on Public Debt and the total revenue is rather an unfavorable one. But it must be mentioned that, on a large portion of the interest

on Public Debts, there is a taxation of 20 per cent., so that the net payments are reduced to about $120,000,000. Moreover, more than a third of the Public Debt was contracted in order to construct or purchase railways, which yield about $20,000,000 net revenue to the State, so that the annual burden to the Treasury is scarcely more than $100,000,000. The proportion, though a heavy one, does not justify the pessimistic views which have frequently prevailed in some quarters.

Italy was gradually progressing between 1870 and 1880, when a period of unprecedented financial and economic folly set in, in the years 1881-1893. But the inevitable reaction soon began: two different Ministers of Finance, Luzzatti in 1891 and Sonnino in 1894, began a sound policy of retrenchment and laid the foundation of the present improved financial situation. Public expenditure and public works were largely cut down, new taxation was firmly imposed, the Budget was restored to order, and began to present increasing surpluses up to last year. As a natural consequence, the increase of the Public Debt has been stopped, and even a certain annual reduction, especially in the floating debt, has been operated. Meanwhile, some attempts were made to strengthen and improve the financial condition of provinces and municipalities; but many reforms have yet to be adopted in this field.

Notwithstanding a large number of labor disputes between masters and workmen, especially in the agricultural districts, notwithstanding the growth of a socialistic party, Italy enjoys at present a period of sound national finance and economy. Wealth is progressing and accumulating, wages are improving, though the supply of labor, especially in agricultural districts and with the middle classes, is in excess of the demand.

It only remains to hope that, in the near future, the country may be governed in a wise spirit of retrenchment and reform, and with an active policy, which is necessary in order firmly to establish and to increase her prosperity.

MAGGIORINO FERRARIS.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

Sir Gilbert Parker, M. P.,

has represented the constituency of Gravesend in the British Parliament since 1900. He was born at Camden East, Addington, Ontario, in 1859; and, having obtained a teacher's certificate at the Normal School, Ottawa, he was employed in schools at Frankford and Seaforth. He was ordained deacon in the Anglican Church in 1882; and, after a course of study in Trinity University, Toronto, he became curate to the rector of Trenton. Ill-health compelled him, in 1886, to seek a change of air, and he went to Australia, where he was appointed associate-editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Removing to England, he entered upon a regular literary career in that country, and he has produced a large number of works which have made his name familiar to readers throughout the English-speaking world, among them being "The Translation of a Savage," "The Trail of the Sword," "An Adventure of the North," "The Seats of the Mighty," "The Battle of the Strong," "The Lane that had no Turning," and "The Right of Way." He was knighted on the occasion of the coronation of King Edward the Seventh.

Stephen Bonsal

was the subject of a note in the Review for March of this year, to which he contributed an article entitled "The Philippines—after an Earthquake."

Hannis Taylor.

Since the publication of the note on Mr. Taylor which was printed in the Review for last March, he has been appointed Professor of Constitutional and International Law in the Columbian University. His new work on "International Law" has elicited the highest, even enthusiastic, commendation from critics and scholars on both sides of the Atlantic. The *Harvard Law Review* has characterized it as "the best American work since Wheaton," and *The Law Quarterly Review*, of London, in its latest issue, expresses the opinion that "this book is, probably, on the whole, the fullest treatise in the language on its subject."

FIONA MACLEOD

published her first book in 1894, and since then there has been much speculation as to her personality, which has resulted in a number of myths, more or less amusing and absurd. The changing rumor went that she was William Sharp, that she was Mrs. Sharp, that she was the daughter of the late Dr. Norman Macleod, that she was Nora Hopper and W. B. Yeats in unison, that she was a syndicate of young Celtic authors, that she was a Fleet Street journalist, that she was Irish and that her real name was Charles O'Connor, and even that she was Maud Gonne. Miss Macleod comes of an old, Highland, Catholic family of that name. She was born in the Southern Hebrides, and much of her childhood was passed in the Outer Hebrides or in the Inner Hebrides and the West Highlands of Scotland. The island of Innisron in her first romance, "Pharais," is believed to be a remote island where in childhood she spent many summers. So, too, certain incidents in the portraiture of the heroine Lora occurring in the same romance are, to some extent, founded upon her own personal experience. During the past eight years, Miss Macleod has wielded a busy pen. In addition to the romance already mentioned, she has published, among others, the following works: "The Mountain Lovers," "The Sin-Eater," "The Washer of the Ford," "Green Fire," "From the Hills of Dream," "The Dominion of Dreams," "The Divine Adventure," "The Immortal Hour," "Trostan and Yseul."

JOHN WOODWARD

was born in Chautauqua County, New York, in August, 1859, went to Jamestown shortly after his admission to the bar in 1881 and has since resided there. He was elevated to the bench of the Supreme Court of New York in 1895, and in 1898 Governor Black assigned him to the Appellate Division of that Court in the Second Department. The abuses which he discusses in his article on "Expert Evidence" were first brought specially to his attention in the course of a trial at which he presided some years ago, during which the great alienists of the country were among the most important witnesses, one of the medical experts sustaining a cross-examination which lasted three days. Judge Woodward has given the subject close study and he has been called upon several times to discuss it in public addresses.

GERTRUDE ATHERTON.

A note regarding Mrs. Atherton was published in the August number of the REVIEW. She is now in Copenhagen, and her article is based upon information communicated to her by eminent members of the Landsthing, by whom the whole question of the pending treaty regarding the islands of the Danish West Indies was put before her "as it had never yet been put before an American."

PROFESSOR S. L. SCHENCK,

whose death was announced a few weeks ago, was regarded as the leading embryologist of Europe. He was Professor of Embryology in the Royal and Imperial University of Vienna when, in January, 1898, he published his famous work on "The Determination of Sex," in which he gave to the public the conclusions he had drawn from the results of experiments which he had been conducting for over twenty years. His method of dealing with the subject displeased the Faculty and he resigned his chair.

R. B. VAN CORTLANDT

was born in 1862 in a house which now belongs to the City of New York standing in what is now Van Cortlandt Park, which was in the possession of his family for about two hundred years. He was placed at school in Switzerland and Germany; and after graduating from Columbia College in 1882, he entered the banking business, in which he is still engaged.

WALTER LITTLEFIELD

was born in Boston in 1867, and was educated at the public schools and at Harvard. Since 1897, he has been connected with the editorial department of the *New York Times*, and he is the American correspondent of *Le Siècle*, of Paris. He has also contributed to *L'Evénement* of the same city. Mr. Littlefield has devoted much time to the study of Continental questions, particularly in the fields of politics and diplomacy. He is the first authority in this country on the Dreyfus case. He was first to establish the identity of Lieut.-Col. du Paty de Clam as the author of the article which appeared in *L'Eclaire*, September 14, 1896, narrating the circumstances of Dreyfus's arrest and divulging the use of secret evidence in securing his conviction. During the second court-martial at Rennes, Mr. Littlefield edited the accounts sent by cable for the *New York Times*, and his interpolations in the form of

comment and the reproduction of documents threw many interesting side-lights upon the conduct of the trial. He is the author of "The Truth about Dreyfus," and editor of the American edition of "*Les Lettres d'un Innocent.*"

CLARENCE H. POE

is a North-Carolinian, and he was educated in his native State. In 1897, he began journalistic work as associate-editor of the *Progressive Farmer,* of Raleigh, which has a large circulation in the Southeast. In 1899, he became sole editor of that paper, which position he still holds. He has contributed occasional articles to some of the American periodicals.

CAPTAIN R. P. HOBSON, U. S. N.,

is a native of Alabama, having been born in Greensboro in 1870. He was educated at a private school and at the Southern University, and graduated from the United States Naval Academy in 1889. In 1889-90, he served as a midshipman on the White Squadron in the Mediterranean and South-Atlantic waters, and at different periods thereafter he was detailed to a variety of duties afloat and ashore. In 1897, he organized and conducted a post-graduate course at the Naval Academy for officers destined for the construction corps. In March, 1898, he went to sea with the North-Atlantic Squadron in charge of the post-graduate students. He served, as constructor, with the fleet operating against Cuba, being on board the flag-ship "New York" in blockade duty, in the bombardment of Matanzas and in the expedition against San Juan. His name will always be associated with one of the most heroic exploits of the war—the sinking of the "Merrimac" in the harbor of Santiago. Since the war Captain Hobson has been employed mainly in directing operations undertaken in Cuba and the Far East, with a view to save and reconstruct the vessels of the Spanish fleets which were wrecked by American guns.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL W. H. CARTER, U. S. A.,

was the subject of a note in the REVIEW for last May.

O. P. AUSTIN.

A note regarding Mr. Austin will be found in the number of the REVIEW for November, 1900.

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MR. BALFOUR AND HIS OPPORTUNITIES.

BY SIR GILBERT PARKER, M.P.

Many qualities are needed by one who would hold a commanding place in that critical yet tolerant, imperious yet considerate assembly, the British House of Commons—many qualities of mind, of body, of temper, of social and intellectual equipment. The leader of the English parties should have a dignified or at least a sufficing presence. Little men, of modest physical aspect, have often led armies, from the days of Alexander to those of Lord Roberts of Candahar; but he who would sway the House of Commons, with its contingent of athletes and sportsmen, had best be tall and straight. He should be a "gentleman," of course, a member of that territorial aristocracy which has virtually ruled Britain, with much assistance from the moneyed merchant classes, since the Revolution of 1689. And he should preferably have a tincture of scholarship and cultivated knowledge. The House, it is often said, is not a highly intellectual body. It contains fewer men of letters and learning than most of the legislatures of Continental Europe. The professors, historians, political economists, jurists, *savants,* publicists, who are so much in evidence in France and Germany, are rare figures at Westminster, and are mostly regarded with a shyness not unmixed with doubt. Perhaps for this reason members of Parliament appreciate a certain

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measure of culture in their chiefs. Above this, however, they set certain qualifications which may be called moral. The House is not a priggish society; on the contrary, it is a little cynical, a little indolent, confidently careless, somewhat superficial, much disposed to treat ethical problems with the disdainful tolerance of the man of the world. But it likes its leaders to be in earnest. It demands that they shall "sit tight" and "play the game," and do their work, not as amateurs surprised into responsibility, but with honest conviction, resolute fairness, and an unflinching sense of its value and importance. No man succeeds in the House of Commons who does not take the assembly seriously. Yet zeal must be founded on knowledge. The party-leader should begin young and serve a long apprenticeship. There have been few—a very few—who have stormed their way to Parliamentary influence in their first or second session. But, as a rule, a member must sit long on the green benches before he will be listened to with attention, longer still before his voice can carry weight, and so carrying reach a larger, if not surer, audience in the country. Experience here counts for more than talent, and far more than any outside reputation, however imposing. The Parliamentary guide followed most willingly is he who has found his career in the House of Commons itself and pursued it steadily there.

Now, in these respects, Mr. Balfour is a typical leader. He is just such a man, as one might, *a priori,* infer that the Chief of the House of Commons would be. He has those gifts of mind and character, and temperament, which the House values and admires. An untitled country gentleman, to all intents and purposes, he belongs to the territorial aristocracy from which English Cabinets are for the most part recruited. He has athletic tastes, and is fond of outdoor amusements. He has a creditable amount of culture, knows something about music and pictures, and has written books which reveal not only an acute critical faculty, but sound knowledge of philosophy, of literature and of theology. He is a student, interested in high and austere themes, as a British Premier should be. And with all this, he is essentially a House of Commons man. Mr. Balfour is so many years younger than some of the veterans who have dominated English politics of late years, such as Mr. Gladstone, Lord Salisbury, Sir William Harcourt, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, and he has so much

of the alertness, the freshness and the many-sided interests of youth, that one forgets how long a period his political career has covered. He is in reality quite an old "Parliamentary hand." It is not far off thirty years since, a young man of six-and-twenty, he first entered the House of Commons as member for Hertford, and he has represented the Eastern Division of Manchester since 1885. His political début was made among figures who, for the most part, have long quitted the stage: Mr. Gladstone, the late Lord Iddesleigh, Mr. W. H. Smith, and Lord Randolph Churchill. It is not forgotten—or perhaps it *is* forgotten—that Mr. Balfour was for a short period a member of Lord Randolph's "Fourth Party," when the brilliant and forceful leader of that active little group was revitalizing the lethargic Toryism of the early eighties. There are few of his colleagues in the House of Commons who have been associated with English party politics, in their most intimate phases, more closely than the present Premier. And this is a source of confidence. The House of Commons likes to feel that it is in the hands of a man who really understands the inner working of that curiously modified and regulated civil conflict whereby the English constitution achieves its ends.

Mr. Balfour, like most public men, has sometimes spoken slightingly of the party system. It is one of those sacrifices on the altar of conviction which English audiences expect from time to time. But he has more than once clearly disclosed his conviction that Parliamentary government depends for its efficient operation on a well-marked dualism of opinion, embodied in distinct and well-defined parties. For Mr. Balfour, indeed, it is clear that the party game has always had a singular fascination. It might be going too far to say that it is this side of politics which mainly attracts him; but there is no doubt that it does interest him more intensely, perhaps, than either executive or legislative business. In this, he is the antithesis of his friend and colleague, Mr. Chamberlain. The Colonial Secretary seems to me one of those persons who are born for politics as some men are born for poetry, others for music or natural science. He is, in the Aristotelian sense, a politician by nature; and I suppose he would have concerned himself in the work of law-making and administration whatever his opportunities or course of life had been. If he had never arrived at the Imperial Parliament, had

there never been spread before him a vista of satisfied ambition, I cannot think that his faculty for public affairs would have been allowed to rust. Wanting the chance of becoming a member of Parliament or a Cabinet Minister, he would have remained a Town Councillor; and should he never indeed have reached the Corporation of Birmingham, he must still have occupied himself, I imagine, with the affairs of the Vestry or the Parish Council, with the ardour of the born public man. Mr. Chamberlain loves politics with the craftsman's delight in his work, irrespective of its effects and rewards; it is art for art's sake. With Mr. Balfour, one conceives, it is different. His mind, at once comprehensive and subtle, has many interests, many preoccupations. Politics to him is only one of many pursuits which make inroads upon his time and gratify his inclinations. Indeed, for several years after he first entered Parliament, it seemed that he would never be willing to make those sacrifices to public life which are necessary to full success. He was too refined, too fastidious, too fond of diffusing himself over many shining fields. And one may well ask why a man so fortunately placed, so happily endowed, should have given himself up to the servitude of leadership and office. His books, his taste for art, his "philosophic" writing and study, his golf, his cycling, the care of his estates, the society of his friends,—all these must have been and still are, eager rivals with politics for his supreme regard. One may conjecture that it is the excitement of the party struggle which has finally turned the scale.

At the root of Mr. Balfour's character, overlaid and half-concealed by his graceful suavity of manner, there lies a hard stratum of Caledonian combativeness. He loves the "strenuous life" perhaps almost as much as President Roosevelt, though he does not talk about it. In many ways, Mr. Balfour may seem the *fine fleur* of English aristocratic culture, but he has the Lowland Scot's affection for a fight, his delight in the righteous discomfiture of an opponent. Yet there is a rare nobility and magnanimity in him which never permits him to triumph over, to trumpet boastfully, the defeat of his foe. In all his Parliamentary experience, he has never made his conquest galling or placed a heel upon a vanquished neck; and his temptations have at times been natural and great. To him, nevertheless, the party conflict gives a zest to politics, which possibly the mere de-

tails of administrative business could not offer. Mr. Chamberlain, in order to compass great national ends, has conscientiously quitted his colleagues before, and one could imagine that, in like circumstances, he might do so again. But Mr. Balfour would no more abandon his party than he would throw down his club in the middle of a round of golf and refuse to finish the game. He would sink or swim with his party and his leader, whether with greater patriotism is another question. That is one of the sources of his influence in the House of Commons. The British Parliament is no longer made up chiefly of sportsmen. Many members, especially on the Liberal side, would be uneasy on a horse and awkward with a gun. But the sporting tradition prevails in the House, even to a larger extent than in ordinary English society. There is no legislature where deeper interest is taken in the playing of the game; none where principles and ideas count for less and personalities more. The average Conservative or Liberal, with his practical contempt for general propositions, seldom pauses to consider the ultimate results of the proceedings of his leaders; he is far too much absorbed in their immediate consequences, in their effects on his own side and that of his opponents. It is a splendid, continuous, exalted kind of cricket-match, and the spectators and performers are always waiting to applaud the skilful champion who takes the wickets or makes the runs. If he is the Captain of one or other of the teams, they seek from him knowledge and judgment to arrange his field properly, and the pluck to play steadily to the end, whether winning or losing.

All great English party-leaders have enjoyed, though they may have deprecated, this stimulating struggle. Pitt, Canning, Palmerston, Disraeli, Gladstone, Randolph Churchill—these were men to whom the atmosphere of rivalry in the House of Commons was the breath of life. When, therefore, one says that Mr. Balfour is a keen party man, it is only implied that he is following in the steps of the most eminent of his predecessors. He realises, as they did, that with all its obvious defects and weaknesses, the party system is of the essence of the British Constitution. It is as much a part of this unwritten code of tacit understandings and necessary fictions as the Cabinet itself (a thing which has no formal existence) or even the House of Commons; since neither Cabinet nor Commons could discharge their functions

without it. Still there may be a change before us, and Mr. Balfour has seemed occasionally to hint that he believes a change to be coming. The good mechanician, however, is he who knows and masters such instruments as he possesses. The steam locomotive may be destined to be superseded by the electric motor; but the engineer, even while he recognizes the fact, does not omit to perfect and keep in order his boilers and furnaces. Mr. Balfour knows that, for the present, the business of the British realm must be done through and by the agency of party government, and that he is likely to do most who understands the two great parties best.

Ever since Mr. Gladstone's plunge into Home Rule, the Liberals have been divided, impotent, distracted. It seems that they are likely to remain in this condition for some time longer. The work of Britain for peace or war has been done for thirteen out of the past sixteen years, by the Unionists, and it may continue to be done by them. The man who leads the Conservatives in the House of Commons, even if he were not the titular Prime Minister, must have the most effective voice in the conduct of affairs. Since 1891 this has been Mr. Balfour's duty; and, looking back upon it, one may say that, on the whole, it has been well accomplished. If I can trust my own observations and the testimony of many competent and experienced judges, there was not one of his recent predecessors who, through a series of years, proved more acceptable to the Conservative party in Parliament and the country. The House of Commons likes a man who is "safe" in the best sense; safe, not because he is merely a pedestrian, cautious plodder, who has not the courage even to make a mistake, but safe in virtue of a temperament that inspires confidence. It cannot be said that Mr. Balfour has never made a mistake. On the contrary, he has often gone astray and slipped into error, chiefly because of that impatience of detail which is the constant theme of his hostile critics. A man has the defects of his qualities, though he may overcome them. Mr. Balfour, with his artistic intuitions, his fondness for philosophical generalization, his somewhat abstract cast of thought and his reluctance to face mere mental drudgery, has at times been convicted of a loose grasp of facts, and an incapacity or unwillingness to "get up" his subjects thoroughly. Even with the help of a private secretary who is a miracle of capable industry, and the assistance of

devoted colleagues, the First Lord of the Treasury will sometimes exhibit odd *lacunae* in the fabric of his information, and stumble in the course of debate into strange slips of ignorance or forgetfulness. But the House knows well that these inaccuracies are on the surface, that he understands and grasps the root of the matter. The slips are, perhaps, unfortunate; but they are not vital. Members feel that they have to deal with an intelligence fundamentally and laboriously conscientious. Mr. Balfour does not deceive himself, he does not deceive his followers, he does not willingly deceive his adversaries. If he has detected himself in error, if he has seen reason to alter his course or to change his mind, he says so. He will win a victory by subtlety, but not by *finesse* or by a suspicion of trickery. He tells the House frankly what he means to do, what aim and purpose he sets before himself, and his very contempt for details and processes assists, and often only confirms the impression of his straightforwardness. The helmsman may wear and tack too frequently, catching each puff of wind as it comes; but he has his eye on the haven and never really loses sight of the landmarks. *Respice ad finem* is his unspoken axiom. He makes steadily for the goal, turning aside for difficulties and obstacles, but neither daunted nor baffled by them. The House recognizes, if the outside public sometimes does not, the tenacity and resolution which lie behind his tactful, pleasant manner, and urbane style. And thus has he established a deserved reputation for integrity and persistence, which is the most valuable of all possessions to an English statesman.

His admirers would not claim for him that he is one of the great orators either of the senate or the platform; but he is the most effective debater, in the practical sense of being able to convince and convert his hearers. He has guided through the House of Commons some of the most difficult and controversial legislation of our time, and exhibited extraordinary skill in meeting objections and encountering hostile argument. Here his logical Scottish intellect serves him admirably. No one can state an opponent's case more deftly and turn it against him. Amid applauding cheers from the Opposition benches, he will summarize the points their best speakers have been making, in a few crisp sentences; and then he will swiftly invert the argument and show how these very points, rightly taken, tell in his own favour. In these arts of exposition he has few superiors. He will sweep away

superfluities and side issues, and in a lucid analysis bring out the principles which underlie a whole confused and confusing discussion. This power of clear expression, based on a firm grasp of essentials, has been conspicuously displayed in the heated debates on the Education Bill of the present Session. It is a measure necessarily somewhat complicated, and it has been obscured by a vast amount of sectarian prejudice, deliberately and unscrupulously invoked by the enemies of the Cabinet. But it has been a constant intellectual pleasure, to those who have been in the House of Commons, to watch how Mr. Balfour, with a sweep of his arm, so to speak, has rolled away the mists, and allowed the eye to dwell unobstructed on the clean-cut outlines of the structure. The speech in which he introduced the Bill, on March 24th, was an extraordinarily complete and concise summary of the entire question, and it placed the proposed solution before the House of Commons with characteristic clearness:

"Our reform,, if it is to be adequate, must, in the first place, establish one authority for education—technical, secondary, primary—possessed of powers which may enable it to provide for the adequate training of teachers, and for the welding of higher technical and higher secondary education on the university system. In the second place, I conclude that this one authority for education, being, as it is, responsible for a heavy cost to the ratepayers, should be the rating authority of the district. In the third place, I lay down that the voluntary schools must be placed in a position in which they can worthily play their necessary and inevitable part in the scheme of national education."

These are the main objects of the measure, which has aroused more party feeling than any that has been laid before this nation since Mr. Gladstone's last Home Rule Bill; and to this statement of the position Mr. Balfour has again and again brought back the House after an afternoon of miscellaneous squabbling. And, perhaps, when the dust of the combat has cleared away, it will be easier to see how well-conceived, how logical and symmetrical, are the methods with which the First Lord of the Treasury has endeavoured to remedy an evil that could not be left to cure itself.

From one to whom great opportunities are granted great achievements are expected. Mr. Balfour has proved himself a brilliant party leader, a capable Parliamentarian, a man who can command and direct. In his comparatively brief career as Chief Secretary for Ireland, he showed that he possessed other qualities. Those who were active in politics during the Parliament of 1886

tell us that his success in this capacity was the sudden and startling revelation of a forcible personality. He had passed with the House for a superfine aristocrat—cultured, fastidious, indolent. The announcement that he had been awarded the most difficult post in the Ministry at a time of crisis was received with laughter. *This* languid gentleman to be the "daring pilot in extremity?" Were those the hands to grasp the helm and steer the ship among the rocks and breakers? Mr. Balfour speedily and marvellously justified his appointment. Amazed and delighted, the nation and his party looked on, while he grappled with the Land League in Ireland, and faced Parnell and all his turbulent faction in the House of Commons. Firm, courageous, imperturbable, and withal conciliatory and judicious, he fought Irish disaffection without increasing Irish discontent. The smouldering sedition was sternly repressed, while yet rapid progress was made towards the removal of the legitimate grievances of Ireland. Mr. Balfour left the Irish Office with the deserved reputation of a great administrator, a statesman who understands the arts of government and reform.

It remains for him to bring to bear the abilities thus disclosed on problems deeper and more weighty than those which awaited him at Dublin Castle in 1887. Occasions, many and pressing, lie before him for the exercise of constructive statesmanship. The stage, one may say, has been cleared; he steps upon it before an expectant audience. Of the three men who have formd the innermost Cabinet, the real efficient government of the British Empire, for the past fifteen years, Mr. Balfour is the youngest, and his functions have so far been the least important. What Lord Salisbury has done for Britain will not be known, in all its fulness, till the search-light of the historian is turned upon the secret receptacle of the Foreign Offices and Chancelleries. The present generation will never hear the whole story. But enough has been revealed to give Lord Salisbury an unchallenged claim to the undying gratitude of his countrymen. He has controlled British foreign policy during such a period of strain and stress as has scarcely been known since the downfall of Napoleon Bonaparte. In the East and in the West, strange and startling events have occurred. The United States has entered upon the path of imperialism; Spain has fallen from the ranks of the Colonial Powers; Japan, instinct with fiery energy, has forced itself, with one fierce bound, into the circle of the warlike, progressive states. There

has been a new grouping of the European Powers; France and Russia have become allies, Greece and Turkey have been at war. The Venezuela dispute, the portentous upheaval in the Far East, the threatened rupture with France over Fashoda, the explosion of anti-English feeling on account of the Boer campaign, have had to be reckoned with, while Lord Salisbury was at Downing Street. No Choiseul or Kaunitz of the old European monarchies had a more complicated web of policy and intrigue to unravel or dissever. That massive, subtle brain has dealt with it all, and so dealt that Britain emerges with still shining prestige, with her influence in the world undiminished, with no solid interest sacrificed anywhere. Such, in brief, has been the task of Lord Salisbury, and it rests with posterity to recognize its magnitude.

Mr. Chamberlain's function has been different. To him it has fallen to preside over the revival of the imperial spirit in public affairs, which has been the most significant movement in recent English politics. The Secretary of State for the Colonies is the first great Colonial minister of our epoch. He has shown the English people the true value and import of the magnificent heritage handed down to them by their fathers. Skilfully taking advantage of the outburst of proud enthusiasm produced by the Jubilee of 1897, he brought the realms beyond the sea into the daily consciousness of stay-at-home Englishmen. Many factors, indeed, have conjoined to produce this result. It has been Mr. Chamberlain's supreme achievement to weld them together for the purposes of practical politics. The difficulty in South Africa presented him with a test case, and he employed it in order to bring home to all subjects of the Crown the true meaning of the word Empire. He is the successor in the direct line of Lord Beaconsfield, and it has been his privilege to popularize and stamp with reality the vast conception which loomed dimly before the imagination of the author of "Coningsby" and "Tancred." It is a singular fate which has converted the social reformer of the seventies into the champion of the flag and the vindicator of the Imperial ideal. Possibly, if Mr. Chamberlain were twenty years, or even ten years, younger, and if he were less deeply occupied with the chosen task of his later period, he might again re-enter the sphere of his earlier activity, and inaugurate the series of administrative and legislative reforms for which the country is now ripe. One cannot ignore the fact that Mr. Chamberlain, with all his vigour, vivacity and

courage, is no longer young or middle-aged; in four years, indeed, he will be three-score and ten. Moreover, the duty of re-settling South Africa, and dealing with many other pressing Colonial problems, is likely to absorb his energies for some time to come. We can hardly look to the Colonial Secretary to preside over a new era of constructive statesmanship.

That office, it seems, is reserved for the present Prime Minister. Mr. Balfour has unequalled opportunities for initiating and carrying to a successful conclusion a comprehensive policy of reform. Few of his predecessors have been better placed for such a task. He is in the prime of life; he has an admirable personal and mental equipment; he enjoys a commanding influence alike with the legislature and the nation; he has proved his capacity for leadership; and he commands an overwhelming Parliamentary majority, only too willing to obey his behests. Within reason, indeed, it may be said that he can do practically what he pleases in the House of Commons; since the Opposition, in its present disorganized condition, can at the best do no more than criticise. Above all, Mr. Balfour finds public opinion in a responsive frame of mind. For the past few years, the Conservative Party has been compelled to devote itself mainly to what may be called defensive work. It has had to protect the integrity of the Kingdom and the Empire against domestic opponents and external enemies. Revolution at home and disintegration abroad have been necessarily the particular objects of its attention. It has found itself forced to devote the main portion of its energies to counteracting the separatist agitation in Ireland, and opposing the Little England spirit, which would have been fatal to the maintenance of Imperial unity. It has seen, with a just instinct, that its paramount duty was to endorse the foreign policy of Lord Salisbury, the Colonial policy of Mr. Chamberlain, and the Unionist attitude with regard to Ireland.

These were great watchwords; but there is a growing conviction that they do not represent the whole statesmanship which the needs of the opening century enjoin. We have attained, thanks mainly to the clear-sighted firmness of the Conservative leaders and the steady loyalty of their followers, a truce from the more pressing anxieties of the past decade. It is felt by the more active exponents of Unionist opinion that it does not suffice to repose on the recollection of past successes. In the respite thus granted, the

opportunity for constructive effort recurs. It is the fervent hope of the more active-minded Conservatives, and particularly of the group of able young men who are beginning to claim a prominent share in the operations of the party, that Mr. Balfour will not fail to respond to the trend of opinion. The nation, while on the whole fairly content with the manner in which its affairs have been conducted, is not altogether satisfied with itself and with its institutions. The feeling in favour of an enlarged efficiency is a genuine one. Lord Rosebery, with his journalistic instinct for the topic that is in the air, has given expression to the demand; but Lord Rosebery, with all his gifts, is, as things at present stand, only an highly-distinguished and accomplished amateur. He does little more than advise and suggest and frame phrases which may mean much or little. It is only the man with his hands upon the levers of administration who can give personal effect to the sentiment. In fact, if we are to become a more efficient nation, it is for the Ministry to show the way; and by the Ministry, in this connection, one specifically means Mr. Balfour.

The field of reform is, indeed, gigantic. There is, in the first place, the reform of English civil government to be considered. England used to be the model for the world in its central and local administration. It is so no longer. One has only to turn to Germany, to the United States, and even to our own Colonies, to see in how many respects we have allowed our administrative machinery to drop below the level of a scientific and industrial age. The Board of Trade, the Local Government Board, the Home Office, are organized on lines which no longer render them equal to the enlarged duties which fall, or should fall, upon them. They suffer from some of the same defects as the British Army. The mischances and miscalculations of the earlier part of the Boer war aroused an angry outcry for military re-organization. There was much talk of all the things that should be done: the "drastic" remedies that were to be applied. But the war has terminated, and the zeal of the reformers has already slackened. It remains for Mr. Balfour to see to it that the whole question is dealt with in a bold and comprehensive fashion, and by truly organic methods. There is the chance of doing for England in this matter something comparable to that which was effected in Prussia after the disasters of the Napoleonic conquest. I am not suggesting, of course, that we are to plunge headlong into conscription, or com-

pulsory service of any kind; but I do say that the re-construction of the British military system is a task far too weighty to be left to a mere Departmental Minister. It should be taken in hand by the head of a Cabinet and a great party, clothed with all the fulness of his authority; and it should be pressed upon the attention of the country as, for example, the abolition of the Corn Laws was by Sir Robert Peel, or the disestablishment of the Irish Church by Mr. Gladstone.

Again, there are the questions of fiscal reform, and of commercial and industrial regulation. These are matters which have been too long thrust on one side, or treated as merely subordinate affairs, unworthy the notice of those who preside over governments and busy themselves with *la haute politique*. But they are growing insistent; they will not wait. It is time that a Conservative Cabinet should have a mind of its own on these subjects, and should be prepared to carry its convictions into effect. For the future of Britain, its place in the world, nay, the very existence of its teeming town-bred populations, depends upon the manner in which they are handled. There are various other social and economic problems, which have been dabbled with in an amateurish, tentative fashion on the platform, in Parliament, and in the press, and these are now claiming definite and rational solution. I refer to such topics as the Housing of the Working Classes, Poor Law Administration, the control and regulation of locomotion, the relations of Municipalities to the Central Government and to private corporations. Further, the country stands in need of a reform of education going far deeper than anything which is attempted in the Bill at present before the House of Commons. Great Britain is jeopardising her commanding industrial position by failing to keep abreast of the highest knowledge of the century. Something much more than a possible slight improvement in the character of the elementary schools is required. The nation stands in need of a more effective training for all classes of the population, from the professors in the University, the thinkers and teachers in the Laboratory, the captains of industry in factory and workshop, down to the labourer in the brickyard and the young woman behind the counter.

All this, I may be told, is mere truism. Is it not repeated month by month in the thoughtful magazines, vociferated by distinguished persons at Congresses and Conferences? Exactly; but

something more is needed. We want a practical statesman, who has the power as well as the will to bring all these things within the range and scope of actual politics, and to indicate the actual steps by which the scientific efficiency and value of the nation may be increased. Constitutional reform, too, has not yet reached its limits, though one may conceive that the lines of development will be somewhat modified. Some of the old political issues may have lost their interest; but new needs arise with new conditions. Parliament is suffering from nothing so much as from the fact that it is choked and congested by the stream of business which flows into it. The effort to control and supervise all the affairs, great and small, of a nation of forty millions of people, not to mention those of an empire nine times as numerous, is too heavy a burden for any Assembly. In the hurrying competition for some scrap of legislative attention, imperial politics are apt to be scamped, and local politics neglected. Means must be devised, by some method of devolution, applicable no doubt in due measure to all the constituent countries of the British Isles, to ease the Parliament at Westminster of part of its load. The experience which has been gained in the smooth-working central and State legislatures in other parts of the Anglo-Saxon world must be applied to this problem, if the House of Commons, as some of its hostile critics have already gleefully suggested, is not to become a mere impotent appendage to London society, or a recording chamber for the decrees of an all-powerful Cabinet. It has been urged also, not without force and reason, on the part of many most friendly to the Unionist cause, that some change of men as well as of methods is required. The control of public affairs has been, perhaps, overlong in the hands of a small group of persons closely connected by social and family ties. The Conservative Party, it is held, is in some danger of passing, like the Whigs of the eighteenth century, into the hands of a "Family Compact." Its chosen administrators and officials are composed, as indeed was the case in the domination of the great Whig "houses," of men who, for the most part, are capable, high-minded and public-spirited. But they represent a too exclusive element in the life of a great nation; they tend, necessarily, to become limited and sectional; by no means seldom, they exhibit amateurishness in the treatment of great and grave questions, with which they can never have been in personal contact. The circle should be widened; some of the "old guard" who

have been in and out of office for twenty years should not, through an excessive patriotism and a fond knowledge of departmental work, bar the way of younger politicians in keener sympathy and in closer touch with the movements of the age. Above all, a real and convincing effort should be made to enlist in the service of the state the highest business talent, the best expert knowledge, the most thoroughly tested capacity, the most extended practical—not academical—knowledge, which the country can produce.

These are among the high and inspiring duties which await Mr. Balfour. The chance seems to lie before him of writing his name upon the roll of the great reforming ministers of England. He has an opportunity, scarcely less promising than that which lay before William Pitt in the first few years of his ministry, when he was laying, broad and deep, the foundations of economic and political reform, before the cataclysm in France diverted his energies to other objects. With the Empire at peace, and likely, as it seems, to remain so for many years to come, Mr. Balfour may adapt, to the more complex conditions of our own time, the methods of the greatest of all his Conservative predecessors in office. Pitt, with the prescience of genius, saw that England must "wake up" if she were to cope adequately with the problems awaiting her on the threshold of the nineteenth century. The problems are more numerous and more complicated at the beginning of the twentieth, and a new Pitt is needed to enable us to grapple with them. We have lived too long on the traditions of the sixties and seventies, forgetting that while we have been standing still, the world has been moving with inconvenient rapidity. Another ten years, spent in playing languidly with the old themes, in squabbling over political controversies that have largely lost their meaning, and even in repeating, without altogether understanding them, the catchwords of Empire and Union, are not to be contemplated with equanimity. Such a state of affairs would be fatal to the Unionist party, as well as mischievous to national interests. The country assuredly expects something more vital and effective from a political connection, dowered with such transcendent advantages as the Unionists possess at the present time. If Conservative reform should be wanting, we may confidently expect a Radical revival, of a democratic, perhaps even a socialistic, colour. Impatience might take the dangerous form of a widespread revolt against property and the propertied classes, with an

incitement to clever unscrupulous demagogues to undertake the task which moderate men will have shirked. The prospect, indeed, would be a dubious one, if we could conceive Mr. Balfour a mere Premier *fainéant,* a Premier content to move sluggishly along the old groove, doing nothing in particular but keeping his party in power. Fortunately, we need have no such dismal expectation. Mr. Balfour's real vigour and energy, his sensitive receptiveness of the impressions of the age, his unfailing interest in all the problems of modern science, and his patriotic ambition, mark him out to fulfil some at least of the high tasks which I have ventured to outline in the foregoing pages. In his reform of the rules of Procedure, in his Irish Legislation, and in the Education Bill, he has in some degree laid down the sub-structure of a great scheme of internal reform. We should have no doubt that he will go far to complete the stately edifice during his next few years of office. The path of fame and enduring usefulness lies before him, in the direction of constructive statesmanship; and it can be confidently expected that, in following it, he will gain even higher titles to the esteem of his countrymen than those which he has justly obtained in the past.

GILBERT PARKER.

THE WORK OF THE FRIARS.

BY STEPHEN BONSAL.

In most descriptions of the Spanish régime in the Philippines, the administration is spoken of as deriving its strength or its weakness from the union of Church and State. This view is not quite correct. It would be nearer the truth to say that the islands were held as a fief by the four great Monastic Orders of the Roman church, and that over them was hoisted in recognition of their many benefactions the standard of the Most Catholic Kings.

Typical of the history of the generations that followed is the story of the first expedition, which, sailing from Mexico, effected a permanent settlement on the islands in the spring of 1565, and shortly afterwards founded Manila. This expedition was due to the personal labors and popularity of Fray Andrès Urdaneta, an Austin friar who had proved himself in many sea ventures a most daring navigator. He was also a cosmographer, a distinguished mathematician, a soldier and a courtier. The nominal head of the expedition was Lopez de Legaspi, who figured in the ship's company as sailing-master. This was a personal selection of Urdaneta's, and it proved to be a happy one; though, when we learn that Legaspi had never followed the sea, but had been a notary all his life in the City of Mexico, we comprehend the motive underlying Fray Andrès' choice. The Austin friar proposed that he himself should lay the course of the frail caravel across the vacant seas to the islands of the painted people which Magellan had discovered.

In October, 1896, more than three hundred years later, when the first rebellion under Aguinaldo was making great headway and the bearing of Governor-General Blanco did not inspire confidence, the following cable, signed by the Archbishop of Manila and the Provincials of the monastic orders in the islands, was

sent to the Procureur of the Dominicans in Madrid: "Situation grave, rebellion spreading, apathy of Blanco inexplicable. To save the situation, urgently necessary appointment new Governor General;" and within forty-eight hours General Polavieja was designated as Blanco's successor. As in the days of Urdaneta, whoever the figurehead might be, whether soldier or civilian, it was the friar who laid the ship's course; and when, as frequently happened of recent years, the sailing-master sought to usurp the functions of the ghostly pilot, he was gently but firmly put on shore.

This patriarchal system of government by monastic missions, so much out of harmony with the spirit of the times, received but survived many severe blows in the house of its friends. Certainly the acts of 1863 and 1893 promulgated by the Spanish Cortes would have destroyed the mission system, but for the fact that the decrees of the Cortes did not then carry as far as they formerly did. When we arrived in the Philippines, we found the monastic orders still supreme, in all the essentials of government, and the Spanish admiral taking his instructions from the Archbishop, rather than from the Minister of Marine.

The moment the American flag went up over the islands, the church was divorced from the state; and the question of the hour became, what to do with the friars now shorn of all their political functions. With this question in process of adjustment, upon the honorable basis of fair compensation to the friars for all property to which they can prove clear title, and with the assurance to the parishes that they can have, as their spiritual advisers, any priest or minister their choice may fall on, provided always he be not unfriendly to the American régime, the time seems opportune for turning a deaf ear to controversy for a moment, and for examining the testimony of facts as to the way in which the friars have performed the mission confided to them of civilizing the Philippine Indians.

This is, indeed, a difficult task. Some of our most responsible officials in the islands have denounced the rule of the friars as a dark page in history, as something too horrible to speak about in detail. Indeed, the absence of detail and particulars in their accusations is very noticeable; but, from their point of view, perhaps it was better, as they said, to throw the mantle of charity over the closed chapter. The Civil Commission presided over by

Judge Taft, on the other hand, has paid the friars, in the persons of their recent wards, the very highest of compliments. In its report, the Commission recognizes that, during the three hundred years which have elapsed since Pigafetta and others described the islanders as painted savages, addicted to cannibalism and other low practices, they have been so raised in the social scale that now they are ripe for self-government and representative institutions. One can be just to the work of the friars without going to the length of this eulogy. The truth lies somewhere between the extremes.

As you travel in the Philippines and come to a village or a hamlet that is better built than most, if you ask by whom it was founded, the natives will answer that it was built by the Franciscans or by the Austin fathers. In your walks in the interior or along the coast, if you ask who built the great church that crowns the hill, the bridge of massive masonry that spans the river, who ballasted the road that is never washed out during the rains, or who designed the irrigation works that make the plantations possible, the invariable answer is, not Colonel A. or General B. or Don Fulano the layman, but Father A. or Father B., "*Amay' sa culog*," "the father of the souls." Perhaps, in your travels, you may come to a village or a district where nearly every man, woman and child can speak Spanish with fluency and not a few read and write it. If you have seen the Dutch in Java and Cochin China under the French, you will be much astonished at this fact, unparalleled in the history of those Asiatic countries, which, according to the expression of M. Leroy Beaulieu, are in process of renovation by the colonizing Powers of Europe. Much that is contradictory and confusing has been said on the question of language in the islands. I shall here merely register my personal experience. I never entered a village in any of the islands, including savage Samar, where I did not find several of the head men speaking Spanish, and in many instances good Spanish. I also found that the fluency and the popularity of Spanish were always in direct proportion to the influence and the numbers of the friars in the district. It was poor policy to teach the Tagals Spanish; but the fact that they did so to a very remarkable extent proves that the influence of the clerical teachers was an uplifting one.

Of course, the highest testimony to the work of the friars is to

be found in a comparison between the condition of the islands when they landed and the state of the country in 1898, when they were superseded. The first great obstacle to their mission of civilization was the absolute lack of roads or even paths of communication. The islands were covered with impenetrable forests and jungles. Almost without means, the friars yet devised a system of road and bridge construction which accomplished wonders. Every inhabitant had to work a certain number of days each year upon the highways, or furnish a substitute. Since this system was abolished, the means of communication throughout the islands have steadily deteriorated. I chanced to be present last year at a convention of all the *presidentes* in the island of Leyte which had been summoned to discuss the question of roads and bridges. I am not quite correct in stating that all the *presidentes* were present, because, owing to the disgraceful condition of the roads, less than one-half succeeded in arriving at Tacloban, the place of meeting, and these came for the most part in boats. The American treasurer of the province told the *presidentes* that he recognized the frightful condition of affairs in an island which had once been, in proportion to its size and population, the most prosperous and progressive of the group; but the fact was, he had no money to replace the bridges that had been swept away. He hoped he would be able to do something for them another year. In a word the Leyte congress adjourned, loud in praise of the system of personal service on the roads that had been a characteristic of the friars' régime.

At the time of the conquest, agriculture, in so far as it was practised at all by the fugitive inhabitants of the islands, was in the most rudimentary stage. They cultivated in a primitive way rice and camotes, a kind of potato, putting the seed in the ground and leaving the rest to generous nature until harvest time came. They were not versed in tillage of any kind, and they knew nothing of irrigation, in consequence of which they frequently failed to make their rice crops, and famines ensued which decimated the population. Once the friars had succeeded in inducing the islanders to give up their nomad life and take up settled abodes, it became necessary to provide them with a more certain crop, a more assured sustenance, than rice under Philippine conditions. To this end, maize was introduced with wonderful success, the friars bringing the seed-corn from Mexico. For three

centuries, this crop has proved the mainstay of life in the islands. While the friars were not scientific cultivators, it can be said without fear of contradiction that, with the exception of tobacco, which was introduced by the Spanish Government, every staple crop that is now grown in the Philippines and adds to the wealth of their inhabitants was either introduced by the friars, or that its valuable qualities were made known by them to the natives. Practically cut off for so many generations from communication with the outside world, and often involved in the famines which were in a great measure due to the improvidence of the islanders, the friars found it was not sufficient to preach tropical agriculture from their pulpits; it was necessary to work in a more practical way. With this purpose, lands were taken up by them and model farms or plantations established in many districts; and in these schools the natives learned what they know to-day of tilling the soil. This was the genesis of the monastic estates. They have since been increased somewhat by purchase, and largely by bequests; yet, far from comprising the greater portion of the best land in the islands, as has been asserted, the monastic estates amount to less than one-hundredth part of the land under cultivation, and less than one five-thousandth part of the land that might be cultivated. On these farms the friars introduced onions, tomatoes and peppers with varying success; and in Leyte the Jesuits introduced cacao, which is fast becoming one of the most valuable crops. Coffee bushes were growing wild, but it was the Austin friars who first revealed the virtues of this plant. It was they, also, who taught the cultivation of indigo, also indigenous. Indigo soon became a source of great wealth, especially to the inhabitants of northern Luzon. It was the most valuable asset of the island, until, owing to adulteration by Chinese merchants, Luzon indigo became discredited in the markets of the world. Furthermore, it may be said that the natives did not profit by the five or six varieties of sugar-cane growing in the islands until they were taught, and that the wonderful jusi and piña fabrics which are now so much sought after in the world of fashion, come from the looms which the friars first established in Panay and Cebu.

Within a very few months of the founding of Manila, the friars opened schools, and until 1863 there were none in the islands other than those over which they presided. As the natives were

weaned from their migratory habits, and induced to cultivate the land, higher schools and colleges were founded, the most notable of which is the college of Santo Tomas, which exists to-day as the Manila University. This institution, founded by the Dominican friars, opened its doors in 1620, the year of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. The college flourished, found favor with Philip the Fourth, and in the year 1644, by a Papal bull, it was raised to university rank and styled Royal and Pontifical. Down to the present day, all the professors in this university have been Dominican friars, with the exception of the faculty of medicine and pharmacy. As far back as 1640, to fill the gap between the ordinary parish schools and the university, the preparatory school of San Juan de Letran was instituted. Here, at a later day, Aguinaldo and Lucban and Malvar studied. With the increase of population, the educational movement spread, largely through the inspiration of the friars and entirely under their supervision. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Dominicans presided over a flourishing high school in Dagupan, the Franciscans had a famous college in the Camarines, and the Austin friars had founded colleges in Negros and Iloilo. The refinement and intelligence of the Philippine women of the better class to-day would seem to be due to the educational advantages which were offered them by the Orders, a thing hitherto unknown under Asiatic conditions, and certainly far in advance of anything similar in Spain. The college of Santa Rosa, better known as the school of Mother Paula, in memory of its first Mother Superior, was founded in 1759. Shortly after this, at the suggestion of the Dominican fathers, the Sisters of Charity came out from Spain and founded ten high schools for women, of which the Luban and the Concordia school in Manila are the best known. Soon there were thousands of scholars, internes and externes, studying in these schools. The young men of the country flocked to the city and matriculated at the University in hundreds. I did not look the matter up when the opportunity presented, but I have heard it stated and I believe it to be true, that more men have matriculated at Santo Tomas, the University of Manila, than at Harvard.

Those who up to the present have deigned to glance at the work of the friars in the islands generally state that, in the first place, there were no schools and it was impossible to secure an

education, and, in the second place, that the schools were very bad and the mental training provided most faulty. But the facts are against both these statements. The Dominicans who presided over the destinies of the University were and are men of the very highest intellectual attainments. They have gone from Manila to Rome, where they have become Princes of the Church, members of the Sacred College, and several of them have controlled the Propaganda. Before going to Manila they were successful, and after leaving Manila they carried out what they undertook, but, nevertheless, it must be admitted that in three hundred years not a single pure-blooded Filipino of the thousands that they have graduated has distinguished himself or left a considerable name in any walk of life. Why is this? Some of the friars told me once that their educational efforts had failed because of the invincible "passivity" of the Indian. "Luna, the artist," said one of these really distinguished teachers, "had more Spanish and more Chinese blood in his veins than Indian. Rizal was probably half Japanese, he certainly was very little Tagal, and Lucban, who has given you so much trouble in Samar, is a mixture of all races. Out of the thousands and tens of thousands of pure-blooded Tagals and Visayans we have nursed through the University, we have only succeeded in producing a number of fairly good apothecaries and a notary or two."

From the Conquest down to 1863, the primary as well as the higher education of the islanders was left entirely in the hands of the Monastic Orders. The territory of the Dominicans was in Pangasinan and Cagayan. The Franciscans looked after the Camarines, Tayabas, Leyte and Samar; and the Austin friars, Cebu and other portions of the Visayas, and Ilocos and Lepanto. At this time, the Austins had in their charge two million souls, and the Franciscans about the same number. The missionary work in Mindanao was in the hands of the Jesuits. By the legislation of 1863, the parish schools, which the friars had controlled since the conquest, were in a sense removed from their charge. In the earlier days, the parish priest had taught school when he could, when not engaged in burying the dead and baptizing the new born, when not otherwise occupied with his various duties such as collector of the industrial and urban tax, chairman of the Road and Bridge Vigilance Committee, chief sanitary officer and fighter of the locust plagues. In view of these demands upon

his time, his activity in school-work was generally seconded by his most promising scholar, who often became *de facto* schoolmaster. To each parish there were attached, as the population grew, many *barrios* or hamlets where the friar was represented by a native priest, as a rule. These *barrios* often became as large as the mother parish, and here again primary education was primitive. The priest was represented by another pupil, and the school-house was no better than his parish funds could provide.

The legislation of 1863, whatever its underlying motive may have been, was not frankly hostile to the supremacy of the church. The teachers installed by the friars kept their places, but the Jesuits were authorized to found a normal school in Manila, from which in the future teachers for the district or municipal schools were to be drawn. The parish priest was recognized as inspector of all schools within his parish until 1893, when, by the municipal or township act, the control of the schools passed entirely into the hands of the municipal officers. Men as hostile to Spanish dominion as Aguinaldo were installed as teachers, and the schools became the hotbeds of the Separatist movement. There is much evidence to show that from this time the attendance at the schools diminished, and the character of the education received by the children deteriorated. It could hardly be otherwise when not seldom there was not a single member of the school board, composed of the municipal officers, who could read or write.

The friars were no less distinguished as soldiers. They were well to the front in all the wars of the conquest, with the sword in the right hand and the cross in the left, after the doughty fashion of San Vicente de Ferrer. They were prominent in all the expeditions to the Moluccas and to Cochin China. They inspired the resistance to the invasion of the islands by the English in 1762, and the return of our cousins to Bombay with very little loot was due to the friars, their wisdom in council, their bravery in the field. The coral watch-towers and the stout fortresses which dot the coast of Luzon and all the Visayan islands, still tell of the vigilance with which the friars protected their flocks from the attacks of the Jolo Mohammedans, and the marauding expeditions of the Borneo and Mindanao pirates. This assistance in war which the apostles of peace gave was very gratefully received. Even in this day, I have heard the Tagals

and the Visayans assembled under the shadow of their ruined *cottas* sing the daring deeds of El Padre Capitan, Fray Ruiz Bermejo of Cebu, who, with his valiant flock, not content with beating the Moros on the high seas, followed them with fire and sword and destroyed their up-river fastnesses.

Unfortunately, however, for their popularity among the islanders, the friars were as vigorous in their treatment of what they deemed sedition, as they were in combating invasion. They were the most relentless and vigilant enemies to those who conspired against monastic rule and the suzerainty of Spain. Even during the eighteenth century, there were not a few insurrections, forerunners of that rebellion against white supremacy with which we have been so recently confronted. In each and every instance, it was the friar who, through his deep knowledge of this by no means superficial people, discovered the conspiracy before great headway had been made, and suppressed it with relentless vigor. The same fate befell the revolts of the nineteenth century; that of Novales in 1822, of Cuesta in 1854, the Cavite uprising in 1872, and, last, the great uprising of 1896 (discovered by Fray Mariano Gil, a parish priest of Tondo), were all brought to light by the friars, and the revolutionists were compelled to take the field long before their preparations had been completed. After this simple enumeration of their acts of repressive activity, is it necessary to enquire farther as to the cause of the unpopularity of the friars among certain classes of Philippine society? By their unceasing vigilance, time and again, the friars thwarted the aspirations of an ever increasing number of Filipinos. They were undoubtedly very blameworthy in thus fighting for Spain. By their vows they had been released from their earthly allegiance, but the history of all missions goes to show how difficult it is for the missionary to forget the country of his birth in her hour of danger.

A very long chapter of Philippine history is filled with the squabbles between Spanish military and civil administrators, and the leaders of the Monastic Orders. Undoubtedly, no Governor-General could rule who antagonized the friars, simply because these latter, until within the present generation, were the only agents of the state as well as of the church to be found in the islands. Owing to the tremendous influence which the friars exercised, their undoubted power to baulk or to make an adminis-

tration successful, I do not attach a high value to the statements publicly made by various Spanish administrators during their incumbency, as to the efficiency of the Monastic Orders in their prescribed work of civilization and progress. However, it was the custom of the retiring Governor-General to leave a memorial descriptive of the existing conditions for the guidance of his successor in office. From these memorials, which have been recently printed in Madrid, I make the following excerpts, which surely have an added importance from the fact that they were never intended to see the light of day. In his memorial, General Don José de la Gandara says:

"The members of the religious Orders are the most efficient and powerful instruments of government at the disposal of the Governor-General in ordinary times and at all times. In the day of danger and emergency they are absolutely indispensable. Often, in the government of a province inhabited by half a million people, the supreme ruler of the islands has placed under his orders but two or three officials who are ignorant of the language spoken, whose residence is anything but permanent, and who are overwhelmed with an infinite amount of routine work. Government would be impossible were it not for the twenty or thirty friars living in their respective parishes who educate the natives, guide, discipline and control them. Their influence is great because of the reverence which their sacred office inspires, because their residence is permanent, and because they are thoroughly acquainted with the languages, the customs and the history of the people they seek to uplift. To-day it may be said without exaggeration that the government of the Philippines without the friars would be an impossibility."

General de la Torre, who was Governor-General during the time of the Spanish republic in 1873, and who passed for the most radical of the red republicans, whose whole administration was one long fight with the church, yet had this to say when he came to write his secret memorial:

"To deny the services which the religious Orders have rendered to the church and the fatherland in these islands would be the height of injustice and the most base ingratitude. To-day as in the past the Dominicans, the Austins, and the Recoletos, are rendering indispensable services. Any denial of this would be to ignore the history of our dominion in the Philippines, would be to deny what is apparent to the least observant. Any attempt at the present time to limit their sphere of influence would result in immense evils, would be, in my opinion, the height of impolicy, the most thoughtless imprudence. For a long period still, as long as there does not exist an agency to replace them and to do the civilizing work which is being performed by the religious

Orders in such a worthy manner, their presence here is indispensable. We must protect them and encourage them in exchange for the inestimable services which they render the state. It should never be forgotten that the degree of civilization and the prosperous and improving condition of the people of these islands are due almost entirely to the constant loyal and patriotic endeavor of the religious Orders."

Don Domingo Moriones, who was Governor-General in the seventies and who left behind him an enviable reputation for honesty and integrity, writes:

"Innumerable facts, which history cannot fail to register, tell of the labors and the sacrifices made by the religious Orders in carrying out their double mission in behalf of religion and civilization. After three centuries of a holy war, the struggle is resulting in the civic, social and religious redemption of seven millions of people. This result is undeniable proof of what the work of the friars has been in the past, what it is in the present, what it will be, I doubt not, in the future."

And, finally, I find, strangely enough, General Primo de Rivera, to whom many views very hostile to the friars have been credited in the American Congress, making the following statement in the Spanish Cortes:

"It is undeniable that in these islands the religious Orders have rendered great services. They have spread the Christian faith, and it is certain that civilization owes them much, perhaps everything. I do not believe the friars can be replaced. It is true that among them there are vicious men who commit abuses; but these individuals are exceptional, and I believe the evils of the system can be remedied without going to extreme measures. It is certain that the immense majority of the friars are good men, worthy of every consideration, deserving of much praise."

There are two standing accusations against the friars—of exploiting the natives and of leading dissolute lives. The latter is based upon scandalous stories such as are, unhappily, in circulation in every community, and upon the fact that half caste children were sometimes born in the inland parishes. This phenomenon was often ascribed to the presence of the friars, but it is difficult to say with what justice. It is certain, however, that, though for more than four years the friars have been withdrawn, these miserable Eurasian children continue to come into the world in ever increasing numbers.

As to the charge of plunder, made so frequently and in such frantic terms, it is possible to be more explicit. The management

of the Monastic Orders was careful and in some respects thrifty. They had to be self-supporting or their missions would collapse. Rarely a penny reached them from Spain, and their tithes seem to have been paid largely in chickens and eggs. Their property all remained in the Philippines, only an incredibly small sum being sent annually to Spain to bear a part of the expense of the young friars who were being educated for the Philippine missions, and to support the invalided and superannuated brethren who had gone back to Spain. For three hundred years, these great corporations have been exploiting a country of large resources, the extent of which is alone known to them, and the valuation placed upon their estates, their monasteries and all their possessions, by Judge Taft is considerably under $10,000,000, which estimate is considered a just, if not a generous, one. There are half a dozen foreign firms in Manila without the knowledge of the people and the islands which the friars possess, who have made as much money as this out of the Philippines within the decade.

Confessedly, in the foregoing paragraphs, I have dwelt in preference upon what is praiseworthy in the work of the friars. Theirs was a noble mission and an exacting one, the friars were human and their history is not without stain. They seem, at times, in personal as well as in political affairs, to have been swayed by passion like other men. But, when time has calmed the controversy to which the termination of their mission in its mediæval shape has given rise, it will be seen that under their guidance a large proportion of the Filipinos have reached a much higher stage of civilization than has been attained by other branches of the Malay family under other circumstances and in another environment. I believe the work of the friars is recorded in the golden book of those who have labored for their fellow men, and I am confident the credit of it, though dimmed to-day by partisanship and want of charity, will not escape history.

STEPHEN BONSAL.

AN IDEAL SCHOOL OF POLITICS AND JURISPRUDENCE.

BY HANNIS TAYLOR.

THE historical method of investigating the origin and growth of law, public and private, beginning with its germs in primitive society, attempts to explain its nature and meaning through the record of its development. The main difficulty in the way of complete demonstration is the fragmentary character of the evidence as to the initial forms of law in the early periods. Only by a comparison of such fragments as have been preserved in the survivals of ancient law or custom, in the usages of savage tribes and stagnant nations, or in the annals of a few ancient historians, is it possible to reconstruct primitive society as a complete organism. The same process of thought that gave birth to comparative philology and comparative anatomy, at a little later day brought forth comparative mythology, comparative politics and comparative jurisprudence. These new branches of knowledge are simply parts of the general result of the transition that has taken place since the end of the eighteenth century, from the old or artistic method of historical investigation to the new or sociological.

The term "politics," when taken in the Aristotelian sense, embraces not only the systems of constitutional law under which states are governed, but also the codes of domestic law by which the interior life of the state is regulated. Hence it is that Sir Frederick Pollock tells us, in his "History of the Science of Politics" that "jurisprudence is a branch of politics." Therefore, upon the threshold of his career, the student of law, as that term is usually employed, should be impressed with the fact that his knowledge can never be either complete or comprehensive until he masters the Science of Politics, a science which involves

the study, according to the comparative method, not only of the dominant constitutional systems, but of the typical codes of the civilized world. He should be exhorted to learn from Mr. Freeman that:

"for the purposes of the study of comparative politics, a political constitution is a specimen to be studied, classified and labelled, as a building or an animal is studied, classified and labelled, by those to whom buildings or animals are objects of study. We have to note the likenesses, striking and unexpected as those likenesses often are, between the political constitutions of remote times and places; and we have, as far as we can, to classify our specimens according to the probable casuses of those likenesses."[1]

By means of that process, a definite understanding has at last been reached as to the difference in structure between the modern state, as the nation, and the ancient state, as the city-commonwealth. Around those two radically different conceptions of the state are grouped all important political and legal theories, past and present,—the term "political" being used to distinguish the outer shell of the state from the "legal" code by which the details of its interior life are regulated. The simple statement of the matter should settle the fact that there can be no logical severance of the study of the outer shell of the state from that of its inner mechanism. A state is a "going concern" whose machinery is so interdependent that no one part can be fully understood without a knowledge of every other. If that be true, there can be no justification for the prevailing system which severs the study of these inseparable subjects from each other. The results of the Historical Method now demand that an ideal school for the combined teaching of Politics and Jurisprudence should recognize the following hierarchy of thought as the natural and logical one: (1) comparative politics; (2) comparative jurisprudence; (3) constitutional law of the particular state; (4) municipal law of the particular state; (5) international law, public and private; (6) international relations, diplomatic, financial, and economic. A student thus trained would have clearly before his mind, not only the entire structure of his own state and its international relations with other states, but also a comparative view of all the notable constitutions and codes of ancient and modern times. A tableau of subjects arranged upon that basis would provide,

[1] "Comparative Politics," p. 15.

in a natural and progressive order, a place for every important theme which has ever entered into the legal thought of mankind.

The most notable single result so far attained by the application of the comparative method to the study of political institutions, is embodied in the discovery, that the unit of organization in all the Aryan nations, from Ireland to Hindostan, is the naturally organized association of kindred—the family swelled into the clan—which, in a settled state, assumed the form of a village community. When we turn to the Hellenic world, in which the science of politics was born, we there find that the state is a composite whole that has arisen out of an aggregation of village communities. To the Greek mind the state, the city-commonwealth, was an organized society of men dwelling within a walled city, with a surrounding territory not too large to prevent its free inhabitants from habitually assembling within its limits to discharge the duties of citizens. Passing from the Greek to the Italian peninsula, we there also find the idea of the independent city to be the leading political idea. Upon the soil of Italy it was, that a group of village communities grew into a single vast and independent city that centralized within its walls the political power of the world. Departing from the exclusive policy of the Greek cities, Rome accomplished that marvellous result through a policy of incorporation, carried out by the extension of her franchise first to Italy, then to Gaul and Spain, and finally to the whole Empire. And so, whether we take for illustration the exclusive Greek city or the great Latin city extending its franchise to all the world, the ancient conception of the state as the city-commonwealth stands forth clearly and distinctly defined. Not until that fact has been firmly grasped, is it possible to understand the process through which, out of the settlements made by the migratory Teutonic nations upon the wreck of the Roman Empire, has gradually arisen the modern conception of the state as a nation, occupying a definite area of territory—the state as known to modern international law.

The completion of the transition from personal to territorial sovereignty is marked by the accession of the Capetian dynasty in France. The form then assumed by the French monarchy was reproduced in each dominion subsequently established or consolidated, and thus has arisen the state-system of modern Europe, in which the idea of territorial sovereignty is the basis of all in-

ternational relations. Not until the student has possessed himself of this modern idea of the state, is he prepared to enter upon the comparative study of the constitutions of France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, Sweden-Norway, Great Britain, Spain and the United States,—constitutions of the new type, in which the history of representative government is embodied. Not only should the growth of each of these constitutions be so outlined as to disclose the central and local organization and the administrative development of the parent state, but, also, in the case of the colonizing nations, to indicate the distinctive features, at least, of the colonial system of each.

In passing from such a review of comparative politics to that of comparative jurisprudence, the student would understand already that the great problems to be mastered in the new field are those involved in the origin and growth of Roman law, originally the code of a single city-commonwealth, and of English law, originally the code of a single Teutonic state representing the new type of territorial sovereignty which arose out of "the process of feudalization." Roman and English law, less colored by outside influences than the other legal systems of Western Europe, most perfectly present normal and untrammelled legal evolution in the freedom and individuality of their development. Legal science is really a Roman creation, an evolution from a code which, in its primitive form, was merely an enunciation in words of the customs of the Roman people, put forth before Roman society had finally emerged from that condition in which religious duty and civil obligation are inevitably confounded with one another. It has been said that Roman law begins with a code and ends with a code. The *Corpus Juris Civilis* was the final outcome of the process of evolution that began with the decemviral code of the Twelve Tables, four centuries and a half before Christ, and ended with the compilations made in the reign of Justinian, more than five centuries after Christ. With the creation of the primitive code, the spontaneous development of Roman law ceased; and then the question of questions that arose was as to the means of adapting an unelastic system of strict and highly formal law, originally confined to a single city, to the ever-increasing wants of a society which was expanding into an empire. That result was slowly and silently accomplished by the employment in their natural order of Legal Fictions, Equity and Legisla-

tion. As the *jus civile,* administered by the *praetor urbanus,* was the special property of those who shared in the Roman tradition and worship, the large body of resident foreigners at Rome would have been entirely without the benefits of law, but for the establishment of the praetor of foreigners *(praetor peregrinus),* whose duty it was to administer justice between Roman citizens and foreigners, between foreigner and foreigner, and between citizens of different cities within the Empire. As this praetor could not rely upon the law of any one city for the criteria of his judgments, he finally turned his eyes to the codes of all the cities from which came the swarm of litigants before him. In the generalizations necessarily made upon such data we have the beginnings of comparative jurisprudence, whose first fruit at Rome was the ascertainment of the fact that there are certain universal and uniform conceptions of justice common to all civilized peoples. Before this new growth *(jus gentium),* watered by the learning of the jurisconsults, reached its maturity, the intellectual life of Rome had passed under the dominion of her subjects in Attica and Peloponnesus just after they had yielded to the ascendency of the Stoic Philosophers, who were ever striving to discover in the operations of nature, physical, moral and intellectual, some uniform and universal force pervading all things that could be designated as the law of nature—the embodiment of universal reason—identical with Zeus, the supreme administrator of the universe. Through the mind of the Roman lawyer that splendid conception entered into the *jus gentium,* as an expanding and enriching force which finally lifted it into a higher sphere. In that way a broad principle of Greek philosophy became so blended with a particular branch of Roman commercial law, that the Antonine jurisconsults finally assumed the position that the *jus gentium* and the *jus naturae* are identical.

Not until the elements composing the body of Roman law prior to the compilations of Justinian have been analyzed and explained, should the effort be made to unfold the processes through which that law entered into the modern legal systems of Europe, notably into those of France, Spain, Germany and England. Such an effort necessarily involves an account of the influence of the Theodosian Code upon the legislation of the first Teutonic conquerors within the Empire, embodied in the code of Alaric II. known as the Breviary *(breviarium Alaricianum),* and in the

new *Lex Visigothorum* prepared in Spain in the seventh century. That summary of Roman rules and Gothic custom, superseding the earlier compilation of Alaric, became the basis for Spain's later codifications. Although rejected in Spain the code of Alaric was retained in the south of France, whence it was transmitted to the north, and then to Germany and England, where it continued to be the chief, if not the only, source of Roman law until the eleventh or twelfth century, when the *Corpus Juris Civilis* as compiled by Justinian (or, rather, Trebonian) became the basis of the enthusiastic revival of the study of jurisprudence.

After that point has been reached, it is easy to trace the extension of the new learning from the Italian schools of Bologna and Pisa into France, Spain, Holland, Germany and England. As the consolidation of the kingdom of France advanced, the expert jurists, trained in the systematic study of Roman law in the universities, who were sent in the name of the crown to enforce the royal jurisdiction, so embodied the principles of the Roman code in their decisions that in time it came to be accepted, in the greater part of France, as the common law of the land, in the absence of proof of special custom or enactment. With a strong infusion drawn from Germanic custom, the compilations of Justinian, after being modified and adapted to the new conditions of French history, survive as the basis of France's last great codification, the *Code Napoléon.* Beyond the Rhine, where Rome never established her dominion, not only deep-rooted Germanic custom but the decentralizing forces of feudalism, in an extreme form, confronted the efforts of the Holy Roman Empire to advance the work of unification by fostering the irresistible system of Roman law, whose principles were upheld by the imperial courts and imperial lawyers, its faithful administrators and advocates. Without being able to displace Germanic custom, the Roman code so modified and supplemented it that in the end, it became not only the basis of all German legal study, but the *prima facie* rule of decision in the absence of conclusive proof, upon the part of the suitor who pleaded established local usage, that such usage existed as recognized law. Through her acceptance of Roman jurisprudence, Holland was able to give to the world a master of it in the person of Hugo Grotius, who found, in the *jus gentium,* the reservoir from which he attempted to draw a body of rules adequate, by virtue of their intrinsic weight

and dignity, to compel the obedience of the then freshly emancipated European nationalities, without the coercive force of any recognized central authority. Thus it was that a particular branch of Roman commercial law became the germ out of which has been developed modern international law. Not until the extension of Roman law into the leading Continental European nations has been clearly explained, should the attempt be made to trace the processes, too important to be overlooked, through which the colonizing European nations have replanted it in their settlements beyond the seas.

The student of English customary law should lay firm hold upon the fact that, through the Teutonic conquest and settlement of Britain, the whole fabric of Teutonic life was replanted, within certain limits, in its primitive purity, on a free and unencumbered soil. As Taine has expressed it: "While the Germans of Gaul, Italy and Spain became Romans, the Saxons retained their language, their genius and manners, and created in Britain a Germany outside of Germany."[1] The Teutonic political system as a whole rested upon the collective weight of individual freemen acting together in an expanding series of popular assemblies, whose jurisdiction, beginning with the smallest local affairs, so widened as to embrace the gravest national concerns. The foundations of this primitive system, composed of these local, self-governing communities—the nurseries of the customary law—were so deeply laid in Britain, that the system itself has been able to survive all the mutilations through which the English nation has passed. When the Norman came, he seized the Central powers of the state, but the local Teutonic system remained unshaken by the assault. Upon this local system, as a substructure, the Norman built up his administrative system, as a superstructure, and out of the fusion between the two has grown the modern constitution. The same agencies which, during the Angevin reigns, brought about the amalgamation of the new administrative system and the ancient local machinery, also brought about a union between the new system of royal law, which radiated from the *curia legis,* and the ancient system of customary law as administered in the local courts. Out of the union of a certain branch of royal law—the system of inquisitions introduced into England by the Normans, who derived it directly from the Frank Capitu-

[1] "History of English Literature," vol. 1, p. 50.

laries, into which it was probably adopted from the fiscal regulations of the Theodosian Code—with a certain kind of witness-proof imbedded in the customary law, has been gradually developed the English jury or judgment, the trial-jury of modern times. More potent still was the influence of Roman law as asserted in the Court of Chancery presided over first by great ecclesiastics, who remedied the deficiencies of the customary law through the agency of Roman legal principles and procedure; in the Ecclesiastical Courts, constructed on the same plan, and charged, until very recent times, with the administration of all estates and all trusts in England; and in the Courts of Admiralty, administering a code of maritime law whose deficiencies were "supplied from that great fountain of jurisprudence, the civil law, which was generally adopted to fill up the chasms that appeared in any of the municipal customs of modern European nations."[1] To such an extent did Roman influence affect legislation in the reigns following the Conquest, that competent critics have declared that wellnigh one-half of the contents of the laws of Henry I. consist of precepts drawn from Roman sources. As Vacarius began the systematic teaching of the civil and canon law at Oxford as early as 1149, it is not strange that we should be able to trace the influence of the imperial and pontificial jurisprudence in the works of such text writers as Granvill, Bracton, Britton and Fleta. The familiarity of Bracton with it is manifest not only from its frequent quotations from the Digest, Institutes and Code of Justinian, but also from his use of Roman definitions and maxims. When the time came for English judges to realize that the doctrines of the customary law were not equal to the growing exigencies of English commerce by land and sea, Lord Mansfield, a well-trained civilian, indicated a disposition to look to foreign sources by quoting, in his opinion in Luke *vs.* Lyde,[2] the laws of Rhodes, the Digest, the *Consolato del Mare,* the laws of Oléron and Wisby, *Roccus de Navibus et Naulo,* and the *Marine* Ordinance of Louis XIV.

And yet, after all has been said that can be said, as to the extent to which English customary law has been refined, expanded, enriched by the absorption of Roman elements, the fact remains that it has never lost either its identity or its distinctive charac-

[1] Reeves, "History English Law," vol. iii, p. 388.

[2] 2 Burr, 882. Involving the important question of freight *pro rata.*

ter. In the same sense in which the English language is Teutonic, English law is Teutonic. Just as the Romance words which the Norman brought with him were woven into the woof and warp of the English tongue, so the Norman's ideas of law and administration were woven into the primitive constitution. In England as in Rome the motive power of legal change has ever been drawn not from a small governing class, but from the nation as a whole. For centuries, that popular initiative has been unconsciously adapting the primitive code to the ever-increasing wants of a progressive society. To paraphrase the language of Savigny, as to the nature of law in general, English law may be described as an aspect of the total common life of the nation; not something made by the nation as matter of choice or convention, but, like its manners and language, bound up with its existence, and indeed helping to make the nation what it is.

Not until his horizon has been widened by an adequate review of comparative politics and comparative jurisprudence, is the student of the Constitution of the United States prepared to begin the analysis of the complex political system under which he lives. Our federal republic is the outcome of all the ages; it is not the result of special creation, but of evolution. It arose out of an aggregation of States. As Mr. James Bryce has expressed it: "They existed before it. They could exist without it."[1] The all-important fact to grasp at the outset is, that the unit—the typical English state in America—is simply a natural and involuntary reproduction of the English state in Britain, which was the outcome of aggregation. Out of a union of townships grew what was finally known in England as the hundred; out of the union of hundreds grew the modern shire; out of a union of modern shires grew the English kingdom. The power to subdue and settle a new country, and then to build up a state by this process of aggregation, constitutes the strength of the English nation as a colonizing nation. By that process, capable under favorable geographical conditions of unlimited expansion, has been built up the federal republic of the United States. "In America . . it may be said that the township was organized before the county, the county before the State, the State before the Union."[2] In order to ascertain how the English colonies in America were construct-

[1] "American Commonwealth," vol. 1, p. 14.

[2] Tocqueville, "Democracy in America," vol. 1, p. 49

ed, we must look behind their charters at the lives of the men who made the settlements out of which they grew. "Under the shell there was an animal, and behind the document there was a man. The shell and the document are lifeless wrecks, valuable only as a clew to the entire and living existence. We must reach back to this existence, endeavor to re-create it."[1] In some instances, the colony was formed by the coalescence of the local communities before a charter was granted; in others, the charter was granted first, and the colony then sub-divided into districts as the local communities were organized. Through the results of the Revolution, the people of each colony became themselves sovereign, and as soon as they "took into their own hands the powers of sovereignty, the prerogatives and regalities which before belonged either to the Crown or the Parliament, became immediately and rightfully vested in the State."[2] When the offspring is compared with the parent, when the English state in America is compared with the English state in Britain, the resemblance is too close to escape the most careless observer. In both, the political sub-structure is the same,—the ancient Teutonic system of local, self-governing communities composed of the township, the hundred, and the shire. In each, municipal organization rests upon substantially the same basis. So far as central organization is concerned, every American State is a mere reproduction of the central organization of the English kingdom, with such modifications as have necessarily resulted from the abolition of nobility, feudality and kingship. In the new, as in the old, the central powers of the state are divided into three departments—legislative, executive, and judicial—which, in the same qualified sense, are separate and distinct from each other. The first brand-new idea contributed to the politics of the world by the process of state-building in America, is embodied in the vitally important and far-reaching principle known as constitutional limitations upon the legislative power—an invention which rests upon the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, as distinguished from the sovereignty of Parliament.

Any attempt to describe the process through which the American colonial commonwealths were drawn together, first in lax and imperfect confederacies, and finally into the most perfect

[1] Taine, "History of English Literature," vol. 1, p. 1.

[2] Taney, C. J., in Martin *et al vs.* The Lessee of Waddell, 16 Peters, p. 416.

federal union which has ever existed, should be prefaced by an outline of the history of federalism as a system of government. Because they represent the closest preceding approaches to the perfect federal ideal, special examination should be made of the constitutions of the Achaian League (B.C. 281-146); of the Confederation of the Swiss Cantons (from 1291); and of the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands (1579-1795). The outcome of the inquiry will settle the fact that the fundamental principle upon which all such fabrics rested was the requisition system, under which the federal head was simply endowed with the power to make requisitions for men and money upon the states composing the league for federal purposes, while the states alone, in their corporate capacity, possessed the power to execute and enforce them. Upon that antiquated and inefficient plan was constructed the first federal constitution of the United States embodied in the Articles of Confederation. No advance whatever was made until the making of the second federal Constitution of 1787, when America gave birth to a novel and irresistible political idea, by devising a federal system which should act not on the States but directly on the individual, and vest in Congress full power to carry its laws into effect. That path-breaking idea, which the Websters (Pelatiah and Noah) were the first to express, embodied the second vitally important political principle to which our career as a nation has given birth. Out of its union with the principle of constitutional limitations on the legislative power has arisen a federal creation without historic prototype.

Not until he is armed with a clear understanding of the structure of the outer shell of the dual political system under which he lives, is the student of American jurisprudence ready to enter upon the technical study of municipal law as arranged in the courses of the ordinary law-school. Thus armed, he cannot suffer so much from the narrowing and bewildering system of case-law instruction, because he will be in possession of much of the knowledge which that system presupposes. When he is required to know the difference between law and equity, he will understand that he is dealing with the two historic codes—Roman and English—side by side. If he is called upon for a thesis upon the Constitution of Louisiana, he will be prepared to explain how the outer shell of a State may be Teutonic and the inner mechanism Roman.

After the entire structure of the particular state has been fully mastered, nothing remains for examination but its relations with other states of the same class. So far as those relations are legal, they are embodied in the system of rules generally known as international law, public and private. In order, however, to attain to a complete knowledge of such relations, the inquiry should be so extended as to embrace their diplomatic, financial and economic aspects. Guided by such a scheme of progressive and unbroken thought, the student could traverse, possibly in three, certainly in four years, the entire field occupied by Politics and Jurisprudence, cheered on the way by the consciousness that each succeeding stage of the journey will be made easier by the knowledge acquired during that immediately preceding it.

HANNIS TAYLOR.

THE LATER WORK OF MR. W. B. YEATS.

BY FIONA MACLEOD.

It is hardly a decade since the rise of a new "Gaelic" or Anglo-Celtic "school" in literature was looked at as the idle dream of an enthusiast here, a visionary there. As for a Celtic Drama—a Drama that would have nothing in common with the accepted Irish melodrama so popular in England, but would have everything in common with the dreams of Irish poets and the tragic history of Ireland; a Drama that would not set itself to please through a facile laughter and an easy pathos, but through the magic of legendary associations and the spell of a timeless imagination working within a passionate nationalism of mind and spirit—for a Celtic Drama such as this, there was not even derision. The idea was too remote.

To ignore, now, the Anglo-Celtic "school"—I prefer to say the Anglo-Celtic group—would be too parochial even for a London critic trained in the narrowest academical and literary conventions. One may ignore this or that writer: all cannot be ignored, for they are now many, and some have that distinction which rebukes the sullen. One may deprecate the "movement," may decry it, may more insolently patronize it—as some French critics patronize Aubanel, Mistral, and the Provençal school, or as they patronize the poets and romancists of the Breton people: but one can no longer say it is not present, or is not to be reckoned with. There are, of course, faults on both sides. On each are wrong claims as well as wrong refusals, wrong assertions as well as wrong denials. In time, these adverse influences will combine in understanding, and, later, in sympathy and amity. If on the one side there has been obtuseness (to speak of a sullen ill-will on the part of England towards Gaelic Ireland and Gaelic Scotland is now grotesquely untrue), there is a worse quality than

obtuseness on the other, a cultivated hate. It is almost inconceivable to what lengths this cult of revenge or hatred, this blind irreconcilability, will go. Not only the ignorant and idly passionate yield to its facile contamination, but those who would be spiritual guides and leaders pin to it all their hopes. These influences and blind advocates, of course, must exist, so that out of evil good may come: but meanwhile they are the subtlest foes of Ireland and of that whole Anglo-Gaelic world which is now gathering itself for a last effort to resist extinction.

At present, however, there is, of the Irish group, one writer who stands apart. Whether one care for or dispute "the Celtic movement," none denies that Mr. Yeats is of the very few writers of the younger generation who can persuade us to the use of that sadly abused word "genius." As essayist, romancist, dramatist, but above all as poet, he has a unique place.

The color of his style is the color of his thought, and the color of his thought is the color of a genius larger than his own, the genius of a race.

With the romances of "The Secret Rose," the fantasies and episodes of "The Celtic Twilight," or the several fascinating and suggestive essays in which, I think, is to be found Mr. Yeats's finest work in prose, I do not now attempt to concern myself. Nor, indeed, do I wish at present to consider his poetry as a whole: for his work in verse is familiar to most of us, and has been widely considered by others. But I would say a few words concerning his latest book of verse, his "Shadowy Waters," and his dramatic work.

In a small book of verse, "The Wind Among the Reeds," recently given us by Mr. W. B. Yeats, I think a note is touched which is significant. It is the beginning of a new music, and of a new motive. It is not often, I imagine, that titles are so apt as that chosen for this little book. These fewer than two-score poems, most of them within the boundary of a page, are small and slight as reeds; and the wind which moves in them a delicate music is as invisible, as mysterious, as elemental as that "strong creature, without flesh, without bone, that neither sees nor is seen," of which long ago Taliesin sang. To understand its intimate music, certainly to feel that music translate itself into the rhythm of dream, one must go to this book as to a solitary place where reeds rise in the moonshine. To know intimately the

mystery of these solitudes, it must be when the wind is the only traveller, and sunlight and shadow, the stars and darkness and the wandering plover are the sole visitants. How else is one (though, indeed, the blind bird in the heart must have sung the same song) to feel as Hanrahan with the curlew wailing overhead and an old memory beating with bewildered wind against a sense of further sorrow yet to come:

"O, Curlew, cry no more in the air,
Or only to waters in the West;
Because your crying brings to my mind
Passion-dimmed eyes and long heavy hair
That was shaken out over my breast;
There is enough evil in the crying of wind."

This little book has the remoteness, the melancholy, of all poetry inspired by spiritual passion. It has, too, that other melancholy of which one of the subtlest of modern poets wrote in a forgotten early tale: "*Les rêves du poète et de l'amant-rêves qui, par une loi inexplicable de notre nature, ont toujours une teinte de mélancolie, même dans leurs plus splendides rayonnements, et qui ne sont les plus délicieux des rêves qui grâce à cette même mélancolie.*" Here we are aware of the stillness of things that are past or are not again to be:

"I bring you with reverent hands
The book of my numberless dreams;
White woman that passion has worn
As the tide wears the dove-gray sands,
And with heart more old than the horn
That is brimmed from the pale fire of time,
White woman with numberless dreams,
I bring you my passionate rhyme."

This note of loss, of regret, finds constant expression.

"I hear the shadowy Horses, their long manes a-shake,
Their hoofs heavy with tumult, their eyes glimmering white;
The North unfolds above them clinging, creeping night,
The East her hidden joy before the morning break,
The West weeps in pale dew, and sighs passing away,
The South is pouring down roses of crimson fire.
O vanity of Sleep, Hope, Dream, endless Desire,
The Horses of Disaster plunge in the heavy clay.
Beloved, let your eyes half close, and your heart beat
Over my heart, and your hair fall over my breast
Drowning love's lonely hour in deep twilight of rest,
And hiding their tossing manes and their tumultuous feet."

Mr. Yeats is assuredly of that small band of poets and dreamers who write from no other impulse than because they see and dream in a reality so vivid that it is called imagination. With him the imagination is in truth the second-sight of the mind. Thus it is that he lives with symbols, as unimaginative natures live with facts.

A symbolist stands in some danger here. The obvious peril is a confusion of the spiritual beauty behind the symbol with the arbitrary expression of that spiritual beauty through that particular symbol. There are blind alleys and lost roads in symbolism, and few of those who follow that loveliest trail into "the undiscovered Edens" of Beauty but sometimes lose themselves, and go after shadows, and idly name the stars, and inhabit planets with their own desires, putting their vain dreams upon these unheeding children of eternity.

Perhaps a truer wisdom is that which would see the symbols in the facts, and the facts translated from their material body to their spiritual significance. It is the constant reminder of the man who breaks stones to the man who measures the stars, that he concerns himself with remote unrealities; but the star-gazer is also apt to forget that without broken stones no road would be paven. And I cannot but think that Mr. Yeats is a star-gazer too reluctant to listen to the plaint of those who break stones or are spiritually dumb hewers of wood and drawers of water. He does not always sing of things of beauty and mystery as the things of beauty and mystery are best sung, so that the least may understand; but rather as those priests of Isis who, when bidden to chant the Sun-Hymn to the people, sang, beautifully, incomprehensible algebraical formulae.

> "The Powers whose name and shape no living creature knows
> Have pulled the Immortal Rose:
> And though the Seven Lights bowed in their dance and wept,
> The Polar Dragon slept,
> His heavy rings uncoiled from glimmering deep to deep:
> When will he wake from sleep?"

Or again:

> "We who still labour by the cromlech on the shore,
> The grey cairn on the hill, when day sinks drowned in dew,
> Being weary of the world's empires, bow down to you,
> Master of the still stars and of the flaming door."

Or that strange poem of love with its fantastic dream-beauty, beginning:

> "Do you not hear me calling, white deer with no horns?
> I have been changed to a hound with one red ear."

To some there is no need to explain "the white deer with no horns," "the hound with one red ear," "the boar without bristles, out of the West": to some the symbols of the "Polar Dragon" and the "Immortal Rose" stand evident. But these must be few: and though in a sense all excelling poetry is mystical, in the wider and not less true sense it should be as water is, or as air is, or as flame is. For it too is an elemental, being in the spiritual life what wind is in the natural life.

When the reader, unfamiliar with "the signature of symbol," shall read these and kindred lines, will he not feel that this young priest of the Sun should translate to a more human key his too transcendental vision? What, he will ask, is the Immortal Rose, and what the Polar Dragon? Who is the guardian of the flaming door, and of what is it the portal? If a Gael, he may have heard of the white fawn that is Love, of the white hound that is Death. Is it this symbol that lives anew in the hound with one red ear, in the white deer without horns?

For all who may not be able readily to follow his honey of old wisdom, Mr. Yeats has added notes. It would be more exact to say that one-half of the book comprises the prose equivalent of the verse. If all notes afforded reading such as one may read here! Mr. Yeats turns round mentally and shows us the other side, where the roots grow and the fibres fill with sap, and how they grow to that blossom we have already seen, and what the sap is. In their kind, these notes have something of the charm of the poems to which they stand interpreter. Yet they should be superfluous. It is not their presence that one objects to, but their need. Poetry is an art which should be as rigorously aloof from the explicative as the art of painting is, or as sculpture is, or music. When Mr. Yeats gives us work on a larger scale, with a greater sweep, he will, let us hope, remember that every purely esoteric symbol is a vague image—and vagueness is the inevitable defect against which the symbolist has to contend.

But, when all is said that criticism is called upon to say, what a lovely gift of music and spiritual intensity and beauty is here.

I have an incalculable pleasure in this subtle magic which creates so much loveliness out of a few words. If, at times, the motive has triumphed at the expense of the manner, it is rare that music and meaning do not go in delectable harmony. What lover of perfect verse but could take keen pleasure in a little poem so rose-like in its intricate symmetry as this:

"Had I the heavens' embroidered cloths,
Enwrought with golden and silver light;
The blue and the dim and the dark cloths
Of night and light and the half light;
I would spread the cloths under your feet;
But I, being poor, have only my dreams;
I have spread my dreams under your feet,
Tread softly because you tread on my dreams."

The nobler use of symbolism—which is but an analogue of the soul's speech—gives a strange spiritual intensity to these poems. All do indeed live with an intense life, though of conventional actuality they have little or nothing. Some seem to be written in accordance with "the magical tradition"; some conform to the utterance of Celtic mythology; some have no other shape or aspect than their own, as they came, like moths out of twilight, from the twilight of the poetic imagination. All come

"from a more dream-heavy land,
A more dream-heavy hour than this;"

and it is the infinite, because never wholly to be overtaken, charm of these breaths—breaths of the reeds of the spirit shaken in that wind which comes out of the past of time and the past of the heart—that, in them, we too, as the poet himself, may hear "white Beauty sighing." In no descriptive sense, but in a deeper sense, this book is one of a small company that are pioneers in that intimate return to nature from which we may and do expect so profound and beautiful a revelation. For a few come with new vision, to reveal what is so old, what is younger than all else, and new always.

It is a return, that in some sense, if only for solace and strength, all of us who feel life acutely must make.

I remember an old Highland fisherman saying to me once, when asked if he thought God could ever tire: "I think He has the sea in His right hand, and all the moors and hills of the world in His left, and when He is tired o' lookin' at the wicked-

ness o' man, He washes it out in the sea, an' then watches His mercy like a soft shadow creepin' across the moors an' hills." I do not profess to give the exact words, for the old islander spoke in Gaelic; but this is the drift of them. "It's all *obair an doill*, the work of the blind," he added—meaning the vanity of the human heart. And, recalling this, I think that true poets and all the silent kindred of poets must often seek remote places, the loneliness of hill or moor, must often listen to the desert wind, to the whispering reeds, as a refuge from the dull trouble of the habitual life; that so they, too, may take comfort from the stealing forth of soft and kindly shadow—symbol of natural rest and spiritual re-birth.

A larger note is struck in "The Shadowy Waters." In this dramatic poem—in this poetic vision, told in verse cast in a dramatic form—Mr. Yeats has forsaken the acute moment become lyrical for the lyrical thought become continuous. It is not an epical poem, because it is a symbolical reflection of what is in the poet's mind, rather than the imaginative upbuilding of what his imagination has definitely shaped. It is not, strictly, a poetical drama, for action and speech are subservient to the writer's entranced vision of the symbolism of the action and of the speech. It is one of those new and strange utterances, so perplexing to many minds, wherewith conventional methods are used for novel, perturbing, sometimes bewildering, at times bewildered, thought: one of those "dramas of the mind, best seen against imagined tapestries," which reveal so much more to us than do the common or familiar "tapestries," the dramas of the obvious, of merely spectacular life.

I wonder how many who read this short drama of a score pages understood straightway what they read? The personages are mythical: even the famous name of Dectora (or Dectera) does not indicate that lovely queen with whose beauty old legend is fragrant: indeed, the poet has but taken the anglicized name of Cuchulain's mother and given it to an imaginary crowned woman out of Lochlann. This Dechtire is not a king's bride seeking a new kingdom, but the symbol or image of the Desire in the poet's heart, in the hearts of poets. And Forgael, what is he? A Gaelic prince, weary of songs and women and war, a lost king with a forgotten kingdom? Yes, but more: is he not the inappeasable Ideal that dwells in us, that calls, that allures the Desire that is

in our heart; but, having won it, and led it from shadowy lands across shadowy waters till the gray wave is all that is left of the visible world, will not lift it up nor wed it unless it will relinquish its own flame—unless, in a word, the beautiful mortal shall put on immortality, shall love the warmth and the dream for a perhaps too stellar radiance, a certitude too divinely impassive?

Many an one, besides Dectora, who has relinquished all for the divine dream of imperishable and perfect love, has, at the last, cried out in the extreme bitterness of a new dismay:

> "Where are these bought? Where are the holy woods
> That can change love to imperishable fire?
> O! I would break this net the gods have woven
> Of voices and of dreams."

It is the cry, not of Dectora only, but of all women, nay, of all who through dream and passion love to the extreme:

> "Beloved,
> We will. . . . . escape
> The nets the gods have woven and our own hearts,
> And will find out valleys and woods and meadows
> To wander in;"

and it is the answer of that Inexorable Ideal which echoes in:

> "All that know love among the winds of the world
> Have found it like the froth upon the ale."

Not the plea of one shaken heart but of all the troubled hearts of mortal love is uttered, when Dectora suddenly cries passionately to Forgael:

> "Love was not made for darkness and the winds
> That blow when heaven and earth are withering,
> For love is kind and happy. O come with me!
> Look on this body and this heavy hair;
> A stream has told me they are beautiful.
> The gods hate happiness and weave their nets
> Out of their hatred;"

and when her mysterious lover abruptly bids her farewell, and tells her to seek Aibric, who loves her also, and with him go back to her lost and regretted land, it is not Forgael only that speaks, but again that Inexorable Ideal which will not temporize, which

offers but wind and shadow and yet demands all that clinging hands and turning feet are loath to leave. And the tragic pity of that final word is, that it always comes too late for the man or woman who would turn again to the beloved and mortal:

> "I should wander
> Amid the darkness, now that all my stars
> Have fallen and my sun and moon gone out."

Shall we have this visionary love, with its terrible renunciations, or the light in loved eyes, the touch of hands, the whisper in the shadow? Dectora is a woman and knows but one love:

> "The love I know is hidden in these hands
> That I would mix with yours, and in this hair
> That I would shed like twilight over you."

Forgael is not a man but a spirit, for to him love is idle as the unfolding of a rainbow, but the color of a moment on the gray eternities:

> "The love of all under the light of the sun
> Is but brief longing, and deceiving hope,
> And bodily tenderness;"

and he adds (alas, the cold radiance of precious stones after the glow and flame of that little infinite trouble in the dark, the human heart!)

> "but love is made
> Imperishable fire under the boughs
> Of chrysoberyl and beryl and chrysolite
> And chrysoprase and ruby and sardonyx."

It is lovely rhetoric, but the heart's silence is more eloquent. "The Shadowy Waters" has a continual loveliness. Many lines dwell with one:

> "already
> The cloudy waters and the glimmering winds
> Have covered them."

Many passages sink into the mind as dews sink through the dusk:

> "The pale hound and the deer wander forever
> Among the winds and waters; and when they pass
> The mountain of the gods, the unappeasable gods
> Cover their faces with their hair and weep.
> They lure us to the streams where the world ends."

Or:

"Crumbled away
The grass and the blue shadow on the stream
And the pale blossom."

"With a sound
I had woven of the sleep that is in pools,
Among great trees, and in the wings of owls."

Or:

". . . . . he who longs
For happier love but finds unhappiness,
And falls among the dreams the drowsy gods
Breathe on the burnished mirror of the world,
And then smooth out with ivory hands and sigh."

In his symbolical and mythological allusions, Mr. Yeats is again, as in "The Wind Among the Reeds," too esoteric often, sometimes too vague. One may speak the tongue of angels, but the accent must be human and familiar. A still more serious literary fault is the overuse of certain words: "winds and waters," "the pale hound," "heart's desire," and others, come too facilely from Mr. Yeats's generally so heedful art. Mannerism threatens disillusion when it becomes a common use, as when in close conjunction Mr. Yeats thrice uses a favorite, but at best dubious, epithet *druid,* uses it as an adjective for "mystic" or kindred word: "a druid vapor," "druid moons," "with druid apple-wood." It has a contagion, for a day or two ago I saw in a paper an allusion to "the druid spell of Mr. Yeats's poetry, its druid lights and shadows." I can understand a druid spell, though "druidic" is the fit word: but not druid lights and shadows.

"The Shadowy Waters" does not yield all its beauty at once. It is like that flower which Moan, a dark queen of the Hidden People, showed to Cuchulain in his madness: a flower of a pale hue and faint fragrance, that every day disclosed a richer hue, the color of a moment, or loosed, passing as a moth's wing, a new fragrance. It is the story of a dream, of a symbolic vision; but its enchantment lies in its subtly beautiful interpretation of a dream that is not of one mind but of many minds, of a vision that has not sustained one heart's desire only but the desire of many hearts in the troubled congregation of men and women.

The miscarriage which awaits the pioneer lurks in the probable failure between theory and fulfilment. Mr. Yeats has written

carefully concerning dramatic ideals and the Celtic Theatre: but he has not yet seemed explicit to the reader eager to sympathize with both, nor has his published dramatic work fulfilled the desired end. Like so many of us, he mistakes sometimes the gossamer drama woven inwardly of the wind of the spirit and the light of the imagination, for the tangible drama woven to represent adequately the things of the imagination and the spirit. He thinks in light and dreams in shadow, but forgets that the translation of these into thought made visible must be as explicit as the translation of the wind's cry on the wave or murmur among the leaves, when through a formal and exact notation the musician would convey the mystery of the one and the troubled deeps of the other. Hitherto, he has stood overmuch by the inner sureties of the loom of thought: now, if he has to achieve what he has in aim, he must study the outward weaving of the web, the external aspect of the woven dream, with not less careful heed, with careful, careful art. In "The Land of Heart's Desire," in "Countess Cathleen," in "The Shadowy Waters," he does not convince dramatically. In these he persuades. It may be the finer way for the imagination: to persuade by the thing seen, rather than by the thing shown. But it is not the way of Drama, whose end is to be achieved by methods of illusion other than those of cadence and color. Mr. Yeats has not yet perceived that the particular method of illusion demanded by the Drama necessitates both an acceptance of certain conventions, and an avoidance of certain scenic imaginative realities inept as visible scenic actualities. "The Countess Cathleen" ranks first in what he has done in dramatic form, a play of great beauty, and whose repeated public performance delighted those who saw it. Yet it is impossible not to feel that something is wanting. This want is not of the obvious: we do not mean that it should be longer or shorter, swifter or slower, more humorous or more tragic, more wrought in poetry or sustained in prose. We take it as it is, and judge it for its shape and color, its own life, its spirit, its aim. It is, then, that below the charm of the verse we are aware of a lack. It is not that the thought is slight, though it is not strenuous or deep; or that the phrase is inadequate in suggestion; or that unrealities wave conflicting plumes among the ordered march of the words, though insurgent unrealities there are at moments, and rebel insincerities, unconscious traitors no doubt. But something is lack-

ing, as in a still, breathless wood we miss the lifting airs that are the wind. And the wind whose airs Mr. Yeats does not yet command is the wind of the dramatic spirit. He does not think, shape, reveal dramatically. This is as obvious in his dramatic poems as in his tales. A dramatic conception of an event or a linked sequence of events is not enough: there must be a dramatic vision of the coherent and actual congregation of the "symbols" in which that conception is to be made unique and visible: there must, further, be that faculty of mental economy which can use the few words only, the slight detail, which can relinquish the literary idea for the visible actuality: and there must be the power to distinguish between the method of illusion that lies with reverie and inward vision, and the method of illusion that lies with concentrated thought and its immediate expression, with their demonstration in the visible.

The flaw in Mr. Yeats's dramatic work seems to me to be just this, that he is not primarily a dramatist. That he can write a beautiful dramatic poem is evident in "The Shadowy Waters": that he can write a beautiful "poetic drama" is evident in "The Countess Cathleen": that he can transmute into dramatic form the reflective spirit of reverie is evident in "The Land of Heart's Desire." But these are not dramas in the sense that they are the outward and actual representation, through men and women and the actual world, of the dreams and thoughts and ideas of which men and women and the actual world are the shadows and vivid phantoms. It is not the visible, the dramatic interpretation that Mr. Yeats gives us, but the woven shape and color of his dreams. "The Shadowy Waters" is a vision related as a dramatic poem: it could have been related in dramatic prose, or in the continuous linked prose of reverie, or in the deftly entangled prose of dialogue, or in the mirroring lucidities of the prose of narrative. We are glad of it as it stands: we may consider that it could not appeal to us more finely in another form. But it has not inevitableness. Even in the one drama more nearly suited for external representation which Mr. Yeats has written, there are spiritual truths, symbols, images which are as foreign voices crying for interpretation: images, symbols, and truths which, in their reality to him, he has forgotten are, to others, unrelated voices, wandering shapes, the idle signature of falling stars in the abyss.

And yet since I have re-read "The Shadowy Waters" I believe that Mr. Yeats may give us a wonderful compromise that shall be almost a new art, a new art perhaps. He may find the way where the dreaming spirit and the shaping mind are not two companions but one traveller: he may stoop by a well we have not seen, and hear the forgotten voice of Connla, and out of old wisdom fashion newly a new thing. In words already quoted,

> "dramas of the mind there are,
> Best seen against imagined tapestries,"

and it may well be that, in a day of outworn conventions, many of us may turn gladly from the scenic illusions of the stage-carpenter, and the palpable illusions of the playwright, to the ever-new illusions of the dreaming mind, woven in a new intense dramatic reality against "imagined tapestries," against revealing shadows and tragic glooms and radiances as real, and as near, as the crude symbols of painted boards and stereotyped phrase in which we still have a receding pleasure.

FIONA MACLEOD.

EXPERT EVIDENCE.

BY HON. JOHN WOODWARD, JUSTICE OF THE APPELLATE DIVISION OF THE SUPREME COURT OF NEW YORK.

GRAVE criticism of expert evidence in courts of law has not sprung from recently celebrated criminal cases. It is almost as old as the use of this species of evidence. Experts in language were called before Brian, C. J., in 1493, to advise the court what the Latin was for "fine," the obligation in issue requiring payment *auri puri;* but they could not tell. Experts in mercantile usage advised Holt, C. J., in the Court of King's Bench, in 1703, in Buller *vs.* Crips, that a note was to be treated in a suit by the indorsee as an inland bill of exchange. But though the Court has spoken with "two of the most famous merchants in the City of London," their views did not seem conclusive; for "the Court at last took the vacation to consider of it." A policy broker testified as an insurance expert before Lord Mansfield in 1760, in the case of Carter *vs.* Boehm, on a motion for a new trial, the plaintiff, Roger Carter, Governor of Fort Marlborough, in Sumatra, having recovered on a policy insuring the fort against capture. Count D' Estaing effected the capture of it, and "a verdict was found for the plaintiff by a special jury of merchants." Cawthorne, the broker, swore that in his opinion certain letters written by Governor Carter should have been shown to the defendant, "and, if they had, the policy would not have been underwritten." Lord Mansfield's decision may be quoted for its general applicability:

"Great stress was laid upon the opinion of the broker. But we all think the jury ought not to pay the least regard to it. It is mere opinion, which is not evidence. It is opinion after an event. It is an opinion which, if rightly formed, could only be drawn from the same premises from which the court and jury were to determine the cause: and therefore it is improper and irrelevant in the mouth of a witness. There ought not to be a new trial."

Medical experts were called in court earlier than any others, however, of whom we have record. In 1353, the "*Liber Assisarum, anno vicesimo octavo,*" records how the advice was invoked of "*medicos chirurgicos de melioribus Londini ad informandum Dominum Regem et curiam de his quae eis ex parte Domini Regis injungerent.*" The best surgeons in London were charged to inform the court whether certain wounds constituted mayhem, the prisoner at the bar being subject to attainder if found guilty of that offence. It was not for the complainant's benefit, or for the prisoner's defence, but to inform the King—the State—that the experts were called.

Of an expert who testified before him in the Tracy Peerage case, Lord Campbell said:

"Hardly any weight is to be given to the evidence of what are called scientific witnesses: they come with a bias on their minds to support the cause in which they are embarked."

Experts in handwriting have given rise latterly to the abuses most often complained of. As I had occasion to observe from the bench, in the matter of the Estate of R. E. Hopkins, "so notorious is it (the abuse of expert evidence) becoming that, if it is not checked, it seems to me a reaction must inevitably come that will abolish such testimony altogether."

Specialization is the order of the day, and the expert is a professed specialist. In a criminal case, pending for eight years past, the identity of a famous violin was in issue, and expert violin-makers were called to bear witness to it. Experts in electricity, in chemistry, and in any one of the arts or sciences may figure in the legal proceedings of to-day. An examination of the law and the precedents relating to medical and handwriting experts, whose evidence so often concerns the wealth, the sanity and the very life itself of women and men, may help us to arrive at some practical remedy for the abuses which are usually believed to have their origin in these two kinds of testimony, but which probably inhere in the very nature of expert testimony in general.

What is an expert? Stephen thus defines his functions:

"When there is a question as to any point of science or art, the opinions upon that point of persons especially skilled in any such matter, are deemed to be relevant facts. The word science or art includes all subjects on which a special study or experience is necessary to the formation of an opinion."

St. Clair McKelway, in an admirable paper on this subject, has given this definition:

"An expert must be regarded as any specialist giving evidence in the form of opinion, no matter what his real or reputed standing in his specialty or in the community."

While this is an excellent working definition, framed so as to invite discussion of the abuses incident to the system, I would substitute the following instead: An expert is a specialist, the value of whose evidence, given in the form of opinion, is proportioned to his character, to his reputation for honesty in the community, and to his standing in his specialty or profession. It is not sufficient that he be thought wise, he must also be accounted honest.

Jones, in one of the best recent text books,[1] says:

"If the non-professional witness must, on grounds of necessity, be sometimes allowed to state the inferences which irresistibly rise in his mind from those minute facts which he cannot detail, there are still stronger reasons for receiving, under proper limitations, the opinions of those skilled in matters of trade and science."

We have seen that expert evidence is as old almost as Anglo-Saxon, or rather Anglo-Norman, jurisprudence. Its disrepute has not grown less with years. Presiding Justice Goodrich of Brooklyn spoke not long since of "paid experts . . swearing for or against the sanity of a prisoner, according to the amount of their fee and the person who calls them." Justice Rumsey of the Appellate Division said of an expert, "the sole difference between him and an advocate being that he makes his argument under oath, and that he endeavors to add the weight of the oath to the opinion of the advocate." "Expert witnesses," said Justice Adams of Canandaigua, "are far more anxious to destroy each other . . than to elucidate the particular question in issue." Let the courts continue their denunciations, said he, until "experts mend their ways." Professor R. A. Witthaus, who has testified as a chemist in several capital cases, in commenting on "the just disrepute of expert testimony," has declared one of the causes to be "the employment of blatant, ignorant persons, or even of persons who do not hesitate at plain perjury." Jones declares that expert evidence is admitted when the subject matter of in-

[1] "The Law of Evidence in Civil Cases," by Burr W. Jones.

quiry "so far partakes of the nature of a science as to require a course of previous habit or study in order to attain a knowledge of it." But, says he, "it is not desirable in any case where the jury can get along without it," it "is of the very lowest order and the most unsatisfactory character," it is "justly exposed to a reasonable degree of suspicion" and "should be received with great caution by the jury."

In Ferguson *vs.* Hubbell, in the New York Court of Appeals, Judge Earl said: "It is generally safer to take the judgments of unskilled jurors than the opinions of hired experts." W. A. Purrington, Esq., a well known member of the New York Bar, declares[1] that "an expert is as honest as any other witness," but he admits that "perjury is too frequent with all classes" and that an expert witness is not punishable for perjury, "even in cases of wilful falsehood."

"If the testimony of the expert," said the Court in United States *vs.* McGhee, "is opposed to the jury's convictions of truth, it is their duty to disregard it."

It may not be possible for the jurors to free their minds from the tendency suggested by the testimony of experts, even should they conclude to disregard it. This, and the impossibility of securing at present the conviction of an expert for perjury, are two of the salient phases of the question. Says Jones:

> "The notorious fact that experts of equal credibility and skill are found, in almost every important cause, testifying to directly opposite conclusions, illustrates both the fallibility of such testimony and the fact that a conviction for perjury based upon such evidence would be very difficult. It is a matter of common observation in the courts that witnesses of the highest character and of undoubted veracity may be easily led, as experts, to espouse and defend a theory with all the zeal of the advocate."

In addition to his immunity from the penalties of perjury, the expert witness is immune also from the requirements of an exact standard of fitness. His fees need regulation, and the nature of the questions which may be put to him needs clearer limitation. He "may give an opinion in court on facts to which other witnesses have testified," yet he "should not be allowed to draw conclusions of fact from the testimony of other witnesses in the

[1] The Nature of Expert Testimony and some Defects in the Methods by which it is adduced in evidence.

case." He is a *judex facti*—though not a judge of the law, like the Court, nor of the facts like the jury.

The medical expert and the handwriting expert are subject to the same rules of law as other expert witnesses. But they may seem in the public mind to stand each in a class of his own. Specific comments upon the famous murder trials in New York City in which these two classes of experts have figured conspicuously in recent years, would be out of place in this paper. We all know medical experts who have given contradictory opinions under different circumstances in regard to the same fact. A medical man of the highest rank, an author and professor, who had in twenty years' practice seen three cases of opium and one of morphine poisoning, swore in the Buchanan case that "opium or morphine poisoning could not be diagnosed from symptoms alone." Opposing medical experts, who swore that they had seen seventy such cases in that time, were just as positive that such poisoning could be diagnosed from symptoms alone. Nobody thought then or since that the distinguished professor and author was anything less than a man of honor and intelligence; but some physicians have since expressed the opinion that Dr. Buchanan was not legally convicted of the crime for which he paid the penalty at Sing Sing.

In the case of Alsop *vs.* Bowtrell in ejectment heard in the King's Bench in 1619, at the Michaelmas term, the Court instructed the jury, on the strength of the expert evidence of "two doctors of physic, Sir Wm. Baddy and Dr. Mundford," that "the said Elizabeth (Andrews), who was born forty weeks and more after the death of the said Edmund Andrews, might well be the daughter of the said Edmund."

The opinion of these doctors seemed conclusive to the Court. Doubtless, justice was done. But there was probably a different result in the trial of Rose Cullender and Amy Duny, two poor widows, before Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Chief Baron of His Majesty's Court of Exchequer, in 1665, for witchcraft. The author of "Religio Medici," Sir Thomas Browne, one of the most eminent men of the times, testified as a medical expert:

"There was also Dr. Brown of Norwich, a person of great knowledge; who, after this evidence given, and upon view of the three persons in court, was desired to give his opinion, what he did conceive of them; and he was clearly of opinion that the persons were bewitched; and said

that in Denmark there had been lately a great discovery of witches who used the very same way of afflicting persons, by conveying pins into them. And his opinion was that the Devil in such cases did work upon the bodies of men and women.

"The judge and all the court were fully satisfied with the verdict and thereupon gave judgment against the witches that they should be hanged. . . . And they were executed on Monday the 17th of March following, but they confessed nothing."

Conviction also followed the medical testimony at the trial of the Earl of Pembroke for murder, in 1678, in which Mr. Raven was examined as an expert for the defence and said (not under oath):

"I viewed the body, my lord, before and when it was opened . . and could find no blackness or blueness . . . .; upon which the body was opened and there issued thence clotted blood; then I looked upon the caul which was withered and consumed, and the heart was as loose as a rag, and his lungs stuck to each side of his ribs; and as to the matter of the blood, that was not an extraordinary thing, for it is known to physicians that in all natural deaths there must be extravasated blood in the lower belly."

In 1679, at the trial of Green, Berry and Hill at the King's Bench, for the murder of Sir E. Godfrey, "the chirurgeons that viewed and opened the body, Mr. "Skillard and Mr. Cambridge" were called for the prosecution and Skillard testified: "All strangled people never swell, because there is a sudden deprivation of all the Spirits and a hindering of the circulation of the blood." The prisoner Berry declared himself "as innocent as is the child that is new born," and hoped that his death "might be the last innocent blood that might be shed in the land." "And when the cart was drawing from under him, he lifted up his hands towards heaven and said, 'As I am innocent, so receive my soul, O Lord Jesus.'"

The medical expert of to-day would laugh at the opinion of the medical expert of 1678 and 1679. But men were executed then, as some are now, on the strength of such testimony. A hundred years from now, medical men will no doubt laugh at the medical opinion of 1902.

All the ambiguities, however, are not necessarily medical. Here is a form of hypothetical question framed by a prominent Western prosecuting officer, who introduced it by the statement that some questions do confuse even expert witnesses:

"Assuming the testimony of the previous witnesses tending to show the circumstances, if any, leading up to the act, and tending to show the acts of defendant, if any, in relation to the homicide, to be true, and tending to show that the conduct of defendant, if in immediate connection with the act, was that or was not that, of a sane man, as the case may have been,—state whether in your opinion, at the time he committed the act, defendant was sane or insane?"

Laymen object to the methods which employ circumlocutions like this. In describing a capital case the same legal authority said:

"The theory of the defence was self-defence, and that the defendant did not do the cutting, and that he used no knife against deceased; that he was attacked by deceased with a chisel, and it was insisted upon by him that the wounds were inflicted during the affray by it—in the scuffle."

The shrewdest bandit of modern times, Musolino, was recently condemned to penal servitude for life in Calabria. The London *Lancet* observes of "the hideous welter of expert evidence":

"That with such a career he should have been defended, by criminologists of the Lombroso school, as little better than an anthropoid ape or pithecoid man is barely credible, but such is the fact."

A distinguished surgeon of Northern New York, testifying in a criminal case as an expert a few weeks ago, was asked on cross-examination by the counsel for the prisoner:

"Isn't it fair to assume, if I had money to pay the physicians for their time, that I could step out here in the city and secure half a dozen competent physicians, who, in answer to the hypothetical question put by the District Attorney, would give me exactly the opposite answer?"

The distinguished surgeon's very candid reply was: "I think it is."

A physician called upon to give an opinion for the plaintiff, in a case of insanity where a large fortune was involved, several times privately expressed the opinion that the subject was "mad as a hare." On the witness stand, he swore positively that he had not seen any evidence of mental unsoundness, though he thought the defendant "somewhat erratic and melancholy." The defendant won his case, and a few weeks later the physician presented at the bank a check for five thousand dollars signed by the defendant. I have personal knowledge of these facts.

Is not the remedy for these flagrant, but, after all, infrequent, instances of professional dishonor in the hands of the medical profession itself?

Handwriting experts occupy a different position. "The courts," says Jones,[1] "have often spoken of evidence derived from the comparison of handwriting as weak and unsatisfactory." Professor James Bradley Thayer, Weld Professor of Law in Harvard University, in his "Preliminary Treatise on Evidence at the Common Law," one of the most recent of the books, says: "there are other questions not requiring skill or training, but only special opportunities of observation, like handwriting and the value of property," on which opinion-evidence may be received. But it is now notorious that professional handwriting experts do offer themselves to the world as trained and skilful, and are habitually called to give opinion-evidence, by whoever chooses to retain them. "Knowledge of Handwriting," says Lawson,[2] acquired for the purpose of testifying, will qualify only where it is clear that there was no motive either in the writer or the witness to manufacture testimony."

In 1898, the United States Attorney for the Northern District of New York, was asked to prosecute a woman of social standing in one of the large cities of that district, for circulating scandalous and defamatory postal cards through the United States mails. Over 2,000 postal cards had been received by patients of a leading physician of that city scandalizing the doctor. All were apparently in the same handwriting. The accused woman was indicted by the federal grand jury and the case prepared for trial. Few specimens of her handwriting were obtainable. These specimens, together with a number of the postal cards, were submitted to one of the leading experts in handwriting in the United States. After weeks of investigation, study and research, he pronounced it as his opinion that the specimens and the postal cards were written by one and the same person. In the subsequent preparation of the case for trial, specimens of handwriting of another person, supposed to have had no connection with the controversy, but bearing some similitude to the handwriting on the postal cards, came into the possession of the United States Attorney. To test the value of the opinion so forcibly expressed by the expert, that

[1] "The Law of Evidence in Civil Cases," p. 570.

[2] "Expert Evidence," Rule 54, affirmed in many decisions.

none but the accused could have written the postal cards, these new specimens, known to have been written by another person entirely and at the dictation of the United States Commissioner, in his presence, were submitted to the same expert, together with a dozen of the postal cards, with the statement that additional specimens of handwriting in the case had been obtained, and that his opinion was desired as to whether the new specimens and the postal cards were written by the same person. The United States Attorney was in due course furnished with minute details of the examination of the additional specimens and postal cards, upon which the expert built an argument that irresistibly led to the conclusion that there could be no possible doubt that the new specimens were also written by the same person who wrote the postal cards.

If this distinguished expert was correct in his first opinion, the accused was guilty; if he was correct in his second opinion, the wrong person had been indicted. As the prosecution depended solely upon expert testimony, and had received these irreconcilable opinions from the same expert, whose standing was unimpeachable, the government concluded it to be unfair and unwise to press a trial, and the indictment was dismissed. The expert in question has since appeared as an important witness in a celebrated murder case.

I am well acquainted with the prosecuting attorney who furnishes me these facts. I know him to be a man of ability and integrity. I cordially approve of his disposition of the case. His manliness is commended to the consideration of those overzealous prosecutors whose ambition for a great record number of convictions seems to stifle that high sense of justice and responsibility without which the administration of the criminal law is worse than a mockery. It is moral crime.

Remedies for the evils of expertism have occupied many thoughtful minds of late years. Legislation has been drafted, but not enacted, in New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois. Judge Werner of the Supreme Court of New York has expressed the opinion that "the good name of the medical profession requires some reform;" Judge McAdam, that the disagreement of experts often results in "miscarriage of justice." Judge Robert C. Titus of Buffalo has said that the present system is absolutely immoral in its tendency. Judge Wm. N. Cohen of New York has stated

that as a rule "such testimony is quite valueless." These jurists had medical witnesses especially in mind. The need of reform is quite as strenuous among professional handwriting experts. Yet most of the remedies so far suggested have been applicable to medical witnesses especially.

Of the various remedies for the faults in the system of expert testimony, I cannot believe that any is attainable by legislation. Indeed, I do not believe that the fault is in the system, so much as in that relaxation of the professional and public conscience which has permitted abuses to continue uncorrected. Much is to be said in favor of the selection by an examining board or commission, composed of the acknowledged leaders of each scientific guild or profession, of those members of that guild or profession who may be properly called as experts. The selection then from these lists furnished to the court would be comparatively easy, and it should follow that only able and honest specialists would be called to the witness stand. The naming and summoning of these expert witnesses, each already designated for the honor by the highest opinion of his own profession, might appropriately be delegated to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, which is a co-ordinate branch of the government, independent of all considerations except those of justice, and removed even from the bias of the executive or the power of the legislative branches.

The standing of experts in the public eye would at once be improved when it became known that only the best could be chosen, and that, of these, few would be likely to decline to serve save for the best of reasons and at the discretion of the court.

If, in addition, it became evident that there was little possibility of gain to the expert witness in the event of the case being decided in favor of the side upon which he was called to testify, another and very important step would be achieved. For, after all, the question of the compensation of such experts is of great importance. It seems to me that, except where a professional expert is employed at a salary by a corporation, the rate of compensation for expert witnesses should be a stated sum *per diem* fixed by the Appellate Division, or, if preferred, in some equally dignified method, after consultation with the original boards of selection in each profession or guild. Much temptation would be taken away, and the dignity of the expert himself would be elevated not a little by such an arrangement. With the jury his

opinion would be enhanced in value by the fact that he could in no way profit by his testimony. While it might be true that a great authority, whose ordinary charges would be as much higher than those of the average practitioner as his reputation was greater, might not be satisfied with the amount of compensation thus fixed as an absolute expert fee, and might therefore decline to serve at the summons of the court, public opinion would clearly condemn him in any such course. Indeed, the subpœna of the court should compel instant compliance. For ages, the law has used its best talents for the defence and maintenance of the rights of the poor; it is quite time that the able and talented members of other professions should, it seems to me, display something of the same chivalry, knowing that they would in this way be making a substantial contribution at least to the honor of their own profession. If any such expert thought his services were too frequently demanded, he could readily appeal to the Appellate Division for relief.

It is indeed time that the law should determine that no fee be dependent upon an opinion, and that no man or corporation have power to tempt others to false swearing by the use of money. The suborner should meet with the same condemnation as the perjurer, and the legal penalty for his offence should be greater. After all, a "persuader" is simply a bribe by another name.

The legal, absolute and fair standard of compensation for experts having thus been established, I believe it would be in the interests of justice that the State should, in criminal cases, pay the experts called on both sides.

The suggestion has been made that State medical experts, for the judicial districts, might be appointed by the judge or by the Governor. To me such a plan seems fraught with danger. The scramble for such an office would not be more dignified than that for any other. The peril of political favoritism would be always present. With a medical expert in every district, drawing a salary from the State, it would not be long before there would come a demand for a chemical expert, and so on through the various specialties of art and science. Nor do I agree with those who maintain that the question at issue should be submitted in writing to experts, whose opinions, given in secret session, should be returned to the court in writing. Such procedure might lead to great abuse. All written opinions have an equal significance.

How can the jury judge of the credibility of a witness without seeing him? His voice, his attitude, his appearance, his manner, all aid in the final determination of the value of his opinion; and these are not apparent unless he is examined and cross-examined in open court, like any other witness. Nor can the judge himself ever be made the final authority on the value of expert testimony. The expert, as a rule, is as ignorant of other specialties than his own as the average layman is. Nor would the judge ordinarily know more of the particular specialty under consideration than would any member of the jury. To make the judge, therefore, the arbiter on opinions which have all the weight of a fact, would be to establish a precedent whose logical outcome would overthrow our system of jurisprudence.

When, however, the honest opinion of one expert is met by the unbiased counter-statement of another expert, it is then that the judge may appropriately act. He should invoke a third authority, and this specialist's testimony might bring about such a re-discussion of the subject as to elicit the truth or a fair compromise. To the judge, also, any expert witness should unhesitatingly appeal when the witness feels that counsel has prepared an exaggerated affidavit, or put a different construction upon his testimony than the expert intended.

It has been suggested that the judge, who is himself a sworn expert in the law, might limit the length of the examination and cross-examination of an expert witness. It has also been suggested that the judge should instruct the jury as to the value of the expert witness's testimony. It seems to me that this tends to threaten the autonomy of our jurisprudence and would violate a time-honored maxim of the law. In all cases where trial by jury is had, the judge should not pass on questions of fact; the jury alone can decide as to the credibility of a witness. Even when he is an expert witness, the opinion of the twelve jurors as to the value of his testimony may not be subordinated to the judgment of any other person.

It is the retained expert of a corporation, and the chronic experts of the plaintiff in negligence cases, who have excited the greatest hostility and merited the severest condemnation. Nevertheless, the employment of a retained expert by a corporation is perfectly proper. A railroad company, for example, that may have a thousand accident suits brought against it in a year, cannot

be expected to hire a different expert to examine into the merits of each case. There should, however, be a special obligation that the retained expert should be above the suspicion of bias. If chosen for the company by the court from a number of candidates in each profession—in whose selection the corporation itself might have a voice—there could be no objection to him. Should such an expert show obvious partiality, he could be expelled from his own profession, a punishment which, after all, it seems to me is the one which ought to have the greatest terrors for any expert witness. If any officer of such corporation should attempt to influence the finding of any such expert by promise, bribe or threat, the offender should be dealt with rigorously.

The president of the New York County Medical Society recommended some years ago that the Leeds practice, which has been found successful in England in a community where there are many accident cases, might properly be introduced in our practice. That would involve, in all equity cases or suits tried before the Court without a jury, the appearance of experts on the bench to advise the judge, just as the Admiralty judges in England had retired naval officers to counsel with them. In jury trials, according to the Leeds practice, a conference would be called of medical experts, who would go into such a conference with an understanding that they would agree upon the facts. The conferring physicians could then differ only in the conclusions which they would draw from those facts, and it was suggested that it would be feasible to compute an average opinion from the medical books, for example. This method of reforming the abuses of expert testimony does not appeal to me.

The quickened conscience of the people should refuse to recognize as respectable members of society those persons who, having special knowledge in an art, science or profession, sell their opinions, or what they are pleased to term their opinions, to the highest bidder, vainly attempting to bind the bargain by the sanctity of an oath. Where a doctor commits perjury, his fellow doctors are apt to know it. Prompt expulsion from his Medical Society would tend decidedly to discourage the imitation of his example. It has been my experience that enlightened public opinion is the greatest destroyer of frauds; and the greater publicity that can be given to an obvious evil, the sooner will its remedy be discovered.

Opinion-evidence has a high and important position in enlightened jurisprudence. In questions of testamentary capacity, and in cases that turn upon the sanity of an individual, the expert is an absolute necessity. Millions of dollars may be dependent upon his testimony, the weight of which is, of course, increased in proportion to his impartiality and professional standing. If his compensation be limited by law to an absolute fee, he can have no incentive to be otherwise than rigidly honest. If he knows that the eyes of his professional fellowmen are upon him, he will have every incentive to testify to his own credit as well as theirs. Thus the sensational expert, seeing no longer in the witness stand an opportunity for the exploitation of his pocket or his reputation, will seek a more congenial employment.

JOHN WOODWARD.

DENMARK AND THE TREATY.

BY GERTRUDE ATHERTON.

THE time has not yet come to tell the whole story of the negotiations between the United States and Denmark regarding the projected sale of the Virgin Islands belonging to the Danish crown. When it does come, the tale will prove as interesting and extraordinary as any chapter in diplomatic history, non-official as has been the greater part of the transaction. But although that must wait, this is the time, before the possible ratification by the Landsthing of the pending treaty, for certain facts to be put before the American people.

Even although every one of the charges of the adventurer, Christmas, against reputable American citizens was proved to be false, and although his broad assertion that Senator Lodge was the only American official who could not be bribed sank of its own weight, even in disgusted Denmark, still the fact remains that he has discredited us in Europe; neither Mr. Cannon's admission in the House of Representatives that Christmas had proved himself "a briber and worse than a thief," nor the liberal coupling with his name by the American press of still more opprobrious epithets, can alter the historic fact that the pending treaty is practically his treaty, and that the Administration and Senate, ignorant though they were of his true character and purpose, ratified it. It is all very well for the Prime Minister of Denmark and the American Secretary of State to repudiate Christmas, to have flung him overboard with contumely at a certain stage of the game; the cold truth is, the negotiations he set on foot have never been interrupted, that the present situation is on his wheels, awkward and blocked as they may be. When, at the request of the American Secretary of State, he brought Mr. Henry White, of the United States Embassy in Great Britain, to Den-

mark to hold a private conference with the Foreign Minister, Mr. Ravn, he was allowed to pass in that secret representative of the United States Government, but had the door shut in his own face. Nevertheless, the subsequent steps taken by the United States were the direct result of that conference between Mr. Ravn (representing the Prime Minister, who could not speak English) and Mr. White; and Christmas, acting under the instructions of our Administration, brought about that conference. By the impartial historian his malodorous name must be used many times when the chapter on this treaty is written—if the treaty be allowed to stand, and the chapter *is* written.

Many of the strongest men in the United States government are dissatisfied with the treaty. The truth is, we do not want any more colonies. Our explosive imperialism has subsided. The Philippines have chastened us. Porto Rico is a charitable institution which has made us appear almost selfish in the eyes of the world. Cuba is an impending and tumultuous problem. Had Porto Rico redeemed herself by a fine harbor, even Protection, that armed genie of loud voice and anxious eye, who presides at the mouth of our harbor, who might indeed be called the conscientious step-father of his country, even he might have conceded to the fertile island an excuse for existence; and, after the close of the war with Spain, there would have been no reopening of the Danish Islands question. But a harbor in the West Indies we must have, and Denmark possesses two at the very gateway of those waters which divide the Americas and bristle with the forts of foreign Powers. Some day the great canal will be built, and we must be able to strike quickly when it is menaced. Some day the Monroe Doctrine will be ignored, and the blow will be dealt in the Caribbean Sea. Germany's ambitions are almost ingenuous. The menace of Russia is known to every student of the times: she has never retraced a step nor ceased to advance; her movements are as firm and deliberate as they are stealthy.

Therefore, for more than a quarter of a century it has been patent to American statesmen that the United States must have a stronghold in the Caribbean Sea. After the failure of the negotiations of 1867 for the Islands of St. Thomas and St. John, the matter lay fallow until January, 1897. From that date until April 1st, 1898, secret, non-official negotiations were carried on between the two governments, the commissioners in the United

States being Mr. Niels Grön, a native of Denmark and an American citizen, and a graduate of Harvard, Mr. Henry H. Rogers, of the Standard Oil Company, and Mr. Charles R. Flint; Mr. Grön being the accredited representative of the sale committee in Denmark, which in turn, acted with the full authority of the Government. These three gentlemen had, after a long and delicate manipulation, and in concert with what is said to be the strongest and most representative committee ever formed in Denmark, almost brought the matter to a head, Senator Lodge having on April 1st, 1898, introduced a bill asking Congress to appropriate $5,000,000 for the purchase of the Islands, when the Spanish war-cloud burst, and Denmark was obliged to withdraw temporarily or be guilty of diplomatic discourtesy to Spain.

When the war finished, Mr. Grön and his former associates realized that it was useless to take up the question of the Danish Islands again, until the agitation over Porto Rico and the tariff had been soothed by some sort of compromise; and they let it lie in abeyance. Then came the disgraceful Christmas episode, which is too recent history to repeat.

Even the erratic imagination of this anxious adventurer could conceive no improvement on the treaty whose details he had managed to discover, although our conditions had so materially changed since its plan had seemed the most feasible to the two committees; as well as to the high authorities in both countries. The enormous increase in our yearly expenses was not taken into consideration, to say nothing of a whole series of problems which the Spanish War had brought to a country heretofore almost without a foreign policy. There being no hint from Denmark that anything short of the sale of the entire group would be considered by her, and Mr. Grön, Mr. Rogers, and Mr. Flint having thrown up the whole matter rather than be associated with the new commissioner, we ratified the Christmas treaty, and two things happened: there arose a loud and determined protest in Denmark, and the Report of Captain Christmas was made public.

This Report, intended for a very narrow circle, and amounting practically to a blackmail of the Danish Government, contained the accusations of bribery and corruption of American citizens with which we are familiar; and Mr. Grön, as one of the accused, and the prime mover in the whole matter, demanded an investigation by the United States Congress. During his testimony before

The Select Committee on Purchase of the Danish Islands, he offered a treaty as substitute for the original treaty—having received by cable from Denmark an assurance that "strongest business men, bankers, land-owners, admirals, generals, president supreme court, first bishop, and members of parliament belonging to both parties" approved of it—which, if offered at another time, would probably have been considered at once. But a certain force, which must be nameless now, got to work then, and a cable was sent from Copenhagen severely discrediting Mr. Grön. The newspapers in the United States which resented his airing of the Administration's intimate dealings with Christmas, took the matter up; and, as the cable gave a great but unnamed official as authority, Mr. Grön was under a cloud during the investigation; and until the Prime Minister of Denmark and leading members of the Landsthing (Upper House) publicly exonerated him. His treaty still stands, however, and will be referred to presently.

During the negotiations before the Spanish War absolute secrecy had been maintained. Consequently, the temper of Denmark was unknown, and the royal family and certain high officials, although deeply opposed to parting with their Islands, had yielded because it seemed the best thing to do: St. Croix was in desperate straits, and the yearly deficit in the budget of the untaxed group was six hundred thousand kroners; which sum had to be made good by the home government.

When the proceedings were made public in April, 1898, there was a protest in Denmark which subsided as quickly as it rose; for it was believed that the Spanish War would put an end to the matter. Upon the re-agitation of the question in 1900, however, it was heard again and was—and is—loud, persistent, and determined. This protest is by no means wholly political, as is imagined in America; it is more than two-thirds sentimental. Denmark is a small country, but she is a very proud and valiant one; with a reputation for brains and practical energy quite out of proportion to her size, and a unique position among the sovereign states of Europe through her gifts to three of its thrones. She is the only state in Europe which, at one time or another, has never been in vassalage; and in 1864, to save Schleswig, which from remotest antiquity had been a part of her realm, unhesitatingly pitted her thousands against the tens of thousands of Austria and Prussia although she knew that not a soldier of hers

might return from the battle-field. The loss of Schleswig is to-day as deep a grief as it was in 1864, and Prussia's failure to keep her promise to restore the northern Danish districts and her petty persecution of loyal Danes in the Duchy are a constant and bitter cause of resentment. Therefore the secret of her indignant protest against parting with the gems of her colonial possessions. Three million five hundred thousand kroners were immediately subscribed, to be invested for the relief of St. Croix, should the Government decline to ratify the treaty; and the upper classes, almost to a man, stood out against the sale. The Folkething (Lower House) represents the peasantry, who, knowing nothing of the principles upon which our Constitution is founded, were persuaded that if Denmark did not get her $5,000,000 as quickly as possible, we would appropriate the Islands without further parley; and to them Christmas's estimate of American officials seems too natural to be set aside by a mere investigation.

In the midst of the protest, came the publication of Christmas's Report, and its demand for the recognition of his claim of ten per cent. of the sale price, that he might settle with the Americans he had bribed; and the delay consequent upon the investigation by the American Congress. The Rigsdagen adjourned until October, and there the matter now stands.

Meanwhile, the substitute treaty is well known to meet with the approval of the party opposed to the sale of the Islands. Its conditions are as follows:

That Denmark shall cede to the United States either St. Thomas or St. John, both of which Islands have excellent harbors; that she shall guarantee never to sell the other Islands to any Power whatsoever, except the United States of America; that the United States shall, in return, arrange for tariff concessions to St. Croix.

No money will change hands, and the United States will have the additional advantage of almost encompassing Denmark with the Monroe Doctrine, thus giving herself an excuse to check Russia, when that cormorant makes her first sign of closing in upon Norway, Sweden and Denmark, and threatens American trade in the Baltic. Denmark would part with one of her Islands without regret, on account of the great advantage accruing to the most important, commercially, of the group, St. Croix; and the United States would gain the only advantage she wants, and be delivered from another incubus.

Not only would Denmark be quite satisfied with this settlement of the Islands problem, but she would like the idea of a little alliance with the United States, as it were. Like all the world she is awake and restless, looking about for new friends, for opportunities that may lead to future greatness, and win her the admiration of more powerful states. As a Dane remarked the other day: "All the nations are trying to get into society." She already has one of the finest steamship lines in Europe, and half a million kroners have been deposited as a guarantee that a service shall be established to the West Indies, should she retain two of her Islands.

The sentiment in the Islands is too complicated to be set forth in detail here, but all unite on one point: something must be done at once for St. Croix, which is well over the verge of ruin. A majority are for the sale, no doubt, but three points have not been brought home to them: (1) There will be exactly the same determined opposition in the United States to their commercial interests as Porto Rico has experienced, and a further delay in which they may starve; (2) They will be heavily taxed, made to support themselves; for the United States is not sentimental, and will pay no annual hundred and fifty thousand dollars deficit; (3) Most important of all: it may be several years before they can get their sugar, rum, etc., to New York without enormous expense. According to the laws of the United States, no foreign ship may carry goods between two American ports. The larger part of the products of the Lesser Antilles is carried to the United States by the Quebec Steamship Co., which flies the British flag. Naturally, after leaving St. Kitts, these cargo steamers will sail directly for New York, ignoring the new American ports. The Messrs. Outerbridge will be obliged either to buy at once new steamers flying the American colors, for the sole object of getting the sugar and rum of one small island and the bay-rum of another to New York, or to change their flag, a long, laborious and expensive process. Again, St. Croix may starve. She is between the devil and the deep sea, and the only procedure which can save her is a new treaty.

The point in this treaty which vitally concerns us is, that it will be untainted.

GERTRUDE ATHERTON.

REMARKS UPON THE MECHANICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SEX IN ANIMAL LIFE.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR S. L. SCHENCK, OF VIENNA.

In the following article, consideration will be given to a number of facts calculated to lead to further discoveries within the sphere of our theory, viz., the dependence of sexual difference upon outward influences. I will begin by observing that the reader will soon gain the conviction that, among the many theories brought forward since the earliest times upon the subject of influence on the formation of sex in the ovum, one alone can lay claim to accuracy and validity, that, namely, which is intimately connected with the theory of nutritious and organic exchange. From that standpoint I have attempted to solve this question.

To the theory which I have here undertaken to discuss, opposition is general, while attacks upon it are continuous, both from qualified and unqualified judges of the matter. This question, raised by me, has called forth a complete literature of its own since the publication of my work, and this has had the effect of strengthening and confirming my views on many points.

In natural science, it is certain that a cell cannot dispense with nutrition and organic exchange in the performance of its natural functions, which manifest themselves in the most varied ways. The necessary conditions for these must be supplied. In favorable and normal circumstances, the cell will fulfil its natural career, and also provide for the preservation of its kind.

If we, however, in any way change the conditions of nutrition, and the exterior circumstances connected with these, corresponding effects will necessarily manifest themselves. This is true not only of such cells as are independent living organisms, but also of all cells existing in a cellular form for the support of an individual. The conditions of existence for these latter cells, as also for the

life of the whole organism which they make up, obviously cannot be carried out without the nutrition and organic exchange of the same. Each of the elementary organisms constituting the whole must perform its organic exchange as it is supplied, in order to multiply, to maintain its life and its species. This increase is only rendered possible *by each individual cell being supported by the whole parent organism, a constituent part of which it forms, if it is to contribute to the support of the whole.*

When, then, should the ovum cell, proceeding from a metamorphosed epithelial cell in the animal organism of a metazoön, be independent of the influence of the parent organism in whose ovary it is developed? The different forms which an epithelial cell of the ovary passes through, until it arrives at the permanent shape of an ovum, ready for impregnation, are an evidence *that the changes and metamorphoses taking place in the ovum require nutriment to assist in their structure.*

This is certainly not contained in the ovum alone, the epithelial cell on the surface of the ovary, nor is it so constituted as to dispense with assistance from the parent.

Now, it is seen that the mature ova, ready for development, in the case of a large number of animals, may be removed from the parent after impregnation, and develop to perfection by artificial breeding or incubation. It is quite otherwise with the ova before they attain maturity. Here they are entirely dependent on the parent organism to which they belong. On these their completion depends: they possess the same chemical constituents as these, and receive them from the parent during their development. Only by means of the nutrition and organic exchange of the parent can the ovum contained be influenced in the most diverse ways during its *development before impregnation.*

It is self-evident that, through this influence, the special characteristics of the ovum may be developed or varied to a certain degree. This point is also worthy of notice, for the reason that by these means certain changes may be introduced in the ovum, calculated to produce various essential alterations in the offspring of certain classes of animals.

The hereditary nature of the characteristics of different individuals in a normal state, and the deviation from these normal conditions in cases of disease, are equally qualified to give ground

to the assertion that not only does chemical and physiological action take place in the cells, producing changes therein, but that also the parent animal, whose morphological constituents consist of these cells, must have an important influence on their metamorphoses, mode of life and pathological formation.

Now the ovum protoplasm and its nucleus also contain its capabilities in other directions, so that we find in it everything prepared that is necessary to development.

By the chemical analysis of the ova of various animals, it is shown that the chemical elements necessary to their structure, which are present in the developed animal, are also contained in the ovum before impregnation. These elements are probably not received into the ovum direct from the exterior world of the parent organism, but only by the intermediation of the parent animal, whose most important task is doubtless to nourish and preserve the ovum. All these processes must take place before impregnation, and during the period when the germ is undergoing development, from its first origin until it is sufficiently matured for impregnation. The chemical elements of the mature ova of different animals have often been analyzed by scientists. A complete literature exists upon this branch of experiment. The chemical changes and synthetical processes of different substances in the ovum after impregnation are accompanied by complicated morphological changes. Hitherto we have gained but little insight into these.

The elements of the human ovum, which is not so accessible to chemical research on account of its microscopic size, have not been investigated so thoroughly as those of other classes of vertebrata possessing larger ova.

The bases of the chemical and physiological processes are formed in the ovum. These seem to take place regularly in the different ova, as the processes after impregnation, as well as the phenomena of maturation, repeat themselves more or less constantly, and are maintained to a certain extent in various succeeding generations. Here, however, there are a number of processes to be noticed, which are manifested by visible changes, and form the object of direct observation. The effects of these are such as lead to the development of permanent animal forms, with corresponding signs. They include the phenomena of the ontogenetic and coenogenetic characteristics of organic individuals during de-

velopment. In addition to these visible processes, which are recognizable by morphological signs, there also occur within the ovum changes of a physiological nature, the knowledge of which is still imperfect and insufficiently studied.

So, for example, are formed the functional power of the heart's action, of the breathing apparatus, of the intestinal canal, of the central and peripheral nerve system, of motility, etc. In all these processes, besides a number of anatomical signs to be observed, leading to development of the permanent forms, there are certain other constantly recurring actions in the histological elements and the organs composed of these, the study of which is at present impossible.

To this class of phenomena also belong the origin and completion of the difference of sex in the human ovum and in that of animals. In these changes taking place in the ovum, it is impossible to detect any morphological or physiological sign, by means of which it might be determined with certainty in the case of the unimpregnated ovum, in its early stages of development, whether it be male or female.

It may, however, be said with certainty that this phenomenon must be considered as inherited, and that a fundamental cause must precede this heredity. The heredity of sex appears to be connected with the heredity of other physiological qualities. With the preservation of the latter quality in the offspring, it also happens that the one or the other sex is formed in the ovum.

Its appearance at this time does not seem to be an independent formation of the genital regions alone. The sex may also be affected by the influence shown by other important points in the development and maturation of the ovum. In the question of the heredity of sex, the heredity of other forms of action, by which the sex may be influenced in either direction in families (through inheritance), must not be left unconsidered. Those qualities of the parent which affect the sex of an ovum, such as nutrition and organic exchange, appear to be necessarily hereditary, in order to produce an effect in the formation of sex by heredity. It is impossible to leave out of question the active influence of the parent animal. The ovum coincides in all conditions of nutrition with the parent, whether the former be in the earliest stage of development or in a state of maturity. Even after impregnation,

the dependence of the various processes of development upon the parent is not to be denied.

Some ova remain in contact with the stroma, and obtain what is necessary to their support directly and continuously from the parent during the embryo existence. Others have gained a certain provision from the stroma, which is employed during the first period after their separation from the parent, until they are able to procure the materials for nutrition from their surroundings outside the parent animal. In both cases the parent originally provides the substratum for the formation of all the parts and organs composing the new organism.

On examination of the various assertions recently made on the subject of influencing the development of sex, it will be found that in most cases one fact is especially prominent, arguing that it is possible to combat and successfully overcome all the different casual moments. According to the theories hitherto prevalent, these causes may be explained in the most diverse ways. It is, however, certain that the many existing theories may be partly or entirely disproved. Only the theory founded on the nutrition of the parent individual may claim to have been confirmed by many undeniable facts. Those who most hotly oppose this theory are still forced by the facts hitherto published, to allow that nutrition is a means toward the development of a particular sex, if not for all species of animals, yet for a certain class. The significance of nutrition and organic exchange in the discussion of this question is always of the highest importance to the formation of sex. Any one who has the opportunity of studying the conditions of organic exchange in the parent and obtaining the result in figures, will soon be able to remark differences in the totals of these columns worthy of attention. It will be found that these show a greater capacity for the consumption of nitrogenous substances in connection with the male sex, than in the case of those ova which develop into female individuals. Such figures concerning the consumption of nitrogenous food are also of importance so far as they are of assistance in the determination of important questions concerning the early period of gestation, the solution of which is very desirable.

A number of observations are here briefly adduced, which may assist in confirming the principles of our theory on "Influence on

the Relative Proportions of the Sexes," and the dependence of these on nutrition and organic exchange.

On the announcement of my publication, a treatise by Dr. Ludwig Cohn, in Königsberg, appeared, in which this question was discussed from the standpoint of biological and statistical experience. He seeks to disprove modern ideas, and takes a negative view of every branch of the subject.

This principle of negation cannot, however, be observed in the question of the nutrition of the embryo. He is here compelled to take into consideration the observations on plants first made by Knight, namely, that those grown in a well-manured soil produce a superfluity of female forms.

As regards many animals of inferior classes, we are in a position to testify to facts, proving that there is an undoubted influence on the formation of sex by means of nutrition.

Firstly, the experiments of Landois on caterpillars of the *Vanessa urticæ* genus bear witness to this. He succeeded in producing male or female specimens at will by a first abundant and afterward scanty scheme of nutrition.

The effects of nutrition on the sex of bees has been noticed constantly. Larvæ placed in queens' cells and well nourished become queens, while those hatched in workers' cells and badly nourished become sexually imperfect workers.

In the case of stag beetles, various rudimentary deformities are found. This phenomenon is strikingly noticeable in circumstances of insufficient nutriment during the larva period.

In the case of scanty nutrition, it is usually the males that preponderate and are imperfectly formed.

The eggs of the phylloxera also show that a larger or smaller quantity of the food which serves to nourish and preserve the embryo during the embryonal period, also affects the sex of the same. Females are produced from the larger eggs laid in autumn, and males from the smaller ones. But, in many cases in the animal kingdom, males and females may be distinguished in the earliest embryo form, in the so-called cellular period. Many farmers assert that with fowls' eggs they can deduce the sex which the egg will produce by its outward shape. Thury also mentions the observation of O. Bourit, according to which, in the case of many singing birds, the last-laid egg is said to be conspicuously smaller and during incubation to develop into a male.

Observations have also been noted in the case of the higher animals, showing that scanty nutrition is favorable to the development of males.

Ploss asserts that the proportion of male births rises and falls with the price of food. According to this author, more boys are born in the Kingdom of Saxony in times of agricultural depression. In Paris, in the years from 1841 to 1850, the fluctuating price of grain is said to have been noticeable in the same manner. In reference to these phenomena, Rolph characterizes males as a "hunger generation." In explanation of this fact, Alexander von Padberg makes the following remarks: "Bad times, bad living and food do not affect men and women in like degree. Women have more patience and endurance than men. One reason of this is that the latter have, generally speaking, more needs than women. It seems that, in circumstances of scanty nutrition, the preservation of the individual is provided for, and not that of the race. Men suffer also more in times of want, both bodily and mentally, than the more abstemious women, who are less dependent on food. Hence, the greater influence of the latter on procreative action, and (according to the theory of *crossed sexual heredity*) more male births. This theory of crossed sexual heredity has long been known. Oken and Buffon were acquainted with it. It was treated with much penetration by the mental specialist Richarz, of Enderich, near Bonn, and considerably strengthened by Janke, by a minute account of the proceedings of the American farmer Fiquet, and by the experiments of Düsing.

A remarkable preponderance of boys in the country, in comparison with the inhabitants of towns, and the same among mountaineers, has been often proved (Ploss, Conradi, Giron, Horn). The conditions of nutrition, and especially the organic exchange of the parent individual, have an influence on the formation of sex, not only among the lower animals, but also in the case of the higher species, and also of man. The fact is well known to huntsmen that, in years of plentiful forage, females predominate in the hunting districts, especially among mammalia; this has been vouched for constantly.

In eggs parthogenetically developed, among crustaceans as well as insects, the influence of nutrition on the determination of sex may be seen in a remarkable manner. Not the nutrition alone, but certain circumstances connected with it, are especially

worthy of notice. *Artemisia salina,* a small salt-water crab, is influenced by an alteration in the quantity of salt in the water, so that in consequence of dilution it produces a preponderance of male offspring.

Maupas, and later Nussbaum, occupied themselves with the rearing of *Hydatina.* It was found by experiments that more males were produced by keeping the animalculæ in cold water, but when this was heated to from twenty-four to twenty-six degrees, Centigrade, a numerous generation of females was the result.

In the reports of the *Monde Médical* (Vol. VIII., No. 2, Paris, 1898), mention is made of a contribution by Le Dantec to the *Comptes Rendus.* In the course of his studies on heredity, the above-mentioned author came to the conclusion that the sexual differentiation of two *Plastidæ* of the same genus could not be caused by any difference in their chemical composition, and that it must, therefore, arise from their molecular dissimilarity.

By the use of Pasteur's nutritious fluid, in which a solution, saturated with pro-tartrate of ammonia, is employed as an aliment, the nutrition has an influence on the *Plastidæ,* particularly in the determination of sex. Hence Le Dantec declared himself ready to adopt the theory formulated by myself.

Mary Treat,[1] of Vineland, New Jersey, called attention to an interesting fact observed by her in the early seventies of last century. In this experiment the determination of sex appeared especially dependent on the supply of food. Hence results were obtained by artificially influencing nutrition. Thirty-four males and one female were produced from a so-called "male" box, in which male specimens of *Papilio asterias* were bred by means of underfeeding. Out of seventy-nine specimens, fed by Mary Treat in the above-mentioned manner, with a view to the production of males, only three females were found, the others proving to be males. An entire exclusion of the female sex was not attained, a fact which coincides, generally speaking, with the experiments of other writers. I am acquainted with similar experiments on silk-worms, among which a large preponderance of males was effected, but it was difficult entirely to prevent the production of females in a single experiment. It appears that the complete exclusion of one sex from a brood very rarely occurs. It is also probable that all these animals have not equal capacities of assimilation, so that

[1] *The Journal of Hygiene and Herald of Health,* Vol. XLVIII, 1898, No 5.)

a difference in the latter may easily occur, inferior nutrition having the same effect on one specimen as abundance on another.

In Koch's Encyclopædia of collected animal medical science, among nine classes of the results of the subjoined experiments, one class is especially prominent, in which the formation of sex in offspring is said to be effected by nutrition, this latter, when superior, being favorable to the production of the female, and, when inferior, to that of the male sex. Young, well-nourished mothers bear proportionately more female children, while those older and not so well nourished have more expectation of male offspring. But it is conceded by Wilkens that, in addition to nutrition, there are other influences at work upon the determination of sex, which may not yet have been considered, and the investigation of which has not yet been made. Hence it occurs that one and the same female generator, in the same conditions of stimulation, does not always generate the same sex.

In Fühlung's *Agricultural Journal* (Leipzig, 1898), various opinions are quoted by Robert Müller on the causes of the relative proportions of the sexes, among which nutrition is mentioned, regarded in the form of abundant or scanty food. But, according to my ideas, nutrition is not to be considered alone, but, in connection with it, the processes of organic exchange, or the employment of the food taken, must be especially studied.

A certain symptom served me as an important guide, namely, the disappearance of sugar from the urine to a mere minimum, or even entirely, so that it cannot be discovered by our present chemical tests, and at the same time the appearance of an increase in the reductive substances, when a male human being is being developed. In these analyses, it is particularly important to ascertain the quantity of albumen assimilated, which can be easily calculated by the amount of nitrogen found in the urine.

The idiosyncrasy of the individual has an influence on the production of a certain sex, hence he has the tendency, through the course of successive lines of descent, to generate particularly one or the other sex.

Lorenz asserts, from his genealogical studies, that entire families appear predestined to the generation of female offspring, and that in some the tendency to male, in others to female, births repeats itself from generation to generation. One also meets with

the tendency of many families to produce always male or always female first-born through long lines of descent.

Generally speaking, it is only possible in the case of reigning families to determine which sex has predominated in succession through a long line of generations. One fact is certain, that it is only in the rarest cases that one sex occurs exclusively, without the presence of the other if only in very small numbers.

In the study of the heredity of sex, in my opinion, the following points must be remarked. It is not to be supposed that in offspring only one class of the progenitors' idiosyncrasies are to be regarded as hereditary. One cannot admit heredity of sex, without almost conceding the heredity, in the individual concerned, of many other anatomical or physiological signs shown during development.

These inherited characteristics are perhaps necessary, as the active principles involved in the determination of sex might not otherwise take effect.

A mutual dependence in the formation of the different physiological functions of the individual during development, appears to be as certain as is the fact that in the post-embryonal existence of an adult, the various vital physiological functions of an organism must act in a definite connection toward each other. If features, color of the hair and eyes, shape of the hands, and other peculiarities are transmitted to descendants by heredity, why should not the capacity for nutrition and organic exchange be looked upon as hereditary also? In such a case, might not the assimilating powers of the individuals in question be inherited through many generations?

The time will come when numbers alone will not be considered in the genealogy of different families, but after obtaining a sufficient number of *data,* it will be possible to observe other conditions affecting these cases, such as the manner of nutrition and organic exchange. The heredity of these latter appears to be a fact worthy of notice with regard to the determination of sex.

It is not, however, to be denied that there may be many other additional influences, of which we have hitherto no exact knowledge. It may be seen from statistical reports that no case is at present known in which one sex alone is constantly found in a line of successive generations, but there are many cases known of families in which isolated representatives of the other sex occur here and there.

As I have stated before, there are cases in which the desired result is scarcely attainable by means of outward influences. In experimenting, one meets with cases in which it may be seen by the results of assimilation, even during the experiment, that there is no hope of successfully influencing the formation of sex by means of nourishment. In these latter cases a power of resistance with regard to the assimilation of food appears to be shown, by which it is impossible to obtain a sufficiently large assimilation of albumen, such as is necessary to obtain a male by arbitrarily influencing the sex.

It is still to be added that a number of writers have been occupied with this question of late years since my publication, among whom are Giovanni Canestrino, A. Gevidelli, L. Weill, of Strasburg; K. Fukii, in Tokio, who also established the influence of nutrition on plants; Professor Dangeard, of Poitiers, and many other scientists.

At the conclusion of my article I venture to introduce, as a curiosity, a quotation made by Michael Stephanides,[1] of Mételin, in which the geographer Strabo gives an account of the influence of nutrition on the formation of sex in human beings. Concerning the arbitrary determination of sex by means of dieting, among the Germanic tribes from India, Strabo writes: "Thus by means of their medical science, they were able to produce either male or female generation, effecting this either by drugs or by the use of certain kinds of food."

[1] (*Revue Scientifique*, Paris, July 16th, 1898.)

S. L. SCHENCK.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND BUSINESS SUCCESS.

BY R. B. VAN CORTLANDT.

THE eyes of the civilized world are fixed at present on American industry, and we, ourselves, in America are almost painfully conscious of the importance of the position we are now occupying on the world-stage. Lately, the various nations of Europe have appeared to vie with each other in proving their friendship to the United States. Friendship among nations, however, is not founded to any great extent upon sentimental considerations; it is rather dictated by self-interest, and we must not, and as a matter of fact we do not, attach very much weight to the protestations of which we are just now the recipients. Europe, or at least the greater part of it, unquestionably views the continued development of our commerce and wealth, and the attendant increase of our power, with feelings in which jealousy, not to use any harsher term, is the chief element, and the minds of many of its political leaders are occupied with devising some means of arresting our progress. It would seem, therefore, that policy would suggest our forbearing to proclaim too loudly the strength of our position, in order not to excite still further unnecessary antagonism. We have a right, nevertheless, to analyze the various factors which have produced the America of to-day, and the existing political, social and industrial order of things; and to consider whether or not they are such as are making for our continued advance in general civilization, and for the strengthening of our position in the family of nations.

My boyhood was spent on the continent of Europe, and I have since been abroad frequently, mingling while there, through relatives and friends, in the social life of the various countries, and, through business connections, meeting many European representatives of different branches of commercial activity. As

a natural result, I have been led to compare the attitude assumed toward commercial pursuits by the corresponding social circles of America and of the countries which are now our chief competitors for the trade of the world. The irresistible deduction from such a comparison is that the United States has a signal advantage over European rivals in this, that conditions in the United States tend to encourage men of the highest intelligence and character not only to choose a business calling at the outset of their career, but also to continue to put forth the best efforts of their mind and vitality long after what is supposed to be the object of business, namely, the acquisition of a fortune, has been attained.

In Europe, on the other hand, the surroundings of a successful man of affairs, who has accumulated large wealth, tend to dampen or destroy the ardor with which in his earlier years fortune was pursued and overtaken.

The two nations with which we are at present in the strongest industrial competition, and against which, therefore, we must measure ourselves with the greatest care, comparing ourselves with them at all points—namely, England and Germany—are both monarchical in the form of their government. The foremost social class in both, therefore, is an aristocracy, which retains its position to some extent irrespective of wealth, and the members of which are brought up to consider their birth as giving them an inherent right to social position. It is admitted, I presume, that in Germany the aristocratic structure of society still flourishes. It would, however, be contended by some, doubtless, that Great Britain, while a monarchy in name, in reality enjoys as much freedom as the United States. Politically, this may be true. Socially, however, England is divided into classes in a way which is unknown in America. The prestige of monarchy could not very well be upheld otherwise, and naturally the peerage holds the first rank. We will put aside entirely the question of the loss of dignity which the choice of a commercial career might entail. That is a consideration which is gradually losing force the world over. It does not, therefore, come within the scope of this article, which purposes only to touch on certain conditions fundamental to the social structure of our own country and that of our principal industrial competitors.

The atmosphere in which the members of the European aris-

tocracy, the leading social class of the Old World, live is one which fosters in the highest degree the pursuit of the various means through which men's lives are made pleasant and interesting, such as sport in all its branches, play, entertainments, travel, etc. Work, consequently—by which is here meant the management of large undertakings—demanding as it does constant and almost undivided attention, is looked upon among them as irksome and disagreeable, and to some extent as incompatible with the highest social position, because the aristocracy is connected with business only to a small extent, the possession of landed property, rather, conferring social distinction.

Let us grant now that success has come to the European man of business, and that his fortune has been achieved. These gratifying results will, alas, be accompanied by the inevitable arrival of middle age, and children will probably have reached a period when the friendships they make will have an important bearing on their future in life. The head of the family, ambitious for his children, is almost irresistibly led to adopt the ways of living and thinking of the aristocracy, thereby consigning the interests of his business to the background, so that his mind is no longer concentrated on its development. In fact, as the lives of the members of the aristocracy are passed largely on country estates, in shooting and hunting, it would be practically impossible for him to devote the requisite time to close attention to business. Let us suppose that our friend has reached the age of fifty. It should be just at this time that his experience, now wide, and his large means should be more than ever prolific in bearing fruit; yet it is, perhaps, just at this time that his energy slackens, and he turns to the cultivation of other interests.

I am not now discussing the pursuit of happiness, nor the wisest method of regulating one's life. Our friend may be quite justified in acting as he does. I wish to speak only of the economic results which necessarily ensue from such a course, as compared with the life of the American business man of equal importance.

Let us look for a moment at the latter.

At the age of fifty, the successful American has developed his business to large proportions, and has acquired the experience and the capital necessary to enable him to fight his way on to further success. He feels himself to be master of the calling

to which his life work has been devoted. His position in the community is constantly improving. His co-operation is sought from many sides; in commerce, in politics, in charity, in society (perhaps the most gratifying tribute of all); his mind is interested as it never has been before; he realizes that his prestige has been derived from his business success, and that the two go hand in hand. No superior class hangs over him like a pall. No supercilious comment instils poison into the brain whose energy is concentrated on "business." His best efforts can be put forth in his commercial or industrial occupation, not only without fear of endangering his position and that of his family, but rather with the certainty that further rewards await him. His employees, too, feeling that their chief is bending all his faculties to perfect the organization and increase the volume of his business, are stimulated on their part to do their best, and the morale of the force is quickened throughout all its parts, be it a banking firm with a score or two of employees, or an extensive industrial enterprise with its thousands.

England at present is complaining bitterly of the narrowness of the policy now dominating its labor unions, whereby the amount of work which the unions allow each man to perform is in many cases not much more than half what he could accomplish by reasonable application. In America, as yet, at least, there has been little complaint on this point from employers. The efforts of our labor unions have been directed toward securing higher wages, shorter hours, or recognition of the union itself by the employers; but the individual working man is generally willing to apply himself with a fair amount of steadiness, and turn out whatever work may result. It is needless to say that this policy is by far the best for him to pursue, as thereby the industrial importance, wealth and prosperity of the United States are increased, and he himself, as a citizen, benefited in every way. If English capitalists would realize that the source of the troubles of which they complain lies not so much in the unions as at the fountain head, through insufficient interest and energy on the part of the chiefs, a real step would be taken in improving English industry.

Considering, therefore, the foundations upon which labor, whether of the head or of the hand, rests in America, as compared with the nations now disputing with us the markets of the

world, I think we may well look forward to the future with confidence. It would seem that republican institutions wisely administered, in a community educated to self-government and to the restraints which its responsibilities impose, furnish the ideal conditions for the best economic results.

The German Emperor, who, whatever we may think of him as an individual, is undeniably master of the kingly craft, with its accompanying necessity of constant watchfulness for the interests and welfare of his Empire, seems thoroughly alive to the superiority of our conditions for supremacy in trade. The attentions which he has been showing to the leaders of German industry, much to the disgust of the aristocracy, can only be aimed at increasing their social consideration and thereby making an industrial career more attractive.

When the framers of our Constitution planned the political structure for the country which they hoped was to be the home of a free and happy people, they could only dimly, at least, have foreseen the economic results which the future held in store for the generations to come. Does it not seem as if Providence were even then at work, silently guiding their minds toward ends greater and more far-reaching than they themselves could possibly have conceived?

R. B. Van Cortlandt.

FRANCE AND THE ASSOCIATIONS LAW.

BY WALTER LITTLEFIELD.

FREEDOM of conscience, so-called, whether religious or non-religious, is probably the most important guarantee of modern civilized society. It is a light which illuminates the past and beacons the future. It protects superstition, but it guides intelligence. It was natural, therefore, that the extraordinary religio-militant demonstrations which France has witnessed this summer should arouse keen interest throughout the world. It was natural, too, that wide-spread sympathy should be felt for those servants of the Roman Catholic Church, who were the victims of a law which seemed to strike at the very root of individual liberty.

The record of events as transmitted by cable, offered encouragement, if not absolute justification, for the sympathy aroused. Between June 27th and August 20th, nearly 2,500 schools and seminaries controlled by Religious Orders were closed by decrees signed by the President of the Republic. Often the execution of these decrees was attended by acts of violence. In certain Departments, so formidable was the resistance the people offered, that the police at the command of the local prefects was found to be insufficient, and the military was employed. Scenes of great dramatic and human interest took place, particularly in west Brittany and in the Vendée south of Brittany. At Lanouée, 600 nuns and peasant women armed with scythes and pikes defended a school until dispersed by the soldiers. At Saint-Méen, a conflict between the enraged populace and the soldiers was narrowly avoided. A school at Plondaniel was heavily barricaded and the Lady Superior said to the gendarmes sent to expel her: "You see our defences. You must shoot us before we yield. There will be bloodshed if any one attempts to enter." The Lady Superior at Landerneau Convent said: "Like true Bretons, we will yield only to force. The women

and other people who are guarding the school night and day have given us a courageous example." The common people were not alone in championing the cause of the Sisters. At Sully, the Marquise MacMahon, daughter of the Duc de Chartres, took her place with the nuns in the local convent and was forcibly expelled with them. In the same manner the Duchesse de Braganza stood by the nuns of St. Benedict. Two officers of the army, Col. de Saint-Rémy and Commandant Le Roy Ladurie refused to obey orders to expel nuns, on the ground that they were Christians first and soldiers afterwards.

These are only a few of the incidents attending the execution of the decrees. In the mean time, public meetings were held in various towns where the action of the Government was condemned with mighty vociferation. Certain local Courts of Appeal declared the placing of seals on the school doors illegal. Several magistrates resigned rather than prosecute those who had met the police and soldiers with assault. Even prelates of the secular clergy begged the Government to give the Sisters more time. A delegation of Parisian society ladies waited on Mme. Loubet praying that she would use her influence with her husband to stop "this monstrous outrage." It was all in vain. Decrees of closure continued to be signed and enforced. By the last of August the work was complete. Every school in France, which had not willingly acknowledged the authority of the state, had been closed. At the eleventh hour the Government made this concession: the schools might be reopened with lay teachers, pending the settlement of the estates.

But what was the exact character of the schools closed?

Why had they declined to comply with the law?

What was this law, its origin, its aim?

It may be stated here, in the most categorical manner possible, that no purely charitable institution has been disturbed by the decrees. Those schools, the closing of which has aroused such profound sympathy abroad, may be divided into three classes: (1) those in which pupils were received free of charge, but which were supported by subscriptions, or by profit from the pupils' work; (2) those maintained as stock companies, deriving their means from the tuition paid by pupils; and (3) those receiving charity pupils as well as paid pupils and supported by various means—direct subscription, tuition, or through stipend granted

them by the Religious Order in whose name they were operated. All came under the generally accepted definition of "private schools," for they were conducted by independent, organized bodies, and capable of producing pecuniary profit.

In denying the right of the state to interfere with the schools, both the Concordat of 1801 and the Falloux Law of 1850 were evoked. One guaranteed to the Catholic Church full exercise of its rubric. The second made religious education independent of state authority. Popularly, Catholic resentment may be best expressed by the words of the Lady Superior of the Assumptionist Convent, in the Rue Violet, Paris: "We deny the right of the Government to pay domiciliary visits to our convents. We deny its right to supervise our methods or inquire into our aims. We have nothing to conceal, but a principle is at stake and we mean to defend it."

It seems proper to pause here and consider the other side of the question.

It should be borne in mind that, of the population of France, numbering 39,000,000 souls, 37,000,000 are Catholics. Is it not absurd to suppose that 2,000,000 Protestants, Jews, Agnostics, Atheists, or what you will, could dictate legislation to such a vast majority enjoying the privilege of universal suffrage? It should also be remembered that the state maintains at her own expense 18 Archbishops, 72 Bishops, 33,452 priests and 6,923 assistant priests, who, while appointed by the state and strictly amenable to the laws thereof, draw their religious authority from the Vatican. Apart from these are the Religious Orders, which have their own constitutions and laws. Ostensibly, they are within the jurisdiction of the Vatican; in reality, they draw their authority from their own executives, who have been known to go contrary to the rule of the Vatican or to bring the Vatican over to their way of thinking. In 1901, these Orders included 152 male and 1,511 female associations, possessing 16,468 establishments—hospitals, asylums, reformatories and schools. In the last ten years these establishments had increased by twenty per cent.

The Religious Orders in France formed a sort of *imperium in imperio*. Readmitted into the country by Napoleon I., they had steadily increased in power and wealth, which, from time to time, were employed toward political ends. But neither monarchy nor empire was actively inimical to their aims and ends. With

the Republic it has been otherwise. Laws have been introduced taxing their properties; decrees have been enforced dispersing this or that Order. Still, the Orders prospered. They found ways to avoid the payment of taxes. Succeeding Governments removed the restrictions that had been placed upon them.

When, in 1899, the smoke of that prodigious national fulmination known as "the Dreyfus case" had partially subsided, the Republic was revealed in a desperate condition. As the attempt to secure justice for the ill-fated Jewish captain of artillery had spread among fair-minded Frenchmen until it became a Government policy, so, on the other hand, the attempt to perpetuate the original judicial error augmented until it reached the proportions of a conspiracy, not only against the Government, but against the Republic itself whose institutions had made the reopening of the case possible. While the French General Staff was doing its best to conceal the crime of its army chiefs from the eyes of France, the Religious Orders, through their press and pulpits, endeavored to convince France that these chiefs could do no wrong. How well they succeeded has become a matter of history. It needed a fearless and truly patriotic hand to raise the veil and reveal the truth. "The Cabinet of Republican Defence," at whose head was M. Waldeck-Rousseau, did this. The Dreyfus case itself was first dealt with in a manner calculated to restore public tranquillity at the earliest possible moment. Then began the prosecution of that Order which had most flagrantly played the rôle of treason, the Assumptionists, and of the Orléans and Nationalist conspirators.

After the Assumptionists had been dissolved, their organ, "*La Croix,*" suppressed — after MM. Déroulède, Guérin and Marcel-Habert had been sentenced—Frenchmen began to examine those conditions which had made the Dreyfus case possible. They asked themselves: What made the army so ready to perpetuate the crime of its chiefs and shield its forgers and traitors? What made these actions so acceptable to French public opinion?

The army chiefs, who had shown themselves to be enemies of Republican institutions, were all, before entering Saint-Cyr and the Polytechnique, the product of Clerical schools. The discipline of this education, that the end justifies the means, they had carried with them into their army careers. It was natural that

a large part of the public receiving its education from the same sources should believe in them. This belief, fortified by the traditional fetich of "*L'honneur de l'armée,*" made their characters inviolable. At length, Frenchmen understood the difference between "*Vive la République*" and "*Vive la France*"—the latter portended revolution. But they were ready to forgive their army, for they saw that it had been misled; they saw that under a truly patriotic Minister of War it could be taught its proper function as the servant, and not the master, of the Republic. But they were not ready to forgive the Religious Orders, which had attempted to seduce their army and make the people of France acquiesce in the seduction. They realized that the very medium through which the Orders exerted their influence, accumulated their wealth, and extended their power, was inimical to democratic principles—that their system of education, however successful it might be in moulding the minds of Royalists, could never turn out thoroughly republican French citizens.

The Associations Law was the masterpiece of the Waldeck-Rousseau administration. It had three objects in view: to enable the Government to declare null and void, without process of law, any association which, in character, design or influence, was deemed contrary to existing laws; to force native associations to recognize the state as their source of power; to force associations in France controlled from abroad to show cause why they should be permitted to exist within the jurisdiction of the Republic. An association was defined as an organization "of two or more persons, whereby they place in common their knowledge or activity with a purpose other than that of sharing profits." Proper punishments were provided for violations of this law. In the case of an illegal association, its property was to be returned to the original donors or their heirs, as far as possible; to those of its members whose labors had contributed to its wealth; or, finally, it was to be set aside for a superannuated workingman's pension fund. The bill was passed by a majority of 79 in the Chamber and 74 in the Senate. It became a law on July 1st, 1901. Six months were given the Orders in which to apply for authorization. The time was then extended for three months; then for three months more.

Although Religious Orders were not specially designated in the law, it was obvious that its application would completely disrupt

and disorganize their system. Militant societies like the Assumptionists and Jesuits would at once come under the class of illegal associations; the great Latin Orders of Dominicans, Carmelites, Capucins, Benedictines, etc., controlled from abroad, could only receive authorization to operate in France after a most searching inquiry into their methods and aims; other Orders must acknowledge the sovereignty of the state. But it was not alone the fear of political interference on the part of the Orders which had caused all liberal-minded Catholics to unite with non-religious Deputies in a desire to suppress or regulate the Congregations. Their papers, like "*La Croix*" and "*Le Pélerin,*" prostituted their columns to the most ignorant, superstitious and easily gullible portion of the French public. It is, I think, proper to show the character of these offences, if for no other reason than to reveal one source of the wealth of the Orders and the cause of their detestation by all progressive and fair-minded Frenchmen of any creed whatsoever. Opening, almost at random, the files of "*Le Pélerin,*" I come upon the following notice:

"Seven hundred and eighty-nine letters have been deposited this week in St. Anthony's box, 8 Rue François I., Paris. They announced or recommended: 153 healings, 562 temporal graces, 193 conversions, 180 positions obtained, 492 thanksgivings, 36 vocations, 52 marriages, 553 special graces, 12 first communions, 260 trading establishments, 41 lost objects, 24 examinations, 168 families, 110 deceased, 27 law suits, 125 young people, 21 parishes, 10 literary works."

Sixty-seven letters addressed to St. Anthony are quoted; they brought to his coffers 643 francs. It is simply a matter of arithmetic, therefore, to show that his week's mail at one box probably netted to him 6,500 francs, or $1,300. Two letters will be sufficient to indicate the nature of the others:

"Herault.—Two francs promised to St. Anthony if we found our poor dog, who had gone astray on the mountain. He has turned up safe and sound. I fulfil my promise."

"Nord.—Promised five francs to St. Anthony if he would accord me his protection in regard to our business, and in particular for the success of three ventures which preoccupied us. We have been heard. Thanks."

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that in 1899 the Assumptionists had 1,800,000 francs in their strong-box. Nor is

it to be wondered at that, with such methods, the property of the Orders so rapidly augmented in France, until it became the despair of the Secular Clergy.

By October, 2d, 1901, only 1,779 male and 3,362 female establishments of the Orders had sent in petitions praying for authorization by the French Government, leaving 11,327 out of 16,468 establishments which made no application. Many Congregations —Carthusians, Jesuits, Carmelites, Benedictines, Assumptionists, etc.—were preparing to leave France or had already done so. Among those who had applied for and received authorization, were the Capucins, Dominicans, and Trappists. Others declared that they would await events. The Pope, before the passage of the Associations Law, had in a letter addressed to the bishops of France protested against its principle and aim. He now instructed the Orders to apply for authorization if they so desired. It is a significant fact that the Orders which applied for authorization were those which have always been obedient to the will of the Vatican, expressed or implied, and mindful of the attitude of the Secular Church of France.

Last autumn the Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry became the longest-lived of any Government in the career of the Third Republic; and, although it still continued to command working majorities in the Chamber, it was felt that, before closing the establishments of the recalcitrant Orders by decrees, a proper respect for the sentiment of the body politic of France required an expression on this point through universal suffrage. The general elections of last Spring set an unqualified stamp of approval upon the work of the Cabinet, both realized and prospective. So encouraging was the Government majority that M. Waldeck-Rousseau decided to leave in more expert hands that part of the programme of "Republican Defence" which still lacked execution. M. Waldeck-Rousseau withdrew, and was succeeded by M. Combes as President of the Council and Minister of Public Worship. The obvious progressive and radical proclivities of a majority of the Deputies that had been returned caused other changes to be made in the personnel of the Cabinet, but M. Delcassé's retention of the Foreign Portfolio was a guarantee of continued pacific international relations, while with Gen. André in the War Office there was little danger that the army would again forget itself.

And here a word about M. Combes. Upon his shoulders, as Minister of Interior and of Public Worship, rested the execution of the Law of Associations. M. Combes, who has been a Senator since 1885, is a doctor by profession. He was educated by the Jesuits and even took orders. His knowledge of church history is profound. He is the author of an authoritative work entitled "*Psychologie de Saint Thomas d' Aquin.*" On June 10th he read the Government declaration from the tribune of the Chamber. Those parts of the address pertaining to the subject in hand are worthy of remembrance:

"The electoral campaign turned entirely on the policy of the late Ministry and of the majority behind it. The enemies of our institutions have denounced as a sectarian and revolutionary work what was merely a work of union between the different fractions of the Republican party for the defence of the Republic. Universal suffrage has pronounced. It has approved the conduct of the Government, it has returned a stronger majority and one not less determined to hold together. It is to this majority, without distinction of shades, that we appeal. Its ranks remain open to all men of good-will, its union is as obligatory as ever not only to complete the work of Republican defence and action, so well begun by our predecessors, but to give the country the reform it awaits. Why should this union cease, since it is by it that we have won? The Government will seek to avoid all that might have the effect of breaking or enfeebling it. The coalition condemned by the country has done everything of late years to alter the national character of the army and to divert it from its unique and noble mission. We should combat, with the utmost energy, any such attempts, were they to occur again. We shall know how to hold the army aloof from politics.

"Yielding to culpable suggestions, a portion of the clergy has sought to confound the cause of the Catholic Church with that of the Religious Orders. Contrary to the spirit of the law, it has descended into the electoral arena. Such lapses are intolerable. We shall have to examine with you whether the means of action at present at the disposal of the Government suffice to prevent their repetition. The Associations Law has entered upon the period of administrative and judicial application. The Government will see to it that none of its provisions remains null and void. We shall propose to you at the same time the abrogation of the Education (Falloux) Law of March 15, 1850, and the restoration to the state, without being obliged to revert to a University monopoly, of the rights and guarantees which it now utterly lacks."

As I have stated, the first budget of decrees ordering the closing of Association schools was presented to President Loubet for his

signature on June 27th. This dealt with 135 schools, which were closed. July 4th witnessed a spirited debate on the subject in the Chamber. MM. Denys Cochin de Ramel and Abbé Gayraud complained of the force employed by the Government. They contended that the schools established since the promulgation of the Associations Law did not require authorization, and that in any case the Government should wait until the tribunals had pronounced on this point before taking such drastic measures against devoted women.

In his reply, M. Combes maintained that the Associations Law required any new school to apply for authorization, for otherwise, instead of being, as was alleged, tyrannical, it would be perfectly inoffensive. Yet communities had since been founded which had made no such application. This was real defiance of the Government. Sixty-four male and 685 female communities had, however, applied for authorization. He insisted that the Government was bound to act as it had done. Brutality had been spoken of, but on this point there was much exaggeration. Great forbearance had really been shown, although in one case a priest lay down on the threshold of a convent to prevent the police from entering. These communities pretended not to be communities but merely men engaged at salaries. This, however, was a quibble; and the Council of State, in 1830 and 1838, had pronounced against a similar contention. The Government was resolved, supported as it was by a majority in both Chambers, to make the spirit of the Revolution triumph in matters of religious policy. That majority, solid as a rock, would not allow itself to be broken up by legal quibbles, for such a disruption would entail the irremediable bankruptcy of the Republican party. It would be absurd if the Government, while empowered to dissolve formerly authorized communities, were powerless against the unauthorized. M. Combes added:

"This is the first act, which will soon be followed by others. It is well that this first act should be unanimously approved by the Republicans in this Chamber. I am certain that they will do so, for our decree is but the execution of the Ministerial declaration which you applauded and which we maintain intact. Republican France has sent here a majority of representatives resolved on securing the definitive victory of lay society over monastic disobedience."

The speech of the Premier was loudly applauded and was order-

ed, by a vote of 309 to 218, to be posted in every commune in France. M. Dubief then read a declaration, signed by 225 Deputies, unreservedly approving the acts of the Government. He proposed a resolution expressing confidence that the Government would firmly apply the Associations Law and defend the rights of the lay state. This was adopted, by a vote of 333 to 206.

It is beyond question, therefore, that the drastic measures against the schools were employed with the full consent and approbation of a majority of the Deputies, who reaffirmed their adherence to the policy of M. Combes, even after they had had an opportunity to judge of actual results. In spite of the pettifogging of the legal advisers of the Orders, there is not the slightest doubt as to the constitutionality of the law. The Concordat entered into between Napoleon and Pius VII., regulating affairs between the state and the church, providing for the support of a Secular Clergy by the civil government, etc., makes no mention of the Orders. Indeed, there is no more convincing proof that they were not intended to be included, than that offered by the fact that the Emperor later found it necessary to authorize the return of certain Orders by special, individual decrees. As to the Falloux Law, that measure offers no immunity for educational bodies from the law of the land, although it does place the state at a distinct disadvantage in regard to developing education through the means of public instruction. Nearly all the heads of the Orders accepted the Law as the Government interpreted it, and asked for authorization or removed their Congregations from France. With many of their establishments, however, it was different or there would have been no cause for the Government to employ drastic measures. Why this should have been so is revealed in a speech made the other day by M. Trouillot, Minister of Commerce, at Besançon:

"We have to deal with stratagem and violence. For this a corner of France has been chosen, a corner formerly ravaged by sanguinary conflicts, where the counter revolution a century ago implanted itself to defend the *Ancien Régime* against the new France. There, by false rumors, men, still but half liberated from the aristocratic yoke, are excited by being told 'the revolution has seized on Paris, the Treasury is empty, insurrection is everywhere threatening, the churches are to be closed, blood will run in the streets!' By such speeches and still more culpable methods the ashes of divisions are rekindled, and attempts are made to convert Brittany, though a country French at heart, into a

focus of Royalist insurrection. This is what should not be forgotten. The movement is neither Catholic nor religious, it is purely political; and what is striking is that it is fomented not so much by priests as by laymen, who offer the singular spectacle of inflaming the suspected zeal of members of the clergy. But be not uneasy. We are no longer in the time when the Bréton insurrection must be put down by arms. The simple intervention of justice against common law offences, which the Penal Code will be sufficient to repress, will be enough. The law will be enforced. No stratagem, no violence, and, I add, no flinching, will impede the operation of the will of Parliament and the country."

In an official note issued on August 15th, M. Combes dealt with the same phase of the subject:

"The President of the Council made known the contents of the administrative reports, which he had received from the Department of the Finistère, relative to the application of the Law of July 1st, 1901, to the congregationist establishments in the said Department. The superior of the congregations of the nuns of the *Saint Esprit* informed the President of the Council, in two successive letters, that she had twice enjoined the members of her Order having private schools in the Finistère to leave these establishments, but her endeavors failed owing to the resistance opposed by the owners of the school buildings and by part of the people residing in the district. It results, in fact, from the official reports, and from all the information collected, that the movement of resistance, which was at first presented as Catholic, is clearly and violently Royalist. The movement has led to serious offences and misdemeanors, which come under the action of the penal laws, and which will give rise to judicial prosecutions. Instructions in this sense have been transmitted to the Procurator-General of the Republic by the Keeper of the Seals."

This is the entire explanation of those "heart-rending" scenes, those "monstrous outrages," which took place in the old Royalist strongholds of Finistère and the Vendée, and aroused the sympathy of the British and American press. It is nonsense for the Vicomte Lagatinais, Admiral de Cuverville, Abbé Gayraud, Comte de Mun, and Councillor Soubigou to disown this conspiracy. The character of the demonstrations proves its existence. The circulars issued by the political bureau of the Bourbon-Orléans pretender show its origin. The complete silence of the Vatican robs it of all exalted Roman Catholic authority.

And now the *Conseils Généraux* of the Departments of France, which correspond to the State Legislatures in the United States, have passed resolutions in regard to the enforcement of the Asso-

ciations Law, an overwhelming majority of them enthusiastically supporting the Government's policy. Paradoxical as it may seem, certain legislatures of Brittany are among the majority. Now, too, the actual originators of the movement to defy the Government, the pernicious mentors of the poor misguided nuns, the demagogues of a deluded and ignorant populace, have cast aside all disguise and appear in their true light as enemies of the Republic. Nationalists, Royalists, Bonapartists, or, at any rate, the wildest among them, have embarked upon a foolish and futile campaign to induce Frenchmen to refuse the payment of taxes. They threaten no harm, however. Now that they work in the light, they are merely ridiculous. Let it be remembered that Brunetière, Lemaître, Coppée, Drumont, who are now so vociferously crying "*Vive la liberté!*" were just as vociferous three years ago in shouting "Death to the Jews!" It is astonishing that their curious inconsistency does not occasionally come home to them.

The truth of the matter is that the Dreyfus case revealed to intelligent Frenchmen a monstrous Politico-Religious Trust, which, while monopolizing public education, threatened the existence of all democratic government. They have crushed this trust in the most effectual manner possible. The repeal of the Falloux Law, which is part of the programme of the Combes Ministry, will give a government truly representative of the people of France full authority to establish and maintain institutions in which the youth of the Republic shall receive lessons in true democratic citizenship. There is reason to hope that the obstacles of the future may not be so formidable as those of the past.

WALTER LITTLEFIELD.

SUFFRAGE RESTRICTION IN THE SOUTH; ITS CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES.

BY CLARENCE H. POE, EDITOR OF "THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER," RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA.

THE political history of the Southern States since the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment to our national Constitution has been completely dominated by one overshadowing problem, negro suffrage. And with regard to that problem, this period of the South's history may be roughly divided into three epochs:

1. The era of unrestricted negro suffrage, ending about 1875;

2. The era of restriction or control by methods not recognized in the law. This lasted, broadly speaking, from 1875 to 1895;

3. The era of disfranchisement by State laws, prescribing, as tests of fitness for the suffrage, qualifications possessed by a much smaller proportion of blacks than of whites. Of this period we have hardly yet reached the end of the beginning.

At this time of changing conditions, therefore, it may not be inappropriate or unprofitable to glance at the more salient features of the two periods that seem to have passed into history, and to examine, with more fulness, the present trend of Southern political affairs.

I.

We shall rapidly pass over the Reconstruction Period, but not so rapidly as to leave unnoticed the fact that some of its legacies linger with us, and that to recollections of this period are due the few traces of sectional animosity that yet exist in the South. Of the great war, when brave men met brave men in open battle, it can be truthfully said that its memories arouse no bitterness; but this is not true of that later period when the victors—thousands of them in a spirit of mistaken philanthropy, many of them carelessly and thoughtlessly, some with malice aforethought—

allowed a race only a few generations removed from African barbarism to take the reins of government into its own hands, and humiliate the men and women who had built up the splendid civilization of the Old South. If, as a well-known magazine editor said some time ago, "there is no period of American history at once so poetic and so full of the atmosphere of chivalric romance as that which the South saw for a score of years prior to 1860," there is, on the other hand, no decade of our history so dark with foolish blunders and foul wrongs as that which this South saw from 1865 to 1875.

Difficult enough for the Southern whites would have been the simpler task of dealing, without outside interference, with the ignorance and recklessness of the newly-enfranchised blacks. A hundredfold more difficult did the task become, when designing plunderers came and found in negro suffrage a cat's-paw admirably adapted to their schemes. Ignorance and Greed having joined hands, corrupt men might make laws, propertyless men might levy taxes, illiterate men might conduct public school work, characterless men might serve as judges. The plunderers cared not; the blacks did not understand; the native whites could not resist the military force that threatened them. The South of Reconstruction days, like the fabled Prometheus, lay chained and helpless while the vultures preyed on her vitals.

Finally, however, time brought the inevitable readjustment. Failure came to the unnatural and irrational scheme of the extremists, from its inception doomed to defeat, and the white man took again the heritage of his fathers.

II.

But if the story of Reconstruction makes unpleasant reading for the Northern man, it is no less true that the Southerner finds much to humiliate him in the story of the succeeding epoch. Irregular election methods were adopted, demagoguery encouraged, bullyism condoned, politics corrupted.

The negroes formed an unchanging political factor. Whatever the policies of the Republican Party or the character of its candidates, the undivided slave-like support of the blacks was assured, and their numbers gave them the power of the majority in that party. Division of the whites, therefore, the Democratic leaders lost no time in pointing out, meant negro rule. Inde-

pendent voting was denounced; black solidarity was opposed by white solidarity; bigoted partisanship dominated both races. Even when there was no real danger of negro supremacy, the race question, as the "Baltimore Manufacturers' Record" says, "was often made a pretext to keep the white vote solid, and almost to ostracize those who dared to speak their convictions on economic questions, if against the Democratic organization." It was but natural that, out of such conditions, rings and cliques should spring forth; and so it came about that States sorely in need of progressive leadership found themselves in the grasp of oligarchies that stifled freedom and hindered progress. The South lost prestige in national affairs with both political parties, because she no longer considered questions on their merits, but judged them solely by their relation to the incubus with which she struggled. Such a condition was fatal to statesmanship. In all this period, the South produced no Washington or Jefferson or Marshall or Calhoun or Clay. Such men could not grow in an atmosphere poisoned by such influences, or among a people whose judgment and intellect were kept in subjection by the presence of a negro problem.

Not less demoralizing were the election frauds which bad men practised and good men often thought it necessary to wink at. Mr. Dixon does not mention it, but I have heard the story of that prominent North Carolina minister known in "The Leopard's Spots" as the Rev. John Durham, saying to the men who were telling him how they proposed to overcome the negro majority in his county: "I am a preacher; don't tell me how you are going to win; but, remember, you must do it."

I would not extenuate the evils of election frauds; there is probably nothing in our political life more debasing, nothing that strikes more directly at the corner-stone of our liberties. Without fair elections, as ex-Secretary of the Navy Herbert told his Alabama people recently, "the natural outcome of republican government is discontent, unrest, instability, and finally revolution." But, that the reader may get the proper historical perspective, it should be said in passing that the people of the North, as well as those of the South, have at times excused lawlessness as the means to a righteous or popular end. Subsequently, many election frauds were perpetrated in the South for indefensible purposes; but the spirit which caused the people to forget law in

their struggle with the carpet-bag leaders, was much akin to that which caused the Massachusetts Abolitionists of the fifties to nullify fugitive slave laws and justify illegal means of helping runaways. Transferred to the South of the seventies and given a genuine insight into the condition of affairs, these brave New Englanders, moved by their old-time temper, would have joined the Southern white man in the desperate measures adopted by him, answering their critics as before with Lowell's words:

> "We owe allegiance to the State, but deeper, truer, more,
> To the sympathies that God hath set within our spirits' core;
> Our country claims our fealty; we grant it so; but then,
> Before Man made us citizens, great Nature made us men."

At the Charleston Exposition a few months ago, an old man—a man of character and intelligence, a Democrat whose breadth of view was shown by his high praise of President Roosevelt—told me of the South Carolina campaign of 1876 that ended the saturnalia of negro rule in that State. "In my precinct," he said, "there was 800 negro or Republican majority, but when the votes were counted it was Wade Hampton who was 800 votes ahead." The old man added, "It had to be done"; and it was clear that he and his co-laborers thought of their work as Cicero thought of his official career, when, asked to take oath that he had done nothing contrary to the laws, "I swear," said Cicero, "I swear—that I have saved the Republic!"

III.

But there is nothing more uncontrollable than lawlessness. To no certain spheres of activity can you confine it; to no certain periods of time can you limit it. It is subject to no law save that of growth: sow the wind and reap the whirlwind. Wink at your election officer's thievery in times of stress and peril, and next you may have election thievery to aid plundering schemes, or to save the rings and cliques to which the election officer belongs. Give rein to mob violence at a time when you think such action justifiable, and you will find your reward in a popular contempt for the restraint of law, a permanent injury to public morals.

So thoughtful Southern people soon came to perceive, if they did not understand from the first, the dangerous nature of these methods of dealing with the negro problem. The South had escaped the Black Peril, to be sure; but the baleful spirit of

trickery and disorder with which she had leagued herself, and whose aid she had invoked, clave to her with the tenacity of an Old Man of the Sea, haunted and threatened her like another Mr. Hyde grown too powerful to be controlled by Dr. Jekyll. On the one hand, negro rule endangered peace and safety; on the other hand, the demagogue and trickster were a constant menace.

This was the situation when the Southern whites, taking courage from the waning of Northern bitterness, resolved to steer boldly away from the Scylla and Charybdis between which they had been so long held. While baser motives actuated some, it was in this spirit that the South, as a whole, began the work of remoulding its suffrage laws. Very rapid has been the progress of this movement; and now, of the Coast States between Maryland and Texas, only two (Georgia and Florida) have not yet adopted so-called "disfranchising amendments." This, however, is a matter of such recent history, and has been so often explained in the press, that it is unnecessary for me to outline the provisions of these laws or relate the story of their adoption.

What the reader is most interested in is the situation at present and the probable consequences of the new policy.

IV.

The ship so recently launched has hardly yet found herself; the machinery is not yet in good running order. In several States no elections have been held under the new régime, and the dread of national interference has retarded in some degree the coming of the promised good results. Moreover, in some of the States (in South Carolina, for example), the limited legal restriction of the suffrage affords only partial relief, and the old-time Tillmanesque methods remain in force.

Taking a general view, however, the thoughtful observer finds many signs of promise—signs not of a startling or miraculous transformation, but indications of a gradual recovery from our nearly four decades of bondage to the race issue.

First, there are evidences of a healthier public sentiment with regard to dishonest election methods. In this, as in other kindred matters, we cannot expect in a year, nor in five years, complete reform. Fairer election laws have been adopted; but it is not in the letter of the statutes, but in a proper popular reverence for the essence of law, that safety is to be found. That the long-

standing abuses will be sloughed off with reasonable rapidity, the awakening of the public conscience, or rather the breaking of the fetters that have bound it, clearly indicates.

Not less surely are the people beginning to exercise greater freedom and tolerance in matters political. The men here and there who say to you, "The negro question is out of the way and I shall vote as I please hereafter," are the pioneers. The newspapers are growing more independent, and many that used to accept with well-feigned grace all men and measures bearing the image and superscription of the party authorities now manifest a spirit of stubbornness very disheartening to the bosses. Manufacturers assert their belief in certain political policies and their readiness to break party ties, if necessary, to further those policies. Efforts to resuscitate the race issue (evidently for the purpose of staying the growing spirit of independence) call forth the most emphatic disapproval. In North Carolina, for example, such an effort recently made by the acknowledged head of the Democratic Party in the State, has been coldly received by the Democratic partisan press, and has been plainly condemned by nearly all the independent and the religious papers. This typical comment is from the "*Raleigh Christian Advocate*," organ of the North Carolina Methodist Conference:

"No, there are thousands of white men throughout the State who are determined to vote hereafter for men and principles rather than by the color line, and the fact might as well be known. They will not have the negro question thrust on them again."

The next noteworthy fact is that men of higher character are to lead our political parties and fill our offices. I might devote much space to this, but the following editorial from the "Chapel Hill News," a Democratic county organ, tells the whole story and tells it with clearness and force:

"There is no use of winking and blinking and trying to hide facts; it is sure that scores of voters have voted a straight party ticket for years for fear of negro rule. Now that this is out of the way, there is going to be some voting straight from the shoulder, and the man who is unfitted for the position he seeks is going to be left when the votes are counted. It therefore behooves the Democratic party to nominate its most capable men for every position—men who have no ax to grind, men of well-known probity and honesty. Remember these things and watch the vote in November."

Furthermore, and quite naturally, the removal of the negro question from politics has resulted in better feeling between the races. To illustrate this, let us take the original of the hero, Charlie Gaston, in Mr. Dixon's "Leopard's Spots." Charlie Gaston is supposed to represent, in the main, the present Governor of North Carolina, the Hon. Charles B. Aycock. The bitterness toward the negro that seems to actuate Mr. Dixon and his imaginary hero is not shared by this living, flesh-and blood Charlie Gaston, who, as he accepted the Democratic nomination for Governor two years ago, with a masterly defence of the Suffrage Amendment then being considered, gave utterance to this worthy sentiment:

"May the era of good feeling among us be the outcome of this contest. Then we shall learn, if we do not already know, that while universal suffrage is a failure, universal justice is the perpetual decree of Almighty God, and that we are entrusted with power not for our good alone, but for the negro as well. If we fail to administer equal and exact justice to the negro whom we deprive of suffrage, we shall in the fulness of time lose power ourselves, for we must know that the God who is love trusts no people with authority for the purpose of enabling them to do injustice to the weak. We do well to rejoice in our strength and to take delight in our power, but we will do better still when we come fully to know that our right to rule has been transmitted to us by our fathers through centuries of toil and sacrifice, suffering and death, and their work through all these centuries has been a striving to execute judgment in righteousness. That must likewise be our aim, that our labor."

Again, in his inaugural address last year, he declared:

"The white people owe a high duty to the negro. It was necessary to the safety of the State to base suffrage on the capacity to exercise it wisely. This results in excluding a great number of negroes from the ballot, but their right to life, liberty, property and justice must be even more carefully safeguarded than ever. It is true that a superior race cannot submit to the rule of a weaker race without injury; it is also true in the long years of God that the strong cannot oppress the weak without destruction."

And this man—perhaps the fittest spokesman of the new era in the South—has shown his faith by his works. It was his eloquent appeal for the education of both races, the blacks as well as the whites, that thrilled the recent Conference for Education in the South. Throughout North Carolina, regardless of opposi-

tion, he has preached the same doctrine. Against all mob violence, too, he has squarely set his face, and perhaps the largest reward ever offered by a Governor of a Southern State was that for a band of Salisbury lynchers which he issued a few weeks ago.

The Southern white man knows that "the negro race," to use Dr. Felix Adler's phrase, "is a child race"; he has always had, will always have, that consciousness of Caucasian superiority called by some "race prejudice." But he does not hate the negro, and passion has been manifested only when the blind partisanship of the blacks has been so manipulated by unworthy leaders as to bring about conditions intolerable to the whites, and no less damaging to the negroes themselves. With the removal of the negro question from politics goes the most fruitful source of bitterness between the races, and there are now brighter prospects for the general acceptance of the generous policy advocated by Governor Aycock.

Another encouraging fact is, that the educational test for voters furnishes an incentive to worthy effort on the part of this child-race—an incentive to labor that will in itself fit the negro to use more wisely that high privilege which, as Mr. James Bryce points out, no other people in all history has ever won save after proving and developing strength and fitness by centuries of struggle for the coveted honor. In North Carolina, since the adoption of our Suffrage Amendment, the increase in negro school-attendance has been very marked; not many miles from where I now write, an illiterate negro, sixty years old, is going to school to qualify himself for voting. Not unreasonable, it seems to me, is the hope that this effort now necessary to obtain the ballot will cause the black man to value it more highly, and that the education secured will enable him to act more judiciously in all civic matters. I know at least one Southern leader, a man who has served his State as Governor and United States Senator, in whom this faith is strong. Talking with the writer a few weeks ago, he said: "The new class of negro voters will act more sensibly than the old. Education and experience will teach them something. I do not think that they will go Republican *en masse,* as their fathers have done. On the contrary, I believe that they will rapidly assume a non-partisan position, and that this policy will keep the negro question from again becoming prominent in politics."

V.

But what will be the attitude of the North and of the Republican "powers that be" at Washington towards this question?

On this much depends, but I risk the prediction that (excepting, possibly, unfavorable action by the Supreme Court on some non-essential features of these disfranchising amendments) the South will be left alone to work out its own problem; that, as the advocates of the Force Bill failed in the second of the three periods of which this paper treats, so now will the advocates of Congressional attack on this new Southern policy fail—and fail even more completely than did the friends of the Force Bill; for the country has learned much in the last decade, both from the South and from "our new-caught sullen peoples" in the Philippines.

But I must say that there is a considerable element in the South—and in the Democratic Party, moreover—that would gladly welcome Northern interference. These are the agitators, whose political fortunes flourish only when prejudice and passion usurp more or less completely the place of reason and judgment. An attack on Southern suffrage regulations would revive the conditions in which these men delight; it would paralyze the incipient spirit of independence in politics, and again insure for a time the undisputed sway of one party, with the consequent opportunity for machine rule.

A threatening, meddling attitude on the part of the North would help these men; but such men as Governor Aycock, Hoke Smith, and Hilary A. Herbert, who have broader and more statesmanlike plans for the South, it would put at a serious disadvantage. This fact is well illustrated by the Booker Washington dinner incident of last year, of which Governor Aycock said:

"I am endeavoring to support measures for the education of all children without regard to color. By this action President Roosevelt has hampered and retarded efforts which are being made to educate the negro. He has furnished opponents of negro education with the argument of social equality, which is hard to meet."

It should also be said that this seeming bit of meddling, this seeming recognition of the "social equality" idea by the then untried President, was incorrectly regarded by many as a declaration of hostility to the South, and turned the tide then setting strongly toward Republican policies and the organization of a

strong minority party in the South. The best government is not possible where the dominant party is conscious that it has nothing to fear from the opposition, and it was this blow to the independent movement that the majority of the Democrats with whom I talked (business and professional men, to be sure, not politicians) regarded as perhaps the most regrettable result of the President's action. This opinion was also expressed by one of the best-known Southern dailies in these words: "The real Southern man and Democrat grieves over it. He would greatly like to see two honorable parties in the South; not so with the groundling and whippersnapper."

I can think of but two other classes besides these Democratic agitators that would be benefited by national interference: (1) Northern demagogues, more desirous of pleasing the rabble than of serving the country, and (2) the baser sort of Republican politicians in the South—members of those organizations criticised by President Roosevelt in his Lyon interview (August 20, 1902) as "existing only for federal patronage and delegates to National Conventions"; "that considerable class of Southern Republicans," as ex-Senator Marion Butler says, "who do not desire to build up a strong and respectable opposition to the Democratic Party, but, on the contrary, really want their party to remain weak that they may have the least possible competition at the federal pie-counter." The influence of this element is doubtless greater than most people believe; the men who compose it realize that conditions which would attract better men to their party would probably end their official careers.

Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter. The South, beset by perils on right and left, has evolved a new method of dealing with that White Man's Burden which she has borne for more than thirty years—a method that, in spite of appearances of injustice, promises better government, fairer elections, greater political freedom, and more generous treatment of the negro than would be possible were the National Government to compel a return to the policy of so-called unrestricted suffrage. And its interference in this problem that the South is slowly working out, would add only another blunder to the long list of those already made in a spirit of misguided, long-range philanthropy.

CLARENCE H. POE.

AMERICA MISTRESS OF THE SEAS.

BY CAPTAIN R. P. HOBSON, U. S. N.

THE two facts of the century just closed that portend most for the human race are the rise of Russia and the growth of the United States.

Within these two nations are gathering mighty factors of national power, mightier factors than have yet appeared in the history of the world, factors resembling in general nature but exceeding in magnitude those that brought forth the Empire of Rome and the British Empire—cumulative factors that mark Russia for a military empire destined to throw Rome into the shade, and the United States for a mighty Naval Power toward which the vast power of Great Britain is but a stepping-stone.

In the United States we find elements of power, numbers and vigor of population and material resources, without a parallel in history, together with conditions never yet equalled—maritime frontiers, vast material interests, and sacred principles—which demand the growth of power upon the sea.

In population, the United States is half again as large as Germany, nearly twice as large as the white population of the British Empire, nearly twice as large as Austria-Hungary, and more than twice as large as France. The population of the United States is increasing twice as rapidly as the population of Germany, and three times as rapidly as the population of Great Britain and the other nations of Europe, while it has from twelve to fifteen times the space to expand in, with a richness of soil that would enable the United States to support a population equal to the present population of the earth, without taxing the soil beyond the degree now existing in Europe; and every improvement in transportation and means of intercommunication will cause the United States to draw off more and more the hardy and vigorous people

of Europe, and thus to make even a greater disparity in the rate of increase.

Moreover, the average American, man for man, is from two to five times as vigorous as the average European. The average American man is an inch taller than the average Englishman, who is the tallest man in Europe, and the average American eats about twice as much strong food as the average Englishman, who is the best fed man in Europe.

In the United States, furthermore, about two and a half times as much is spent *per capita* for education as is spent in England and Germany, which stand at the top of the list in Europe.

The average American wheat-grower produces three times as much wheat as the average English wheat-grower, four times as much as the average French, five times as much as the average German. Similar averages are found in the output of manufactured articles. The output per man in American locomotive works is twice as large as the output in the English locomotive works, which stand first in Europe. The average American wields about 2,000 foot-tons of mechanical energy per day; the average Englishman about 1,500; the average Frenchman and German about 900; and the other averages in Europe are below 500.

There are in the United States nearly 100,000 more members of the international organization, the Young Men's Christian Association, than there are in all the rest of the world combined. If a famine occurs in Russia, or a cataclysm in the Islands of the Seas, the first relief ships sail from American shores. An American army besieging the City of Santiago feeds the women, children and old men, instead of starving these to reduce the city. America, concluding a war with a fallen foe, restrains its fleet and pays twenty millions of dollars, instead of ravaging the enemy's coast and exacting two hundred millions for war indemnity. America, after pouring out blood and treasure, gives Cuba its independence.

Every test goes to show that Americans, with a few generations of free life in a free continent, are already, physically, intellectually and spiritually, a race of giants.

For vigor in warfare, no such manifestations are found in history as were shown in the American Civil War. Though having but 16,000 men in the United States Army at the beginning, the war involved numbers twice as large as the hordes of Xerxes, the

casualties alone being 200,000 more than there were soldiers altogether in the German armies that invaded France in the Franco-Prussian War. Campaigns in that war, for distances covered and obstacles overcome, have no parallel, except, perhaps, in Hannibal's invasion of Italy; while numerous battle-fields counted percentage losses from three to five times as great as the bloodiest on record, those of Napoleon and Frederick the Great. In the supreme test of individual fighting, as shown by regimental records, there were over five hundred cases in the Civil War where the losses of single regiments in single engagements exceeded the loss of the Light Brigade at Balaclava, and one hundred and twenty-five cases exceeding the record of the German Army in the war with France.

For vigor in naval warfare, no such record exists in the world as that of the American Navy. In the war of 1812, the British Navy was at the zenith of its glory, fresh from the victories of Nelson, having counted an almost unbroken record of 200 victories with European foes. The force sent against America was seven times as strong as the American Navy; eighteen battles were fought, and fifteen were won by the American ships, with losses less than one-sixth the British losses.

In the Spanish-American war, the American Navy simultaneously broke two world records, first with cruising vessels against cruising vessels at Manila, then with armored vessels against armored vessels at Santiago, achieving in both cases a mathematical maximum of fighting efficiency, compassing the total destruction of the enemy without any loss to the victor. The American Navy alone of all the navies of the earth, has never known defeat.

Together with its vast, vigorous population, the United States has unmeasured natural resources, a domain from sea to sea spanning the temperate zone, in richness of soil, the Earth's Garden Area, holding below the soil one-third of the known mineral deposits of the earth, having matchless waterways, the granary, butchery and workshop of the world.

Thus, with a heavy preponderance of numbers, great superiority of vigor, and matchless natural resources, the United States, compared with other Powers, has stupendous elements of world influence.

This world influence can rest only upon sea power. Our frontiers are all maritime. Though Canada is a hostage from the

British Empire, our contact with that Empire, as with all the World Powers, is the sea. The conditions and mighty forces are wonderfully concurrent for bringing forth naval growth, sure, swift, irresistible.

We have in the United States, 17,000 miles of coast-line, and on this coast-line, and upon the harbors and great rivers leading up from the coast-line, we have built innumerable cities representing accumulations of more homes and property vulnerable from the sea than are found on all the coast-line, harbors and navigable rivers of the continent of Europe combined. Fortifications, mines and torpedoes have been, and still are, useful accessories in coast defence, but they never have arrested, and they cannot now effectually stop, a determined commander of a strong fleet.

The only accident policy, the only insurance, the only adequate guarantee of security, for all this property, for all these homes, upon which depends the happiness of so many millions of American citizens, is the Navy; and the prosperity of the inland population is inseparably bound up with the prosperity of the coastwise populations. Moreover, without adequate protection, this exposed side of the nation would be a standing invitation for attack from nations jealous of our commercial ascendency.

Estimating legitimate naval requirements from coast-line exposure, the Navy of the United States should be the largest in the world.

Besides the largest amount of coast property, the United States has the largest amount of water-borne property exposed to attack from the sea, billions upon billions in coastwise, river and lake trade, and exports now the largest in the world, exceeding $1,500,000,000 annually. When we are at war, the Navy only can prevent blockade of our ports, and insure the departure of this property; the Navy only can give safe convoy or a clear road for passage. When Europe is at war, the Navy only can insure our rights as a neutral, and permit us to realize the security of our isolation, and render us, in fact as in word, independent of European turmoil.

Estimating legitimate naval requirements by the quantity of exposed water-borne property, the Navy of the United States, again, should be the largest in the world.

But the huge figures of $1,500,000,000 of American property

now shipped annually over the seas, is only an introduction to the coming importance of over-sea markets. With the differentiation of labor and the increasing necessity for free exchange of products, the national importance of foreign markets is, in a general way, proportional to the productiveness of the nation, notwithstanding the importance of the home markets. With the United States now producing one-third of the world's foodstuffs, one-third of the world's mineral products, eight-tenths of the world's principal article of clothing, while she stands but on the threshold of her possibilities of production in these fields; with the United States now employing more mechanical energy than all Europe combined, and now producing $12,500,000,000 annually of manufactured articles, more than the combined manufactured articles of Great Britain, Germany and France, while its rate of increase of manufactured articles is twice as great as the rate of increase in Europe; with the United States thus advancing by leaps and bounds, and already almost at the point where it will produce as much as all Europe combined, the matter of foreign markets, important for all the nations, is of supreme importance for us.

While the domestic markets of the other great Powers offer an inviting field, they are subject to embarrassment by local legislation. The markets of most importance for all the great nations are the new markets of undeveloped lands, where all may have an equal chance. These markets are of vital importance to a nation making such giant strides as the United States is making in industrial and commercial expansion. In the fierce and fiercer-growing competition of the great Powers for advantage in new markets over the seas, where the local people themselves can make but feeble show of power, the security of the nation's interests can rest only upon the nation's fleets.

To emphasize the far-reaching importance of this question, take the case of the new market of China. From long experience in the reconstruction of the gunboats raised at Manila and reconstructed at Hong-kong, I can testify that the industrial capacity of the Chinese is scarcely below that of Americans, while from careful investigation I should estimate the average wages of a hard-working man in China at less than six cents a day. These two facts have a momentous significance. China will be opened up. The disturbances which drew the attention of the world and which were the occasion of opening the eyes of the soldiers sent

there as to conditions existing in the Orient—who, in turn, spread the knowledge broadcast over all parts of the world—will but accelerate a movement already rapid; and soon we shall see more than one-quarter of the human race double, then quadruple, then increase tenfold, then twentyfold its productiveness, demanding, as the standard of life rises with the rate of wages, double, quadruple, then tenfold, then twentyfold more products from the rest of the world. The history of the world does not record a parallel to the magnitude of the economic impulsion that will be felt, an impulsion overtopping that felt in the Renaissance and at the discovery of America.

In this coming market of China, the United States has an incontestible right to an equal chance. Moreover, lying, as she does, midway between Europe and Asia, with the Atlantic and Gulf coast-line and the Mississippi Valley to be brought by the Isthmian Canal, along with the Pacific Coast, face to face with the Orient, and being the pre-eminent producing nation with a natural elasticity and adaptability, she should with a fair chance and no favor hold control in the Chinese market.

Over this field, fraught with so much of vital interest, there is a danger line. China herself can offer no resistance to aggression. The European nations, which fought long and bloody wars for the American continents that offered only virgin resources, and for India with its slothful population, will strive for control in China, where, with unmeasured virgin resources, there is an ocean of wealth in the industrial population. Protestations and treaties to the contrary notwithstanding, the European nations will have a steady set toward the seizure of China.

History shows that the conquering nation invariably absorbs the commerce of the conquered. Promises of an open door will not suffice. Our recognized rights to an equal chance in China's markets can rest in security only upon a strong policy that will not permit the partition of China. For such a policy, the United States must rely on herself alone, and must maintain in the Far East a comparatively large fleet.

Similar conditions hold for the important coming markets of South America, markets of the present and immediate future, and of the more distant though not overdistant future when European and American immigration will develop a second America.

Generally, similar conditions hold for all the other new markets of the world; and we may say broadly, for all over-sea markets, that the security of America's trade interests must depend upon the size of her fleets. Having interests great and wide-flung, and increasing more rapidly than those of any other nation, the United States should have the greatest navy in the world. Here again, our insurance against attempts to invade our rights, and thus for the security of our peace, will rest upon the size of our Navy.

Thus, from considerations of material interests far-reaching and vital to our country's welfare—considerations that involve the security of our coast, the protection of our water-borne commerce, the safeguarding of our rights in foreign markets and new markets, our interests in each of these cases being larger than those of any other nation—from each and every consideration of material interest upon which the legitimate size of a navy should be computed, the United States should maintain the greatest navy in the world; indeed, the size being proportioned to her needs, the Navy of the United States should be almost equal to the combined navies of the world.

But material interests are not the only considerations that should prompt the United States to maintain a great navy. We have sacred principles committed to our charge which can be upheld only by a great navy.

We have not receded one step from the Monroe Doctrine of our forefathers, yet South America is as far from us as it is from Europe. When the race for South-American markets becomes close, and when the growing European immigration to South America becomes stronger and more controlling, we can maintain the Monroe Doctrine there, and be guaranteed against an assault upon it, only by being able to send to South America as large a fleet as Europe could send.

But Americans now living have a greater Monroe Doctrine to uphold. We may differ among ourselves in judgment as to methods adopted and to be adopted with the Philippine Islands; but no earnest American would willingly see his country stand aside and allow those 10,000,000 of helpless people, now committed to our charge, to pass under the yoke of a European monarchy. In other words, the Monroe Doctrine has already crossed the Pacific and to-day covers the Philippine Archipelago.

Yet, the Philippine Islands are more than 8,000 miles away across the seas. How can we, a nation of action that means what it says, how can we fulfil our bounden duty of protection for the Filipinos except through a strong Navy?

But in principle the Monroe Doctrine should have wider extension, an extension limited only by our nation's opportunities and possibilities for world influence. The white race, in possession of the truths of science and the forces of nature, now controls the destinies of the yellow and black races, though these number nearly three times the entire white race. In the action of the great white nations, controlling the happiness of these hundreds of millions, the United States should have a strong and determining influence. Would it not be selfish and cowardly in us to stand off and see the destinies of these myriads of helpless people dominated by the harsh methods of European monarchies and despotisms?

No man liveth unto himself, neither does any nation; no individual enjoys a blessing without a concurrent responsibility to his fellows, neither does any nation. With nations as with men, Heaven requires works proportionate to talents and opportunities.

We are the only completely liberal nation of the earth. Europe has been evolved by series of conquests, the processes of which have left its society stratified, men and women living and dying where they are born, the vast bulk being born peasants. We have been evolved by free processes only, never ruling over others, and never being ruled over ourselves, producing in our body social and body politic a homogeneous medium, in which men and women rise and fall and seek their levels, according to their relative weights, according to individual force and usefulness, according to individual attainments and worth. Being the only completely liberal nation of the earth, we are constituted the champion of free institutions, and the advocate of human liberties for the whole earth.

It was no mere chance that planted the foot of America at the Gateway of the Orient, the habitat of the teeming millions. Our forefathers laid down the Monroe Doctrine when they numbered less than 10,000,000 of population, shortly after our shores had been invaded. Now, with more than 80,000,000 of population, having passed beyond the point where any nation or combination of nations could invade our shores and threaten the nation's life,

with unparalleled elements of power and influence, I do not believe I over-estimate our enlarged responsibilities, or over-estimate our possibilities of realizing practical world policies, when I say that Americans of to-day should extend the Monroe Doctrine to cover the Empire of China. We have a perfect right to say that China shall not be partitioned. In addition, I think we should say to the Powers of Europe, "We will join you in opening up China. It is best for China and for the world that life and property should be secure and Western methods have free course throughout that empire; but we propose that China shall be opened up as Japan was opened up, by the American method—not as India was opened up, and as Africa is being opened up, by the European monarchical method, that involves the conquest and subjugation of the peoples."

Further, without venturing to intermeddle with affairs of others, I believe we should extend the Monroe Doctrine into an American Doctrine that would exert influence and lend a helping hand to all the less happy peoples of the earth, creating and exerting powerful influence for the oppressed of all lands, and for all the yellow and black peoples as they come under the dominion of the white race—a doctrine that would exalt the idea of responsibility and duty, making the best interests of these peoples the guiding purpose of the great nations.

In advancing such a doctrine, we should render a service not only to the belated races themselves, but to the white nations and the world at large, ourselves included, increasing the industrial productiveness and thereby the commerce of the world, and adding to the intellectual and spiritual progress of the races, which would be a moral asset for the world.

Further, we are the only innately peaceful nation of the great Powers. The European Powers are organized for invasion and for repelling of invasion, the nations constituting great military camps, where war and warfare, the military and militarism, permeate and mould the minds and character of the peoples. In America, the contrast is complete; with no wish for conquest, no dread of invasion, free from the military, Americans are engaged in and absorbed by the useful pursuits of peace. Indeed, the absorption of individual business is so complete and personal liberty is so secure, that the citizens forget public affairs—this forgetfulness constituting, in fact, an incidental weakness from

which flows periodically bad government in the cities and slackness in our national purposes, especially our foreign policies, a weakness that should be reduced to a minimum by every thoughtful citizen making it a point, whether entering politics himself or not, to take an interest in public affairs.

Being the only fundamentally peaceful people of the world, we are constituted the advocate and champion of peace for the world.

Moreover, in championing peace as in championing free institutions, we should render a service to the world, including ourselves. War that would injure the British Empire, with which we have $800,000,000 annual commerce, would injure us in injuring our market; similarly, war that would injure France would injure us; war that would injure Germany would injure us; an injury to any part of the human race would be an injury to us and the whole race.

In addition, engaged in peaceful pursuits, we learn to appreciate and respect the rights of others, and are coming more and more to recognize the principle that advantage as well as right lies not in injuring one's neighbor, not in reducing his happiness, but actually in helping him and adding to his happiness—that an increase of happiness for any citizen is an asset for the community, that an advance in the welfare of any people is an asset for the world. With our wonderful system of government, too, where each unit retains control of the affairs of the unit and participates in the common affairs in the measure warranted by its interests involved, we are evolving the only system which can be extended indefinitely, and which can lead to a brotherhood of the nations in which they could live in peace with each other, each attending to its own affairs, having only its just weight in the common council, while endeavoring not to injure other nations, but actually to help them as much as possible.

As pointed out above, the world influence of our country must rest upon the Navy alone; it is only through a great Navy that we can extend our Monroe Doctrine to China, through it alone can we give effect to our general advocacy of free institutions, to our advocacy of peace and of the brotherhood of man. Our forefathers and fathers were nobly engaged and showed a splendid devotion when they colonized our country, won its independence, founded the government, perfected its institutions and perpetu-

ated the nation. Our country has now graduated, and we of this generation are called upon to shape its course as it steps forth into the world to play its part as a World Power, to inaugurate its career of world service. We should be unworthy of our inheritance, did we not lay out and seek for our country a mighty and beneficent rôle, to fill its majestic and glorious opportunities and possibilities for useful service to mankind.

For this glorious rôle, that we should all covet for our country, for fulfilling our sacred duties as a nation, we must maintain a great navy.

To meet these demands of sacred principles that appeal to the conscience, as for those of material interests, the United States should have the largest navy in the world; indeed, the proportions would not be strained if the Navy of the United States equalled the combined navies of the earth.

Furthermore, conditions are such in the world, with the great European nations holding each other in check, one Power against another, one alliance against another, that the United States with a mighty navy can hold the balance of power for the world, and can cast the deciding vote in the councils of the nations where world policies are determined, where questions of war and peace are considered. It is hardly overstating the case to say that, with a dominating navy, the United States can dictate peace to the world and can wonderfully hasten the reign of beneficence in world policies.

Let all earnest men and women, who wish for the reign of peace and good-will on earth, realize the fact that, though Hague Conferences and International Peace Societies are useful, the real practical way to hasten this reign is to place control in the hands of the nation of peace, the nation of liberty, the nation of beneficent promptings; let them realize that the United States Navy, which alone can give control to the nation, is thus the bulwark of human liberty, the agent of peace, the instrument of brotherly love.

No one need have apprehension as to the effect on our institutions of having a great navy. No navy ever overthrew any government in the history of the world. With a navy equal to the combined navies of the earth, the numbers of citizens involved would be but a little handful out on the sea, and however strict in discipline and military methods they may be among themselves,

the body of the nation would remain unaffected. There could not be the slightest tendency toward militarism; while the accompanying sense of power and of control would but deepen, in the minds and hearts of men engaged only in peaceful pursuits, the feeling of responsibility, quickening the nation's conscience, advancing the nation's moral development. Indeed, noble efforts for other nations and for the world would be a wholesome tonic for our nation. Breathing the purer air of such an exalted station would quicken the pulse of the nation and send a brighter, stronger current to eliminate morbid germs from all the tissues of the body politic, offsetting tendencies toward commercialism and materialism.

It is of momentous significance that naval power can go hand in hand with complete liberalism, the struggle for supremacy being simply a race for wealth. Here the liberal nations, in which productiveness is the prime incentive, where the population remains in productive pursuits, will hold the controlling advantage. It is naval power that ultimately will give control to the useful and the good, that will give the earth's inheritance to the meek; naval power is the agency for regenerating and redeeming the world.

The resources of the United States, as pointed out above, are so stupendous that if our Navy equalled the combined navies of the earth, the American tax-payer would not be conscious of even the slightest burden, and in the practical work of building ships and preparing them, and organizing a navy, there are no evidences that any nation has greater aptitude, and our shipyards have already the necessary capacity.

While there are thus paramount reasons why we should be the greatest of naval powers, we are to-day only the fourth power, having 550,000 tons of warship displacement. Great Britain has 1,800,000 tons; France has 715,000 tons; Russia has 20,000 tons more than we have; Germany is but little below us and has recently authorized a vast increase, equivalent to doubling and trebling her entire naval force. The other Powers have also undertaken large programmes of construction. At the session of Congress before the last, not a single new ship was authorized. I do not believe the people know this. I believe they wish and will demand, irrespective of party, that every session of Congress make adequate, sure, consecutive appropriation for increases in ships and personnel.

When we recall that it takes three years to build a battle-ship, while an enemy's fleet can leave Europe and appear on our shores in two weeks, when we remember that our naval insufficiency is a constant danger to our peace, while such vital interests are at stake, we cannot fail to recognize the urgency of the situation. We should set forth at once with a steadfast purpose and a carefully thought out progressive programme. It is better to lay out a programme on the basis of appropriation for new construction, rather than a set list with fixed types and numbers, leaving the Navy Department to determine each year the types, and the numbers of each type, to aggregate the proposed appropriation. Taking account of the situation and conditions now existing, I would suggest the following programme,—to start with the appropriation made at the Congress just adjourned, about $30,000,000, and make an increase of $5,000,000 for next year, or $35,000,000 altogether for 1903, and increase this amount by $5,000,000, or $40,000,000 altogether, for 1904, and so on, increasing for each year by $5,000,000 the appropriation of the previous year, making for 1905, $45,000,000; 1906, $50,000,000; 1907, $55,000,000; 1908, $60,000,000; 1909, $65,000,000; 1910, $70,000,000; 1911, $75,000,000; 1912, $80,000,000; 1913, 85,000,000; 1914, $90,000,000; 1915, $95,000,000; 1916, $100,000,000, and so on, till we become the first naval Power. If the European nations continue to build along their present lines, I estimate that we should overtake Great Britain about 1920, when, at the rate indicated, our naval appropriation for new ships would be $120,000,000. The probabilities are strong, however, that the Powers will accelerate even their present rates of increase, and we could scarcely expect to reach the top before 1930, when the annual appropriation would be $170,000,000 for new ships.

Pursuing this course, we should prevent Germany from passing us and should ultimately convince even Great Britain that she cannot remain in the race.

Of course, there is a chance that some Power or combination of Powers may endeavor to deal us a staggering blow before we have gathered full speed. For such a case, we should be prepared to accelerate to any required extent the momentary speed of increase. We cannot ignore in this light the gigantic efforts now being put forth by Germany. It is only a dictate of prudence for us not to let Germany pass us. It is possible, too, that our world

interests and the principles we stand for may gradually cause Continental nations to make combinations for the purpose of checking us. We should be alive to any such movement and prepared to make efforts in proportion.

It may be remarked, however, that any present or future effort of a single nation or combination of nations to strike at America's naval growth would but hasten the day of America's naval supremacy. The conditions for supremacy now exist. Mighty forces are at work. The most potential nation in history, standing upon the strategic vantage-ground of the world, with unparalleled equipment, is being called upon by the strongest demands of interest and the most imperative appeals of duty. Like the cumulative processes of nature, the movement will be irresistible. It cannot be checked. The finger of fate is pointing forward. America will be the controlling World Power, holding the sceptre of the sea, reigning in mighty beneficence with the guiding principle of a maximum of world service. She will help all the nations of the earth. Europe will be saved by her young offspring grown to manhood. The race will work out its salvation through the rise of America. I believe this is the will of God.

R. P. Hobson.

A GENERAL STAFF FOR THE ARMY.

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM H. CARTER, ACTING ADJUTANT-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY.

AMERICANS can never be brought to admit that any other war can equal the Civil War from 1861 to 1865; yet, there was so great a lack of coherence in the management of affairs during that conflict that a committee of Congress sat almost continuously "investigating the conduct of the war." The War with Spain brought forth in a marked degree dissatisfaction with the methods of army administration; and so widespread did this feeling become that the President felt compelled to assemble a board of distinguished gentlemen to investigate the conduct of affairs during that war. The report of this commission is quite voluminous; but, as should have been expected, the commission was unable to fix responsibility with such accuracy as to admit of applying a proper remedy under our existing system. It may be fairly stated that its findings indicated that in some instances there had been a lack of foresight in preparation; in some, a division of authority which made it impracticable to fix responsibility; and in others, indications of the necessity for the consolidation of certain functions which most nearly affect the comfort and success of troops in the field. To quote from the findings of the board:

"For many years the divided authority and responsibility in the War Department has produced friction, for which, in the interest of the service, a remedy, if possible, should be applied. The Constitution makes the President the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and he cannot transfer that authority to any other person. The President selects a Secretary of War, who is his confidential adviser. The President must have the same power of selection of his General-in-Chief as he has of his Secretary of War; without this there can be no guarantee that he will give, or that the Secretary of War will place in the General-in-Chief, that confidence which is necessary to perfect harmony. Neither

the President nor the Secretary of War should have in command of the Army an officer who is not working in harmony with him."

This is the opinion of a board composed of intelligent gentlemen, all of whom had seen service in the Civil War on one side or the other. Their opinion, just quoted, contains the essence of thought which has guided many students of our system to the belief that a General Staff, with a Chief who shall stand between the Secretary of War and the army at large, including the various staff and supply corps and departments, is the substantial element of that reform which is necessary to put the American army upon a proper basis for the successful conduct of any great war.

After the close of the Civil War in 1865, the necessity for immediate and continuous retrenchment in the expenses of the government brought about a centralization of affairs in the War Department, which has loaded down every officer employed there with administrative paper work beyond the average capacity. This system, on the one hand, not only deprives the Department and the Army Commanders of much of that general control which should be left to them, but, on the other, it leaves the officers at the War Department, overwhelmed as they are with routine matters, little or no opportunity for the consideration of very important questions requiring their decision.

There has been for many years general dissatisfaction, amongst progressive and intelligent officers of the army at large, with the administrative methods of the War Department, and many undigested essays have been written, based on the theory that centralization is responsible for every trouble. The system fulfilled sufficiently well its functions during the early period of our government, but it is not prepared for the strain of a great modern war. Although not analogous, the history of many of our great corporations is available for comparison sufficiently pertinent to justify the belief that they furnish argument for the existence of a General Staff.

In our early history, when railroads were constructed with a view to uniting adjacent towns, they needed only honest management and technical skill; but when they were merged into great systems controlling thousands of miles of track, and dependent upon freights from far distant territory, forced to consider the varying conditions of agriculture, manufacture and navigation, it was no longer enough that they should possess skilled engineers

and accountants, but it became necessary to the life of these systems that they should be controlled by directors,—groups of men whose principal work was to observe rival lines, to consider State and local laws, and to prepare their systems to derive all possible advantage from future growth of contiguous territory. The duties of these directors and other functionaries of the great railroad systems, who do the thinking for these vast corporations, are very nearly akin to those of the proposed General Staff of the Army. With large corporations and trusts, success depends upon wise fore-thought and a right application of economic principles. Rate wars do not resemble real war, for they are never based on questions of national honor; on the contrary, they are usually senseless, extravagant, wasteful in the extreme, and finally end where they should have begun—in arbitration.

The business of the War Department, which in proportions exceeds that of many of the largest trusts or corporations of the world combined, is managed upon an entirely different plan from that pursued in any private concern. All appropriations are based on estimates laid before Congress. The fact that the appropriations are specific prevents any efforts at taking advantage of a low market, since all purchases in large quantities must be by contract after public advertisement. This assures all citizens a like opportunity to share in government purchases. A watchful Comptroller and many auditors sit in judgment constantly over all accounts; and, notwithstanding the ponderous system and its utter lack of elasticity or adaptation to a state of war, it must be admitted in its favor that, considering the enormous amount of funds disbursed through the Treasury, there is and always has been a notable absence of great defalcations and scandals.

That the army itself recognizes the necessity for some reorganization of its staff system is best made known by the statement that the Military Service Institution, of which the Lieutenant-General was president, offered, as the subject of its prize essay for the year 1900, "The Organization of a Staff best adapted for the United States Army." The prizes for the best essay included a gold medal, a certificate of life membership in the Military Service Institution, and $100 in cash. The gentlemen chosen to constitute the board of award for the essays were General John M. Schofield, General James H. Wilson and Professor G. J. Febiger. This fact is cited here because, when the bill known as the

"General Staff Bill" was before the Congress at its last session, opposition was aroused against it on the plea that it was an attempt to Germanize our army, notwithstanding it had been the subject of this public essay competition, and, so successful was this attack, that an intelligent discussion of the objects of the bill was not possible at the time.

Any reorganization of the Staff of the Army without the introduction of a General Staff is doomed to failure. The need for such a corps in the army is a natural one, but a General Staff cannot be brought about by a gradual growth, as has been the case with many other departments of the Government. The present administrative system is the result of gradually installing bureau chiefs in the War Department, to each of whom were assigned specific duties which have been added to from time to time by special legislation on appropriation bills and otherwise, until each bureau is hedged about by certain inelastic laws which, at times, hinder and embarrass the wheels of the administration to the detriment of the army as a whole. Many of the functions devolving upon General Staff officers in other countries are, and have been, performed in our country by officers of various staff bureaus and of the line, but these duties do not properly pertain to any particular corps or department; the performance of them being needful to the wellbeing of the service as a whole, they have been placed from time to time on the most available men. Were it possible to extend this method and select those with the most aptitude, much good could be done; but full and complete success of a General Staff system cannot be expected without legislative action. The crying evil of our whole administrative system in the past has been that no central authority, except the Secretary of War, has ever been empowered to direct the manifold interests in the hands of the various staff bureaus. It is not contended for a moment that the German General Staff system is applicable to the United States army. On the contrary, it may be stated most emphatically that it is not so applicable, for the reason that, in the German system, the General Staff and the Generals commanding the troops form practically an interchangeable body, which is feasible only because Germany maintains a great army in peace as well as in war. With us few Generals are in active service in peace, compared to the great numbers which would be appointed in event of a war of ordinary magnitude.

The scheme of a General Staff proposed for our army contemplates that the Chief of Staff shall take his place between the Secretary of War and the army as a whole, line and staff both included. General Schofield, who has had wide and varied experience, and who has given the question much thought and study, testified before the Commission which investigated the War with Spain that:

"Recent experience has served to confirm all the results of my life-long study and large experience, that the proper position for the senior officer of the army on duty at Washington is not that of Commanding General, a position which is practically impossible, but that of General-in-Chief, which means in fact Chief of Staff to the President."

No intelligent person can study our system without forming the conclusion that, in time of great peril, when it is too late to give to questions of great moment the study and research which they deserve, our practice has been to throw the burden upon Congress. This burden usually falls upon that body at a time when its members cannot give the subjects the careful consideration which they ought to have, and the result is that the statute books are filled with ill-digested legislation relating to the army. If the General Staff system, or one similar to that proposed for the army at the last session of Congress, be inaugurated, it would not be many years before the careful study of selected officers would evolve a sound and practical system which would enable us to prepare in peace for war as we have never done before. Any attempt to establish a General Staff system without first changing the office of the Commanding General of the Army will fall short of success.

It is impossible to present the economic features of this plan, because we have no basis for calculation in detail; but enough is known to justify the prediction that a properly organized General Staff, possessing the authority of law for its existence, could arrange in advance of war the mass of details with reference to distribution, transportation and mobilization of armies, and the establishment of supply depots, in such a manner as to effect a vast saving of men and material. These things cannot be properly done by officers already overburdened with routine work.

While the Chief of General Staff would be the Chief of Staff to the Secretary of War, and stand as an adviser between him and

the chiefs of bureau and the various army commanders in the field, he would also have direction of the employment of General Staff officers. These functions cannot be performed by the Commanding General of the Army under the present system. Every Commanding General has encountered similar obstacles in his conduct of affairs, and they are inseparable from our unbusinesslike arrangement. Many of these complications arise from the fact that the finances of the army, which are administered by the various staff bureaus, are wholly within the jurisdiction of the Secretary of War; and it is hardly within the limits of possibility that Congress will ever enact a statute which would remove them from his control and turn them over to the Commanding General of the Army.

The responsibility for success in battle must ever rest with the Generals commanding the various armies in the field. It would be idle speculation to endeavor to show how many reputations would have been saved to General officers had the army been possessed of a well-trained body of General Staff officers, whose duty required of them the preparation of all the information desirable for a Commanding General undertaking a campaign. It is not claimed that a General Staff will prove a panacea for all the misfortunes which may overtake a nation engaged in war; but, certainly, history has shown in a multitude of instances that previous preparation for war tends to abbreviate the period of active hostilities, and thereby to effect a saving of millions.

Through the agency of a General Staff, military and political policies may be harmonized as becomes our form of government; and all the bureau chiefs of the War Department, the proper performance of whose functions has more to do with the success of war than the average layman can possibly comprehend, would be brought into line and work more coherently and to a common purpose. Under the present system, it is quite possible for a bureau chief to work along his own lines in ignorance of what the other bureaus are doing,—a possibility directly contrary to economic and business principles.

The duties of a General Staff Corps consist in peace, to a great extent, of bureau work—including the preparation of maps, the drawing up of schemes for the organization and concentration of troops, the formation of plans for the national defence, and a study of the higher military science to keep pace with modern

conditions. The soldierly spirit, informed by experience of actual service with troops, must ever be the actuating impulse of such an organization, and for this reason all officers of such a corps must return periodically to service with the line. Any system which in peace allows the officers of the General Staff to degenerate solely into bureau officers, will cause them to forfeit the respect of the line of the army. It is on that account that a sufficient number must be maintained in such a corps to furnish ample details both for office work and for duty in the various branches of the army, interchanging from one kind to another at frequent intervals.

Above all else, the personnel of a General Staff Corps should be selected with reference to ability, and without any suspicion of favoritism. To organize a new corps at once will involve the necessity of detailing well-equipped officers from the army at large. All subsequent additions to the Corps should come by selection from those officers who have distinguished themselves in the various courses of instruction provided for the younger officers. Favoritism might sometimes help an individual, but a properly wrought-out scheme would make it absolutely necessary that, before being appointed to the Corps, an officer should display sufficient talent to justify his being placed amongst a thoroughly trained body of ambitious and competent men.

There is a widespread opinion that influence is more potent than trained talent and fitness. Republics do not differ much from monarchies in some things, and it is Utopian to expect, under any form of government, a system which will always put the best man in the right place, with or without influence. It is safe to say, however, that the common idea as to the success of influence in forcing men to the top is greatly exaggerated. It would be a grave misfortune to the army if this opinion were to fasten upon it. The officer who accepts his commission with a determination to fit himself thoroughly for each grade as he progresses in the army, and for as much more as lies within his power, and who performs his duties in a conscientious, intelligent and forceful manner, is more apt to rise in the estimation of his superiors and his fellows than he who performs only the duty required of him and that in a perfunctory manner. Fortunately for the country, it is considered discreditable among the great body of army officers for one not to be thoroughly posted in his professional duties. All that is needed to enable the country to

keep up this spirit, is to give it recognition and encouragement as far as lies within the limits of law.

One of the most serious questions which would arise in the establishment of a General Staff is: In what manner should effect be given to the determinations reached by such a body of officers on various questions affecting the army? It ought not to be necessary to state that officers of the General Staff serving with commanders of troops do not control them in any manner whatsoever; that they are detailed as staff officers of the various Generals to furnish them with information; to assist them in the preparation of their detailed plans and orders; and to relieve them from as much labor as possible, in order that the Generals may devote themselves to the higher questions of command and make success more probable. How much more intelligently can a Commanding General act in a theatre of campaign which has received the careful study of the General Staff, if he has an officer of that corps at his elbow who can elucidate and explain the situation upon which orders for the movement of supplies and troops may be based, than the same General can do if dependent upon his own efforts and those of the ordinary staff with which he has suddenly been surrounded at the outbreak of war, and of whose qualifications he is, to a certain extent, ignorant!

With a General Staff in existence, important matters which require investigation and grave consideration will be cared for by a body of selected and highly trained officers, whose time will not be frittered away with routine affairs, and whose opinions, therefore, will be based upon systematic examination and mature thought. We will then be justified in expecting to escape the evil result of such imperfectly considered action as often characterizes much of the business now done under the present system, and which must continue to be so done until a radical but perfectly feasible reorganization takes place.

WILLIAM H. CARTER.

THE PUBLIC DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES.—I.

BY O. P. AUSTIN, CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

THE National Debt of the United States amounted, on July 1, 1902, to $1,328,031,356. Of this sum, $931,070,340 is "interest-bearing debt"; $395,680,156 "debt bearing no interest"; and $1,280,860 "debt on which interest has ceased since maturity." The interest-bearing debt, speaking in round millions, consists of $19,000,000 in 5 per cent. bonds redeemable in 1904; $233,000,000 at 4 per cent. redeemable in 1907; $135,000,000 at 4 per cent. redeemable in 1925; $97,000,000 at 3 per cent. redeemable in 1908; and $446,000,000 at 2 per cent. redeemable in 1930. The debt bearing no interest consists of $346,000,000 of United States notes, commonly known as "greenbacks," for which no date of redemption is fixed; $42,000,000 of funds deposited by national banks going out of business, with which the government is to redeem their notes whenever presented at the Treasury for redemption; and $6,000,000 of fractional currency issued during the Civil War, of which probably less than $1,000,000 will ever be presented for redemption. The debt on which interest has ceased since maturity amounts to about $1,000,000 of bonds overdue but not yet presented for redemption. Against this debt there stands in the Treasury $150,000,000 in gold, set aside as a reserve fund for redemption of the United States notes when presented, and an "available cash balance" on July 1st of $208,000,000, or an available debt-paying balance of $358,000,000, thus bringing the "debt less cash in the Treasury" to $969,457,241.

A casual examination of the debt statement by those unacquainted with the mysteries of Government bookkeeping, might give a different and widely erroneous impression of the

debt figures. The annual statement published in the reports of the Treasury Department shows in one column the "outstanding principal of the public debt" as $2,158,610,445. This alarming figure, however, is produced by bringing into the total all of the gold and silver certificates issued by the Treasury, for which there is deposited in the Treasury a sum exactly equal to the value of the certificates. Therefore, this apparent indebtedness, which is classified as "certificates and notes issued on deposit of coin and silver bullion," and which amounts to $346,000,000 of gold certificates, $454,000,000 of silver certificates and $30,000,000 of Treasury notes issued for the purchase of silver bullion, is, in fact, not to be considered in a statement of the real debt, since the entire sum necessary for their redemption is on deposit in the Treasury.

The simplest form in which the debt of the United States can be stated is that the interest-bearing debt is $931,070,340, the debt bearing no interest, $395,680,156, and the "total debt less cash in the Treasury $969,457,241." This gives an annual interest charge of $27,542,945 and brings the *per capita* of debt, less cash in Treasury, to $12.27, and the annual *per capita* interest rate to 35 cents.

It is worth while, before entering upon a discussion of this debt and its history, to compare briefly present conditions with those of former periods, and also with those in other countries. On August 31, 1865, when the National Debt made its "high water mark," the total interest-bearing debt stood at $2,381,530,294, the annual interest charge at $150,977,697, the debt less cash in the Treasury at $2,750,431,571, the *per capita* debt at $78.25, and the *per capita* interest charge at $4.29. Thus the debt less cash in the Treasury is now about two-fifths what it was at the close of the Civil War, the annual interest charge less than one-fifth, the *per capita* debt about one-sixth, and the *per capita* interest about one-twelfth of that of 1865.

Comparing our debt with that of other countries, it may be said in general terms that the interest-bearing debt of the United States is less than that of Austria-Hungary, Australia, India or Spain; about half that of Italy; one-third that of Russia or the United Kingdom; and one-fifth that of France; while the *per capita* interest charge against the United States National Debt is below that of any of the principal countries of the world,

except Germany, China, and India, being but one-third that of Russia, one-sixth that of the United Kingdom, one-ninth that of Italy, and one-sixteenth that of France. No other country floats a 2 per cent. bond, while practically one-half of the interest-bearing debt of the United States now stands at 2 per cent., and these securities are selling in the open markets at a premium of 8 per cent. Securities of the principal European nations are, in most cases, issued at from 3 to 10 per cent. below par, while those of the United States are invariably issued at or above par. Another feature in which the debt of the United States differs from that of certain other nations is, that all of its obligations (except the "greenbacks") are redeemable at a fixed date, and that the policy of the government is to cancel all its obligations as rapidly as practicable, while with certain other governments a considerable part of the national obligations are classed as "permanent debt" without date for redemption, the avowed policy being to merely meet the interest thereon as it falls due, but to make no provision for payment of the principal, which is considered a permanent indebtedness.

The history of the National Debt is coincident with the history of the nation. Indeed, it began before the States had arrived at the dignity or cohesive condition of a nation. The very act by which the struggling Colonies freed themselves from British domination and put themselves in condition to form a nation, was of necessity productive of an indebtedness not only large in itself, but extremely burdensome to the handful of people impoverished by a long war and occupying a new and undeveloped country. But they assumed that great burden willingly, and the story of their struggles is the story of the national life and national success.

THE REVOLUTIONARY DEBT AND ITS ADJUSTMENT UNDER THE CONSTITUTION.

The public debt was one of the first and most difficult of the problems which confronted the first Congress under the Constitution. The first Colonial Congress, which met at Philadelphia in 1774, was a body composed of delegates without power to levy taxes, borrow money or perform any functions of government, except to make recommendations to the various Colonies which it represented. The second Colonial Congress, which met at Phila-

delphia in 1775, assumed that it was not merely a committee of conference but a provisional government, and set about the organization of a military force; and, on receipt of the news of the battle of Breed's Hill, it quickly passed an act which had been some time pending, which authorized the issue of bills of credit to the amount of two million dollars, pledging the Confederated Colonies for their redemption. These bills were worded as follows: "This bill entitles the bearer to receive —— Spanish milled dollars or the value thereof in gold and silver according to the resolution of the Congress held at Philadelphia the 10th of May, 1775." These were issued in sums of from one to eight dollars each, on thick pieces of paper about 3½ by 2¾ inches, and bore on the border the words "Continental Currency." In the following November, three millions more were issued, and other issues followed in quick succession, so that when the Declaration of Independence was made in 1776, fifteen millions had been already issued; and, by the time the Articles of Confederation were formed and the Congress of the Confederacy began its existence in 1780, the issues of the Continental Congress amounted to 241 millions of dollars, and to this the Congress of the Confederation added 96 millions, making the total 337 millions.

Meantime, this currency had greatly depreciated in value, despite the resolutions of Congress that it should pass current and that all persons refusing to receive it ought to be considered "enemies of the United States." During 1776 it passed at about 2 to 1; by the end of 1778 it was about 4 to 1; by April, 1779, 10 to 1; by the end of 1779, 40 to 1; by the end of 1780, 75 to 1; by the middle of 1781, 500 to 1; and by the end of 1781, 1,000 to 1, and then it ceased to circulate. In addition to this, the States had issued paper money amounting, from 1775 to 1783, to 209 millions, some of which had been expended in fitting out their troops and sustaining them in the field; but this maintained a better financial standing, owing to the fact that the States had the power to levy duties, collect taxes, and provide methods for meeting their obligations, which was not the case with either the Continental Congress or that under the Confederation. The Congresses had, however, assumed authority to borrow money and pledge the public faith to its payment; and, owing to the willingness of certain European nations to embarrass England by aiding her rebellious colonies, loans were

negotiated in Europe between 1777 and 1789 amounting to $10,000,000, about two-thirds of this being in France and one-third in Holland, and a small sum in Spain. Some of these were made direct from the governments and others through individuals but with the assent of the government. In addition to this, Congress had issued loan-office certificates amounting to 67 millions, certificates to persons whose property had been seized for use of the army, certificates in settlement of the claims of soldiers, bills of credit issued to pay interest, and certificates issued by the Register of the Treasury in lieu of other obligations; the total amounting to probably $100,000,000, which, however, had in many cases greatly depreciated.

The problem which confronted the first Congress under the Constitution, when it met in New York, in April, 1789, was how to meet these numerous obligations. After passing a revenue act and appointing a committee to consider steps with reference to the debt, it adjourned to meet in December at Philadelphia. When it resumed its session, Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, made his famous report on the Public Debt, and this became the basis of the act by which the Revolutionary debts were assumed by the young nation. The act as finally adopted provided (1) that the foreign obligations (about $10,000,000) should be paid in full; (2) that those debts of the States which had been incurred in support of the common cause (amounting to about $20,000,000), should be paid in full; (3) that the obligations issued by authority of Congress should be redeemed by an issue of stock for which the old obligations, now much depreciated, and many of them held by persons who had purchased them at far below their face value, would be received *at their current specie value,* and that the greatly depreciated Continental currency should also be received for the new securities at the rate of $100 for $1. The new "stock," as all government securities were then designated, to bear interest at 6 per cent., though on one-third of the sum issued to each individual the interest was not to begin until the year 1800. Stock bearing 3 per cent. interest was also to be issued to the creditors for the sums due for deferred interest payments. No date was fixed for the redemption of the stock, but the Government reserved to itself the right to redeem not over 2 per cent. of the principal of each sum in any one year. This plan was offered as a proposition to the creditors,

not as an ultimatum, and it was specifically provided that "nothing in this Funding Act shall be construed to alter, abridge, or impair the rights of the creditors of the United States who shall not subscribe to the loan." The proposition was generally accepted, however, by the domestic creditors; while the fact that the plan proposed to pay the obligations to the States and the foreign creditors in full rendered it generally acceptable to these parties. Within two years nearly all those holding the general obligations of the Government had refunded them at their specie value into the new securities, the holders of $168,280,219 of Continental currency had turned it into the Treasury and received $1,682,802 of the new securities therefor, and the adjustment of the accounts between the Government and the States was making satisfactory progress. The amount of stock finally issued in payment of the debts of the Continental Congress and the State debts incurred for the common defence, included $30,088,397 in 6 per cents.; $14,649,328 in deferred 6 per cents.; $19,719,237 in 3 per cents.; total, $64,456,962. In addition to this, there was the foreign debt of $10,000,000 with an accrued interest of about $1,640,000. Thus the young nation adjusted the great load of indebtedness incurred during the War of the Revolution, and started its career with a debt of about $75,000,000.

FROM 1790 TO 1861.

The desire of Hamilton, and indeed of all those at the head of the Government, was to begin at once the reduction of this debt. But this was not easy for a young nation which had just emerged from a long war, and whose people were not yet able to bear heavy burdens of taxation. For a few years it was necessary to "borrow from Peter to pay Paul," and a half dozen loans were made in Holland to meet obligations as they fell due. But the aggregate debt was not increased, and a sinking fund which had been established from the customs revenue kept up the payments of interest and made some slight reduction of the principal. In 1803 Louisiana was purchased for $15,000,000, of which $3,750,000 was to be paid to citizens of the United States having claims against France; this was paid out of the current revenues, and stock was issued for the remaining $11,250,000. This brought the total debt up to $85,349,774, the highest point ever reached prior to the War of 1812.

Beginning with the year 1800, rapid progress was made in the reduction of the public debt. The revenues were plentiful, and many of the heavy expenditures had been reduced, and so rapid was the decrease of the debt that by 1808 Gallatin, who was then Secretary of the Treasury, was planning a great system of public works to cost twenty millions. But war clouds began to appear, the embargo and non-intercourse acts seriously affected the foreign commerce, and in some of the years between 1806 and 1811 the revenues were not equal to the expenditures. Yet the reduction of the debt had been so rapid and satisfactory that in 1811 it stood at $45,154,189, having been reduced $40,000,000 since the Louisiana Purchase, in 1803.

When the War of 1812 began, Gallatin recommended that the revenues be kept at the basis necessary for all expenses in times of peace, and that the amount necessary for war be raised by loans. The President was authorized to make a loan of $11,000,000 at 6 per cent. Of this, $4,000,000 was subscribed by banks and about $2,000,000 by individuals, which was a larger sum than had ever before been subscribed by individuals in the United States at so low a rate of interest. As no more subscriptions could be obtained, Gallatin recommended that authority be given to issue the remaining $5,000,000 in Treasury notes running one year, drawing 5 2-5 per cent. interest and receivable for all dues to the United States, which was done, and this was the first issue of Treasury notes ever made. The progress of the war was slow and discouraging; and, in the following year, Congress authorized the President to issue a loan of $16,000,000 at 6 per cent. interest, and to sell the stock without any limitation as to price. Agents were appointed to obtain subscriptions and were paid one-fourth of one per cent. for all sales, and subscribers were offered an annuity of one dollar per year for thirteen years on every $100 subscribed; but this only brought about $5,000,000, and finally a large part of the remainder of the loan was sold to Stephen Girard, Jacob Parish, and John Jacob Astor at 88 cents on the dollar, and Treasury notes were issued to complete the sum of $16,000,000.

In the year 1814, the President was authorized to borrow $25,000,000 more without restriction as to price received for the bonds, but he only offered $10,000,000. For these he received offers at 88 per cent., and disposed of the entire amount at that

rate. Later in the year he offered another loan of $6,000,000, but only about one-half of this was sold, and that at the low price of 80. A market for bonds at home at even so low a rate as 80 cents on the dollar no longer existing, an effort was made to place them abroad, but without success; and Congress finally authorized the issue of 8 per cent. Treasury notes, to be receivable for taxes, dues, and payment on public lands, and exchangeable for stock bearing 6 per cent. interest. Specie payments had been suspended by the principal banks of the Middle States, and while bank-notes still circulated freely within the State in which the issuing bank was located, there was a lack of currency for general use between the States, and it was believed that the Treasury notes would supply this requirement. An act authorizing the issue of $25,000,000 in short-term Treasury notes was passed; but, as it provided that they might be exchanged for stock running twelve years and bearing 7 per cent. interest, a large share of those issued were soon exchanged for the stock and did not enter largely into circulation, and only part of the amount was issued. In March, 1815, the final loan of the war was made, and Dallas, who had become Secretary of the Treasury, refused to accept less than 95 for the stock, but he accepted outstanding Treasury notes as well as cash for it at that price. The result was that about $10,000,000 of this loan was so disposed of. The report of the Ways and Means Committee in 1830, discussing the loans of the War of 1812, says that they amounted to $80,000,000 face value, but that the amount of the money actually received, after deducting the discounts, depreciation, and the exchange of stocks for Treasury notes, was but about $34,000,000. On October 1, 1816, the funded debt of the United States stood at $108,000,000, of which $37,000,000 represented the old debt existing before the War of 1812, and $71,000,000 accumulated during the war; and on January 1, 1817, the funded and floating debt amounted to $123,000,000. The outstanding Treasury notes were rapidly absorbed in payment of taxes, duties, debt and otherwise, and by 1817 only about a half million dollars remained out of a total of $36,000,000 issued during the war.

The recuperative power of the young nation was shown in the years which followed. Congress in 1817 enacted a law requiring that $10,000,000 annually be paid into the sinking fund out of the revenues from duties and sales of public lands, to be applied

to the payment of interest and reduction of the principal of the debt, and in the same year an additional $9,000,000 was, by act of Congress, transferred to the sinking fund and the commissioners of the sinking fund were authorized to purchase stock at the market price, which then ranged at sixty-five for the 3 per cent. stock and par for the 6 per cent. and 7 per cent. stock. The sales of public lands brought in large sums of money, and the work of reducing the debt moved forward rapidly. The annual payments of $10,000,000 to the sinking fund were regularly made and in some cases a much larger sum; stocks were purchased at the market price, and in the eleven years from January 1, 1817, to January 1, 1828, $146,000,000 was paid, of which $88,000,000 was for principal and the remainder for interest. The improved condition of the finances is shown by the fact that the loan of $5,000,000 for the purchase of Florida was readily made from the United States Bank at only 4½ per cent. interest, and that a loan of $10,000,000 issued in 1824 to take up certain of the war loans of 1812 was also readily placed at 4½ per cent., and that premiums of as high as 4 per cent. were offered by individuals for sections of this loan. By the end of 1832, only $7,000,000 of the debt remained outstanding, and in 1834 the Secretary of the Treasury gave notice that the whole of the unredeemed debt would cease to bear interest after January 1, 1835, and would be promptly paid after that date.

The rapid growth of the receipts of the Treasury and the consequent extinguishment of the public debt were due to the wave of prosperity which had swept over the country, the increased revenue from imports, and the very large receipts from sales of public lands which alone brought in about one-fourth of the total revenues of the Government. The result was that, after the extinguishment of the public debt, the money began to accumulate in the Treasury, and in 1826 an act was passed directing the Secretary of the Treasury to lend to the States, in proportion to their population, all of the money in the Treasury except $5,000,000. The amount available for this purpose at that time was $37,468,819, and the Secretary of the Treasury was directed to distribute one-fourth of this sum in this manner on January 1, 1837, and the remainder at intervals of three months. The first, second and third of these payments were made to the States during the year 1837 as provided by law; but before

the fourth payment had been made a financial storm burst upon the country. Credit, which had been extended to enormous proportions, suddenly collapsed; State banks, many of which were depositories of public money, failed; importations were greatly reduced, and with this the customs revenues fell; receipts from the sales of public lands shrank to almost nothing, and the revenues of the Government quickly changed from a surplus to a deficit. Congress, when it met in September, quickly repealed the act authorizing further loans to the States, and authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to issue Treasury notes to meet the necessary expenses in excess of the receipts. This was repeated in 1838 and 1839; and on December 31, 1839, the debt stood at nearly $5,000,000. In 1841 came the inauguration of Harrison and Tyler, quickly followed by the death of Harrison, and then by the troubled four years of the administration of Tyler. Several propositions were made during this period of depression to call upon the States to return to the Government the 28 millions of dollars issued to them in the three loans of 1837, but no action was taken, and the money has never been repaid by the States. It is still carried on the books of the Treasury Department under the head of "Unavailable funds: on deposit with the following States, under act of June 23, 1836; total, $28,101,644." Receipts fluctuated greatly, and were almost constantly less than expenditures. It became necessary to raise money, not only to meet the Treasury notes when they fell due, but to meet the deficiencies in the revenue, and a loan of $5,000,000 was made in 1841, one of over $8,000,000 in 1842, and one of over $7,000,000 in 1843. At the end of 1844, the total debt stood at $23,850,673, though by that time the country had again become so prosperous that the revenues equalled and had begun to exceed the expenditures.

In 1846, the war with Mexico again required an increase of the public debt, and the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to issue a loan of $10,000,000 in Treasury notes or stock, and in the following January to make another issue of $23,000,000 in Treasury notes or stock, but at not less than their face value. For this loan the bids were over $57,000,000, most of them at above par. The following year, another loan of $16,000,000 was authorized; it was advertised just as the war with Mexico was closing, and the entire amount was taken in one day at premiums

which amounted to $487,168. The cost of the Mexican war was $68,000,000, the increase of debt by issue of Treasury notes and bonds $49,000,000, the difference having been paid out of the current revenues; and the public debt at the termination of that war stood at about $75,000,000.

With the termination of the war with Mexico, the work of reducing the debt was again taken up and rapid progress made. At the beginning of Pierce's administration in 1853, the debt stood at $69,000,000, and by November, 1856, had fallen to $31,000,000. This reduction was so rapid and satisfactory that a reduction in the revenue was made; but this had scarcely been accomplished when another financial crisis ensued, and with it a shrinkage of the receipts of the Government to a point below actual expenditures. This necessitated new loans, and they were made in quick succession, some in the form of Treasury notes, others in stocks. As the political agitation increased and the clouds of civil war began to appear on the horizon, the difficulties of making loans increased, and for a $10,000,000 issue of Treasury notes in 1860 the Secretary of the Treasury, who had been authorized to accept offers at the lowest rate of interest which he could obtain, was compelled to make the interest rate 12 per cent. on nearly one-half of the loan. The interest-bearing debt stood at $65,000,000 on July 1, 1860, and between that date and March 4, 1861, $15,000,000 was added in loans, making the total debt at the date of the inauguration of Lincoln $80,000,000.

(To be Continued.)

O. P. AUSTIN.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

JAY COOKE,

the noted American financier, was born at Sandusky, Ohio, in 1821. His father having met with reverses in business, he went to work at the age of fifteen. In his seventeenth year, he went to Philadelphia and obtained a position as clerk in the banking-house of E. W. Clark & Co., in which eventually he became a partner. In 1858, he retired from that firm and founded the house of Jay Cooke & Co., which rendered signal service to the Government of the United States during the Civil War. As agent for the placing of the war loans, it handled the larger part of the $2,000,000,000 bonds issued by the United States. By his success in negotiating these loans—to which allusion is made by Mr. O. P. Austin in his article in this number on the "Public Debt of the United States,"—Mr. Cooke contributed materially to the triumph of the national cause. After the war, Mr. Cooke's firm had financial charge of several large enterprises, the most important of which was the building of the Northern Pacific Railroad, but its connection with that undertaking led to its suspension in 1873, which was one of the causes of the financial panic of that year. Mr. Cooke, subsequently resumed business with success, and for some time he has been largely interested in Western lands.

J. A. HOBSON,

a distinguished British economist, was born in Derby, England, in 1858. He is a graduate of Oxford. He was Classical Master at Faversham and Exeter from 1880 to 1887, and in the latter year he was appointed Lecturer in English Literature and Economics for the Oxford University Extension Delegacy, and the London Society for Extension of University Teaching. In addition to numerous articles in the reviews, he has published the following works: "The Physiology of Industry," "Problems of Poverty," "The Evolution of Modern Capitalism," "The Problem of the Unemployed," "John Ruskin, Social Reformer," "The Economics of Distribution," and "The Social Problem."

F. W. REITZ

was born in Cape Colony fifty-eight years ago. Having completed his elementary education, he proceeded to London,

where he studied law and was admitted to the Bar. On his return to the Cape in 1868, he went to the diamond fields on the border line of the Orange Free State with a view to practising his profession there, but he remained there but a short time. He then practised law for four years in Cape Colony, when the President of the Orange Free State selected him to preside over the new Court of Appeals, a position which he held until 1889, when he himself was elected to the Presidency. Re-elected at the end of the five years' term, he was soon compelled by ill health to resign from office. After recuperation by travel, he settled in the Transvaal in 1896, in the hope of re-establishing himself as a barrister, but President Krüger appointed him to the bench in the following year, and six months later he was made Secretary of State. In the latter capacity he served up to and during the war with Great Britain. Mr. Reitz was one of the signers of the Treaty of Peace. He left South Africa in July last; and after a period of agitation in Holland against Great Britain and the terms of peace, he came to the United States early in October, where he has already begun a lecturing tour in which he proposes to discuss the same subject.

KARL BLIND.

A note regarding this venerable writer will be found in the number of the REVIEW for last July.

EDITH WHARTON

was the subject of a short note in the REVIEW for July, 1902, to which she contributed an article entitled "The Three Francescas."

WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND,

a member of a distinguished German family, was born in Dresden in 1851. Having served in the German army throughout the Franco-German war, he came to the United States in 1872 and applied himself to journalistic work, in the course of which he formed connections with a number of prominent papers in New York, St. Louis and Chicago. In 1886, he went to Teheran, as secretary to General F. H. Winston, who had been appointed United States Minister to Persia. From 1894 till the end of last year, he was chief correspondent in Berlin for the Associated Press.

SAMUEL J. BARROWS

was born in the city of New York in 1845. In 1867, he became stenographic secretary to William H. Seward, who was then Secretary of State, and he remained in the Department

of State until 1871. After completing courses of study at the Harvard Divinity School and the University of Leipzig, he was called, in 1876, to the pastorate of the First Unitarian Church of Dorchester (Boston), Massachusetts, which he filled for five years, when he became editor of "The Christian Register," a position which he held for sixteen years. He spent the year 1892-3 in Europe, studying archæology in Greece and visiting European prisons. He is the representative of the United States on the International Prison Commission, having been appointed to that office by President McKinley in 1896. He was a member of the Fifty-fifth Congress in which he represented the Tenth District of Boston, Massachusetts, and he served on the Committee on Indian Affairs. As a penologist, Mr. Barrows is the author of numerous reports published by the Government, and he is Corresponding Secretary of the Prison Association of New York. He is the author of a volume entitled "The Isles and Shrines of Greece" and of various historical monographs.

R. Leoncavallo.

It is unnecessary to add anything to the interesting, though short, account of his career which Signor Leoncavallo gives in the article in which he tells how he wrote "Pagliacci."

John Barrett.

There is probably no American who has done more than Mr. Barrett to make this country appreciate its great opportunities and responsibilities in the lands that border the eastern shore of the Pacific. For years he has devoted himself closely to the study of the Far East, and of the methods by which the conditions existing in that part of the world can best be turned to account for the advantage of America. From 1894 to 1898, he was United States Minister to Siam, and in a successful effort to secure a settlement of an American claim against that country he obtained the first clear interpretation of the scope of extra-territorial jurisdiction in Asia—a service for which he was specially thanked by the President of the United States. He was one of the United States Delegates to the International Conference of American Republics recently held in the City of Mexico, and, as Commissioner-General of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition to Asia, Australia and the Philippines, he is now endeavoring to promote practical interest among the peoples of these distant regions in the International Exhibition to be held in St. Louis in 1904.

The Rev. Moses Gaster,

Chief Rabbi of the Sephardic Communities of Great Britain, is one of the most distinguished of the Roumanian Jews. He comes of an ancient family in Bucharest, and was at one time lecturer on Roumanian language and literature at the University of Bucharest. Although exiled by the Government for his activity in behalf of persecuted Jews, he returned to Roumania in September to study the condition of his fellow-countrymen, and was invited to the palace for a consultation with the King in regard to the condition of the Roumanian Jews. Dr. Gaster is the author of a "History of Roumanian Literature," and of many learned works, and translations from the Hebrew.

The Rev. W. E. Griffis, D.D.,

after graduating at Rutgers College in 1869, went to Japan in 1870 to organize schools on the American plan. He was superintendent of education in the province of Echizen in 1871, and Professor of Physics in the Imperial University of Tokio for several years. On returning to the United States, he studied divinity, and became pastor of a Reformed church at Schenectady, New York, in 1877, of a Congregational church in Boston in 1886, and of a Congregational church in Ithaca, New York, in 1893. He has written voluminously on Japanese subjects.

Lady Henry Somerset

holds a place of honor among the practical philanthropists of the time, having devoted her life to the effort to ameliorate the condition of poor and unfortunate women and children. In 1889, she was president of the World's Women's Christian Temperance Union, and she is president of the National British Women's Temperance Association. She established the "Woman's Signal," and edited that paper in the interest of women's work. She originated a home for training workhouse children, and several local missions. She founded the industrial farm colony for inebriate women at Duxhurst, Surrey, which she describes in her article in this number, and which is the first institution for women opened in England on these lines. Besides frequent contributions to periodicals, some of which have appeared in this Review, she has written a number of leaflets and books.

O. P. Austin

was the subject of a note in the number of the Review for November, 1900.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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NOVEMBER, 1902.

A DECADE OF AMERICAN FINANCE.

BY JAY COOKE.

I

When the National Banking law under which we now have the finest banking system in the world, was first proposed, it had few friends. Sherman of Ohio, Fessenden of Maine, and Hooper of Boston, were conspicuous among them. Secretary Chase was determined to bring his bill before the House, but its chances of passage seemed hopeless. By some it was ridiculed, by others bitterly antagonized. Jay Cooke & Co. were recognized at the national capital as a financial agency of the government, the war loans having all passed through their hands. An appeal was made for their influence in behalf of the National Bank Act.

I took the Chase bill home with me one afternoon early in January, 1863, and, with my brother and partner, Henry D. Cooke, Governor of the District of Columbia, sat up till midnight reading and discussing it. We came to the conclusion that it ought to pass. Shortly afterward Mr. Hooper introduced it. In six weeks it did pass with great unanimity—considering the unfriendly reception it had had at first. On February 25th, 1863, this measure received the signature of President Lincoln.

Immediately questions arose as to how to organize a national

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bank. I drafted a formula for a charter and many of the first banks were practically organized by Jay Cooke & Co. The first charter issued should have named the First National Bank of Washington, which holds, I think, the thirty-sixth; but my partners and I were too much engaged on more important matters to seek on our own behalf this honor of priority which fell to the First National Bank of Philadelphia, which holds charter number one, its papers having been the first to reach the Treasury. That bank was organized and principally owned by Jay Cooke & Co., as was also the First National Bank of Washington.

When the Comptroller of the Currency made his first report on the new system, in November, 1863, one hundred and thirty-four national banks had been organized, and the greatest interest had been aroused throughout the country. The first national bank notes made their appearance late in December of that year. Experience having shown the advisability of certain amendments and modifications in the law, another act was drafted which became a law on June 3d, 1864. In the year ending October 31st, 1864, four hundred and fifty-three national banks were organized, with an aggregate capital of $79,366,950. In the year ending October 31st, 1865, one thousand and fourteen national banks were organized, with an aggregate capital of $242,542,982. The advantage taken of the act was immediate and general throughout the country, with one important exception. The year 1865 was the birth-year of a great majority of the new banks; in the year ending October 31st, 1866, only sixty-two national banks were organized, and in the succeeding year only ten.

New York, however, came in slowly. One might have expected the first charter in New York City to go to the Bank of New York, the first bank established on Manhattan Island, and the second in the United States. But the banks of New York held back; they wanted to hold on to their names and their history, with which, in one instance, some of the founders of the nation had been identified for years, beginning with its organization. All New York's financial institutions treated the new banking system with indifference. The First National Bank of New York was organized in the basement at the north-east corner of Broadway and Wall Street, by John Thompson, the proprietor of the "*Bank Note Reporter*," with a capital of just $200,000. The smallest capital any national bank could have in a place of more

than 6,000 inhabitants was $100,000; so New York began her national banking on a small scale. Thompson was a great friend and admirer of Secretary Chase. He felt that in organizing the First National Bank of New York he was doing a public service as well as gratifying Mr. Chase. The Second National Bank of New York was organized, under the Fifth Avenue Hotel, with a capital of $200,000. Winslow, Lanier & Co., great friends of Mr. Chase, organized the Third National Bank, with a capital of $300,000. These were the first three national banks in the first banking city in the United States, with a combined capital of only $700,000.

The Secretary of the Treasury was mortified at the coldness of the financial centre of the country toward his pet measure. The banks of all the other great cities in the United States had readily adopted the national system. The attitude of the city of New York was the more noticeable for that reason.

An effort had been made by friends of Mr. Chase in New York, among whom were Mr. George Opdyke and the President of the United States Trust Company, Mr. Stewart, I think, to start a five-million-dollar Fourth National Bank in New York City. All their efforts resulted, however, in obtaining but one million three hundred thousand dollars in subscriptions, and the project was for the time abandoned. About this time I was in Washington, and Mr. Chase mentioned to me his great disappointment.

I told him that, if he so desired, I would go to New York and organize a five-million-dollar national bank within three days. It was on Friday that he authorized me to make the attempt. On Monday morning I went to New York, having communicated with my New York subscription agents, Livermore, Clews & Co., Fisk & Hatch, and Clark, Dodge & Co., and others. A meeting was held in the offices of the trust company, and it was resolved that the bank should be established in three days.

On Monday, at 3 P.M., the first of the three days expired, and we had received stock subscriptions of $2,700,000. This amount included the revival of $1,300,000 in subscriptions previously obtained by the New York committee under Mr. Opdyke. It also included subscriptions of $500,000 which, before leaving on Monday, I had obtained in Philadelphia, $100,000 of it being subscribed there by George H. Stewart and others.

On Tuesday, at 3 P.M., the stock subscriptions amounted to

$3,500,000; on Wednesday, at 3 P. M., the list totalled $4,350,000, and we had yet to hear from my agents in Boston, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, and elsewhere. But we wanted the five millions in hand, according to my promise to the Secretary, on the third day. So eight of us took then and there the remaining $650,000, and the Fourth National Bank of New York was started. The capital of this bank was subsequently reduced to $3,000,000.

When the outside subscriptions to the stock of New York's Fourth National Bank were all in, the aggregate exceeded the amount of capital required.

I caused it to be quietly proclaimed to the New York institutions that the Government did not wish to antagonize them; but that it did expect them all to conform speedily to the new order of things. If it should be necessary to effect this, I was prepared to establish within thirty days a Fifth National Bank of New York with a capital of $50,000,000, which would include the subscriptions of other national banks and of friends of the Government everywhere. It was believed that I could accomplish what was now proposed within the time specified. There was also, in New York, little doubt that the implied co-operation of other national banks throughout the country, together with the Government's influence and deposits, in a $50,000,000 national bank in New York, would greatly cripple the old institutions. This pressure brought about, within the next few months, the transfer to the national system of nearly all the New York banks.

The result has fully justified our expectations. The national banking system was an evolution. Its Federal features offered relief from the perils of State banks. The Chase Act was in part modelled on the provisions of the free banking law of New York. It gave the United States a uniform currency. The banks deposited with the Government the bonds of the Government as security for their circulation. There could not be a stronger basis for entire and perfect security of the banks' circulation, combining as it does the Government guarantee with the capital of the national banks. The nearest previous approach to security for bank circulation was the Safety Fund system of the State of New York, and an admirable system of a similar kind adopted in Ohio. But in almost all the States there had been an entire diversity of bank issues, most of which were unsafe and irresponsible. To those who have experienced the old and the

new, the contrast is stupendous; and all efforts now being made to impair, in any manner, the national system of banking and issues of circulation are based upon false premises and on ignorance of the benefits derived from the national system.

In 1860 there were 1,562 State banks in the United States; in 1868, there were only 247. Prior to 1879, 81 national banks had failed. At the end of 1897, 5,095 national banks had been organized, of which 352, or just 6.9 per cent. had failed, without a dollar's loss to the holders of circulation.

At the beginning of 1864, 139 national banks with loans and discounts of $10,666,095, had individual deposits of $19,450,492. The next year the number of national banks had grown to 638, their loans and discounts to $166,448,718, and their individual deposits to $183,479,636. At the beginning of 1873, a panic year, 1,940 national banks had loans and discounts of $885,653,449 and individual deposits of $598,114,679. The effect of the crisis is strikingly shown the next year. At the beginning of 1874, there were only 36 more national banks than at the beginning of 1873, and these 1,976 institutions had loans and discounts of only $856,816,555,—a fall of nearly $30,000,000 from the figures for 1873. The individual deposits for 1874 were $540,510,602, a fall of nearly sixty millions in a year. From 1885 to 1892 the number of national banks increased from 2,664 to 3,692, their loans and discounts from $1,234,202,226, to $2,001,032,625 and their individual deposits from $987,649,055 in 1885 to $1,602,052,766 in 1892.

From 1893 to 1895, the number of national banks decreased from 3,784 to 3,737, their loans and discounts fell away from $2,166,615,720 to $1,974,623,974, and their undivided deposits from $1,764,456,177 to $1,695,489,346. But from the year 1896 on to the present time the progress of the banks has kept pace steadily with the progress of the country. The national banking system gives us the only United States Bank we need.

II

Congress chartered the Northern Pacific Railroad Company by an act approved on July 2d, 1864. The building of the Union Pacific railroads while we were engaged in the bloodiest war of modern times was an exploit of which, under all the circumstances, only the United States would seem capable. The Union

Pacific, the first of the great trans-continental systems to be actually operated, had not been chartered until July 1st, 1862; yet portions of the line were in actual use before the war was over. They were already proving their value to the Government. In 1865 the Union Pacific operated fifty-six miles; in 1869, it was formally thrown open to traffic on May 10th. That year 742 miles of the Union Pacific were in use.

The friends of the Northern Pacific route saw fewer obstacles in their way. From St. Paul to Seattle the distance was only 1,764 miles, as against 2,366 miles from Memphis to San Francisco—mooted as the Southern route, and 2,482 miles from St. Louis to Benicia, the earliest central route. The charter incorporated certain persons, as commissioners, to lay out a continuous railroad and telegraph line from a point on Lake Superior, on a line north of the forty-fifth degree of latitude, to some point on Puget Sound. The terminus on Lake Superior was finally located at Duluth and Superior, cities at the head of the lake.

The Northern was called the Valley Route. I believe I gave it that name myself. It ran westerly for a long distance through the valleys of the Red River and the Yellowstone River. Its right of way was 400 feet wide, 200 on each side of the track, and its splendid land grant included twenty alternate sections of the public lands, per mile of route, in each Territory, and ten alternating sections in each State. The Government gave to the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, in other words, 47,360,000 acres of land, 12,800 acres per mile of railroad in Wisconsin and Minnesota, and 25,000 acres per mile in Dakota, Montana, Idaho, and Washington. The sales of these lands ought practically to have paid for the construction of the railroad which earned them.

The tenth section of the charter declared that "no mortgage or construction bonds shall ever be issued by said company on said road, or mortgage or lien made in any way, except by the consent of the Congress of the United States." And it speedily became evident that land sales and stock sales would not bring money enough into the company's treasury. The consent of Congress would have to be asked for a bond issue.

The financial agency of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company was offered to Jay Cooke & Co., in 1869. On February 18th, 1870, a Joint Resolution was reported to Congress authorizing the Northern Pacific Railroad Company to mortgage its franchise.

The resolution intimated that this would settle "doubt among capitalists of Europe" as to the company's ability to build the road. On March 1st, the resolution was passed, consenting that the company "issue its bonds and secure same by mortgage upon its railroad and telegraph line, for the purpose of raising funds for the construction of said railroad and telegraph line." The bond issue was formally authorized by another Joint Resolution on May 31st, 1870.

Great care was necessary in each of these steps. It was necessary that "the capitalists of Europe" should find the Northern Pacific bonds an attractive investment. The mortgage indenture was made on July 1st, 1870, to Jay Cooke and J. Edgar Thomson, trustees; Mr. Thomson was president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. The mortgage recited that the line "will be in the aggregate about 2,500 miles in length," and that the company had determined to procure a loan not exceeding $50,000 per mile, and to that end to make and deliver its bonds payable in gold, in thirty years, with interest at 7-30/100 per annum, "also payable in gold at the offices of Jay Cooke & Co." in New York, Washington, and Philadelphia.

The Prussian minister at Washington, Baron de Gerolt, owned lands in Minnesota. He was a believer in the future of the Northwest. One evening early in July, I met at dinner at Baron de Gerolt's, two or three German capitalists, members of such houses as the Bleichroders and Seligmans who happened to be in Washington. They were on the eve of returning home. The Northern Pacific Railroad Company's lands and future, its bonds and their gold coupons, were discussed over coffee and cigars. Baron de Gerolt spoke of his own Minnesota lands, and told his guests that I was acting on behalf of the railroad company in much the same capacity as that in which, a few years before, I had acted for the United States Government.

The result of this conversation and of negotiations thereafter formally conducted with Budge, Schiff & Co. of New York, representing a European syndicate, was that Budge, Schiff & Co. subscribed for six or eight millions of Northern Pacific Railroad bonds and took an option on a much larger block of those securities. On a given day $50,000,000 in gold was to be put to the credit of Jay Cooke & Co. On receipt of cable advices to that effect, I was to put $50,000,000 worth of Northern Pacific rail-

road bonds and, as a bonus, $50,000,000 worth of Northern Pacific stock to the credit of the Syndicate in New York.

On July 16th, I received a message by cable to the effect that the fifty millions in gold would be placed in three days to the credit of Jay Cooke & Co.

On July 19th, France unexpectedly declared war against Prussia and Louis Napoleon issued a proclamation.

I was stunned by the blow; France and Prussia could no longer unite in an investment. Their capitalists had armies to move in opposition, not in harmony.

By means of the same system of agencies through which I had placed the war loans for the Government, I now began to sell Northern Pacific bonds. But the capitalists of the United States were just then beginning to feel the effects of the vast cost of our own war, which has been estimated at nearly six thousand million dollars to the Government alone.

No matter how good the Northern Pacific securities were as investments, American capital was locked away from them. Railroads were building all over the country, and banks had made liberal advances on their securities. From 1860 to 1867, the average annual increase of railway mileage had been 1,311; in 1869, the new mileage was 4,953; while in 1870 it amounted to 5,690. The era of railroad construction was at its zenith. The Savings Banks of the country showed deposits in 1870 of $549,874,358.

The speedy end of the war between France and Prussia led me to think of another foreign syndicate to float Northern Pacific bonds. This time I looked to London; but I was promised the powerful co-operation of some of my German friends. An English syndicate was formed to which they became subscribers to the extent of $20,000,000. The gold was to be deposited in London and the bonds and stock in New York.

The Treaty of Washington was signed on May 8th, 1871. The tribunal to arbitrate the "Alabama" claims convened at Geneva in December of that year. On September 14th, 1872, the arbitration tribunal gave a final award in favor of the United States.

The dissatisfaction with which the Geneva award was received in Great Britain was no greater than the satisfaction with which it was acclaimed in the United States. There was as much rejoicing that England had been defeated as that we had been victorious. This feeling was very general. It was too bitter, on

both sides the Atlantic, for a British syndicate to invest at that time in American railway securities. Indeed the differences between the British Premier and the American Secretary of State had been so bitter and antagonistic that the prospect even of a war between the two nations was imminent, and the $20,000,000 syndicate was abandoned on the eve of its success.

Once more I was compelled to look at home for money with which to finance the Northern Pacific Railroad. Railway mileage in the United States had increased 7,670 miles in 1871, and 6,167 miles in 1872. The year 1873 opened under widely unsettled conditions.

The Granger agitation in the West had the effect of still further frightening away investors from railroad securities. The market was already surfeited. In April, 1873, as financial agents of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, my house issued and circulated widely a pamphlet on "the Valley Route to the Pacific," with an invitation to investors to look carefully into the resources of the company. At that time, 500 miles of the Northern Pacific Railroad had been finished and the company was *ipso facto* entitled to ten million acres of public lands, which were then selling at an average price of $5.60 per acre! There was in sight money enough, in time, to complete an enterprise which has never yet been excelled in the merits of its appeal to the public. I am as firmly convinced of this now as I was then.

But there were factors in the situation which not merit nor energy nor experience could cope with. The silver question was one of them. The New York Warehouse and Security Company, and two or three other banking houses heavily loaded down with railroad securities, failed. A run for legal-tender began on the banks of New York. On September 18th, Jay Cooke & Co. failed.

Country banks called home their deposits from redemption cities, which in turn called their deposits from New York banks. These called their loans in Wall Street.

On September 20th, the Union Trust Company and two or three banks and trust companies suspended. The doors of the Stock Exchange were closed for ten days. On September 22nd, the gold exchange closed with gold at 112. There was no actual panic among merchants; nor outside of New York, except among Savings Bank depositors. But the liquidation thus begun lasted five or six years. The purchase of $12,000,000 of outstanding

bonds by the Government, and the issue of $22,000,000 in Clearing House certificates by the Associated Banks of New York, helped to clear up the situation. There were 5,183 bankrupts in 1873, with liabilities of 228 millions. In 1874, there were 5,830 bankrupts, with liabilities of 155 millions.

The question of the continuance of the issue of silver on the old basis might have been appropriately discussed when silver was demonetized in 1873, by an Act of Congress apparently innocent enough on its face. But it was folly, if not crime, to bring it forward after the country had adjusted itself to the changed financial conditions resulting from the passage of the Act. This was entitled a "Bill Relative to Assays and Mints," in sixty-nine prolix sections, hidden away in which were: Section 15, providing that "the silver coins of the United States shall be a trade dollar, a half dollar, a quarter dollar, etc.," and Section 17, declaring that "no coins either of gold, silver, or minor coinage shall hereafter be issued from the mint other than those of the denominations, standards, and weights herein set forth." This left the currency of the country without a silver dollar, and lessened by about one-half the money which the people used and depended on to pay their debts with. Had the title of the bill indicated that it proposed to legislate the silver dollar out of the United States, it could never have passed. Nearly all the Representatives and Senators who voted for it have since declared that they entirely misunderstood the act by which silver was demonetized, and that they had no intention at that time of dropping the issue of the silver dollar, which was the only issue of silver coinage that was a legal tender.

The enormous discoveries of gold in our country and in other parts of the world have filled the vacuum of legal tenders. Otherwise this wanton and foolish destruction of the legal-tender character of the silver dollar would have been disastrous indeed. The immediate effect of it was to destroy or lessen the ability of the debtor to discharge both foreign and domestic debts. Fortunate indeed it was for the country that the wiping out of so large a portion of our legal tenders was supplemented by gold discoveries.

Since, however, this country and other nations have adjusted themselves to the new condition of things, it would be impossible to restore the legal-tender character of silver.

JAY COOKE.

ÉMILE ZOLA.

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

In these times of electrical movement, the sort of construction in the moral world for which ages were once needed, takes place almost simultaneously with the event to be adjusted in history, and as true a perspective forms itself as any in the past. A few weeks after the death of a poet of such great epical imagination, such great ethical force, as Émile Zola, we may see him as clearly and judge him as fairly as posterity alone was formerly supposed able to see and to judge the heroes that antedated it. The present is always holding in solution the elements of the future and the past, in fact; and whilst Zola still lived, in the moments of his highest activity, the love and hate, the intelligence and ignorance, of his motives and his work were as evident, and were as accurately the measure of progressive and retrogressive criticism, as they will be hereafter in any of the literary periods to come. There will never be criticism to appreciate him more justly, to depreciate him more unjustly, than that of his immediate contemporaries. There will never be a day when criticism will be of one mind about him, when he will no longer be a question, and will have become a conclusion.

A conclusion is an accomplished fact, something finally ended, something dead; and the extraordinary vitality of Zola, when he was doing the things most characteristic of him, forbids the notion of this in his case. Like every man who embodies an ideal, his individuality partook of what was imperishable in that ideal. Because he believed with his whole soul that fiction should be the representation, and in no measure the misrepresentation, of life, he will live as long as any history of literature survives. He will live as a question, a dispute, an affair of inextinguishable debate; for the two principles of the human mind, the love of the natural

and the love of the unnatural, the real and the unreal, the truthful and the fanciful, are inalienable and indestructible.

I

Zola embodied his ideal inadequately, as every man who embodies an ideal must. His realism was his creed, which he tried to make his deed; but, before his fight was ended, and almost before he began to forebode it a losing fight, he began to feel and to say (for to feel, with that most virtuous and veracious spirit, implied saying) that he was too much a romanticist by birth and tradition, to exemplify realism in his work. He could not be all to the cause he honored that other men were—men like Flaubert and Maupassant, and Tourguenieff and Tolstoy, and Galdós and Valdés—because his intellectual youth had been nurtured on the milk of romanticism at the breast of his mother-time. He grew up in the day when the great novelists and poets were romanticists, and what he came to abhor he had first adored. He was that pathetic paradox, a prophet who cannot practise what he preaches, who cannot build his doctrine into the edifice of a living faith.

Zola was none the less, but all the more, a poet in this. He conceived of reality poetically and always saw his human documents, as he began early to call them, ranged in the form of an epic poem. He fell below the greatest of the Russians, to whom alone he was inferior, in imagining that the affairs of men group themselves strongly about a central interest to which they constantly refer, and after whatever excursions definitely or definitively return. He was not willingly an epic poet, perhaps, but he was an epic poet, nevertheless; and the imperfection of his realism began with the perfection of his form. Nature is sometimes dramatic, though never on the hard and fast terms of the theatre, but she is almost never epic; and Zola was always epic. One need only think over his books and his subjects to be convinced of this: "*L'Assommoir*" and drunkenness; "*Nana*" and harlotry; "*Germinale*" and strikes; "*L'Argent*" and money getting and losing in all its branches; "*Pot-Bouille*" and the cruel squalor of poverty; "*La Terre*" and the life of the peasant; "*Le Debâcle*" and the decay of imperialism. The largest of these schemes does not extend beyond the periphery described by the centrifugal whirl of its central motive, and the least of the Rougon-Macquart series is of the same epicality as the grandest. Each is bound to a

thesis, but reality is bound to no thesis. You cannot say where it begins or where it leaves off; and it will not allow you to say precisely what its meaning or argument is. For this reason, there are no such perfect pieces of realism as the plays of Ibsen, which have all or each a thesis, but do not hold themselves bound to prove it, or even fully to state it; after these, for reality, come the novels of Tolstoy, which are of a direction so profound because so patient of aberration and exception.

We think of beauty as implicated in symmetry, but there are distinctly two kinds of beauty: the symmetrical and the unsymmetrical, the beauty of the temple and the beauty of the tree. Life is no more symmetrical than a tree, and the effort of art to give it balance and proportion is to make it as false in effect as a tree clipped and trained to a certain shape. The Russians and the Scandinavians alone seem to have risen to a consciousness of this in their imaginative literature, though the English have always unconsciously obeyed the law of our being in their generally crude and involuntary formulations of it. In the northern masters there is no appearance of what M. Ernest Dupuy calls the joiner-work of the French fictionists; and there is, in the process, no joiner-work in Zola, but the final effect is joiner-work. It is a temple he builds, and not a tree he plants and lets grow after he has planted the seed, and here he betrays not only his French school but his Italian instinct.

In his form, Zola is classic, that is regular, symmetrical, seeking the beauty of the temple rather than the beauty of the tree. If the fight in his day had been the earlier fight between classicism and romanticism, instead of romanticism and realism, his nature and tradition would have ranged him on the side of classicism, though, as in the later event, his feeling might have been romantic. I think it has been the error of criticism not to take due account of his Italian origin, or to recognize that he was only half French, and that this half was his superficial half. At the bottom of his soul, though not perhaps at the bottom of his heart, he was Italian, and of the great race which in every science and every art seems to win the primacy when it will. The French, through the rhetoric of Napoleon III., imposed themselves on the imagination of the world as the representatives of the Latin race, but they are the least and the last of the Latins, and the Italians are the first. To his Italian origin Zola owed not only the moralistic scope of

his literary ambition, but the depth and strength of his personal conscience, capable of the austere puritanism which underlies the so-called immoralities of his books, and incapable of the peculiar lubricity which we call French, possibly to distinguish it from the lubricity of other people rather than to declare it a thing solely French. In the face of all public and private corruptions, his soul is as Piagnone as Savonarola's, and the vices of Arrabbiati, small and great, are always his text, upon which he preaches virtue.

II

Zola is to me so vast a theme that I can only hope here to touch his work at a point or two, leaving the proof of my sayings mostly to the honesty of the reader. It will not require so great an effort of his honesty now, as it once would, to own that Zola's books, though often indecent, are never immoral, but always most terribly, most pitilessly moral. I am not saying now that they ought to be in every family library, or that they could be edifyingly committed to the hands of boys and girls; one of our first publishing houses is about to issue an edition even of the Bible "with those passages omitted which are usually skipped in reading aloud"; and it is always a question how much young people can be profitably allowed to know; how much they do know, they alone can tell. But as to the intention of Zola in his books, I have no doubt of its righteousness. His books may be, and I suppose they often are, indecent, but they are not immoral; they may disgust, but they will not deprave; only those already rotten can scent corruption in them, and these, I think, may be deceived by effuvia from within themselves.

It is to the glory of the French realists that they broke, one and all, with the tradition of the French romanticists that vice was or might be something graceful, something poetic, something gay, brilliant, something superior almost, and at once boldly presented it in its true figure, its spiritual and social and physical squalor. Beginning with Flaubert in his "*Madame Bovary*," and passing through the whole line of their studies in morbid anatomy, as the "*Germinie Lacerteux*" of the Goncourts, as the "*Bel-Ami*" of Maupassant, and as all the books of Zola, you have portraits as veracious as those of the Russians, or those of Defoe, whom, indeed, more than any other master, Zola has made me think of in his frankness. Through his epicality he is Defoe's inferior,

though much more than his equal in the range and implication of his work.

A whole world seems to stir in each of his books; and, though it is a world altogether bent for the time being upon one thing, as the actual world never is, every individual in it seems alive and true to the fact. M. Brunetière says Zola's characters are not true to the French fact; that his peasants, working-men, citizens, soldiers are not French, whatever else they may be; but this is merely M. Brunetière's word against Zola's word, and Zola had as good opportunities of knowing French life as M. Brunetière, whose æsthetics, as he betrays them in his instances, are of a flabbiness which does not impart conviction. Word for word, I should take Zola's word as to the fact, not because I have the means of affirming him more reliable, but because I have rarely known the observant instinct of poets to fail, and because I believe that every reader will find in himself sufficient witness to the veracity of Zola's characterizations. These, if they are not true to the French fact, are true to the human fact; and I should say that in these the reality of Zola, unreal or ideal in his larger form, his epicality, vitally resided. His people live in the memory as entirely as any people who have ever lived; and, however devastating one's experience of them may be, it leaves no doubt of their having been.

III

It is not much to say of a work of literary art that it will survive as a record of the times it treats of, and I would not claim high value for Zola's fiction because it is such a true picture of the Second Empire in its decline; yet, beyond any other books I just now think of, his books have the quality that alone makes novels historical. That they include everything, that they do justice to all sides and phases of the period, it would be fatuous to expect, and ridiculous to demand. It is not their epical character alone that forbids this; it is the condition of every work of art, which must choose its point of view, and include only the things that fall within a certain scope. One of Zola's polemical delusions was to suppose that a fiction ought not to be selective, and that his own fictions were not selective, but portrayed the fact without choice and without limitation. The fact was that he was always choosing, and always limiting. Even a map chooses and limits, far more a picture. Yet this delusion of Zola's and its

affirmation resulted in no end of misunderstanding. People said the noises of the streets, which he supposed himself to have given with graphophonic fulness and variety, were not music; and they were quite right. Zola, as far as his effects were voluntary, was not giving them music; he openly loathed the sort of music they meant just as he openly loathed art, and asked to be regarded as a man of science rather than an artist. Yet, at the end of the ends, he was an artist and not a man of science. His hand was perpetually selecting his facts, and shaping them to one epical result, with an orchestral accompaniment, which, though reporting the rudest noises of the street, the vulgarest, the most offensive, was, in spite of him, so reporting them that the result was harmony.

Zola was an artist, and one of the very greatest, but even before and beyond that he was intensely a moralist, as only the moralists of our true and noble time have been. Not Tolstoy, not Ibsen himself, has more profoundly and indignantly felt the injustice of civilization, or more insistently shown the falsity of its fundamental pretensions. He did not make his books a polemic for one cause or another; he was far too wise and sane for that; but when he began to write them they became alive with his sense of what was wrong and false and bad. His tolerance is less than Tolstoy's, because his resignation is not so great; it is for the weak sinners and not for the strong, while Tolstoy's, with that transcendent vision of his race, pierces the bounds where the shows of strength and weakness cease and become of a solidarity of error in which they are one. But the ethics of his work, like Tolstoy's, were always carrying over into his life. He did not try to live poverty and privation and hard labor, as Tolstoy does; he surrounded himself with the graces and the luxuries which his honestly earned money enabled him to buy; but when an act of public and official atrocity disturbed the working of his mind and revolted his nature, he could not rest again till he had done his best to right it.

IV

The other day Zola died (by a casualty which one fancies he would have liked to employ in a novel, if he had thought of it), and the man whom he had befriended at the risk of all he had in the world, his property, his liberty, his life itself, came to his

funeral in disguise, risking again all that Zola had risked, to pay the last honors to his incomparable benefactor.

It was not the first time that a French literary man had devoted himself to the cause of the oppressed, and made it his personal affair, his charge, his inalienable trust. But Voltaire's championship of the persecuted Protestant had not the measure of Zola's championship of the persecuted Jew, though in both instances the courage and the persistence of the vindicator forced the reopening of the case and resulted in final justice. It takes nothing from the heroism of Voltaire to recognize that it was not so great as the heroism of Zola, and it takes nothing from the heroism of Zola to recognize that it was effective in the only country of Europe where such a case as that of Dreyfus would have been reopened; where there was a public imagination generous enough to conceive of undoing an act of immense public cruelty. At first this imagination was dormant, and the French people conceived only of punishing the vindicator along with the victim, for daring to accuse their processes of injustice. Outrage, violence, and the peril of death greeted Zola from his fellow-citizens, and from the authorities ignominy, fine, and prison. But nothing silenced or deterred him, and, in the swift course of moral adjustment characteristic of our time, an innumerable multitude of those who were ready a few years ago to rend him in pieces joined in paying tribute to the greatness of his soul, at the grave which received his body already buried under an avalanche of flowers. The government has not been so prompt as the mob, but with the history of France in mind, remembering how official action has always responded to the national impulses in behalf of humanity and justice, one cannot believe that the representatives of the French people will long remain behind the French people in offering reparation to the memory of one of the greatest and most heroic of French citizens. It is a pity for the government that it did not take part in the obsequies of Zola; it would have been well for the army, which he was falsely supposed to have defamed, to have been present to testify of the real service and honor he had done it. But, in good time enough, the reparation will be official as well as popular, and when the monument to Zola, which has already risen in the hearts of his countrymen, shall embody itself in enduring marble or perennial bronze, the army will be there to join in its consecration.

V

There is no reason why criticism should affect an equal hesitation. Criticism no longer assumes to ascertain an author's place in literature. It is very well satisfied if it can say something suggestive concerning the nature and quality of his work, and it tries to say this with as little of the old air of finality as it can manage to hide its poverty in.

After the words of M. Chaumie at the funeral, "Zola's life work was dominated by anxiety for sincerity and truth, an anxiety inspired by his great feelings of pity and justice," there seems nothing left to do but to apply them to the examination of his literary work. They unlock the secret of his performance, if it is any longer a secret, and they afford its justification in all those respects where without them it could not be justified. The question of immorality has been set aside, and the indecency has been admitted, but it remains for us to realize that anxiety for sincerity and truth, springing from the sense of pity and justice, makes indecency a condition of portraying human nature so that it may look upon its image and be ashamed.

The moralist working imaginatively has always had to ask himself how far he might go in illustration of his thesis, and he has not hesitated, or if he has hesitated, he has not failed to go far very far. Defoe went far, Richardson went far, Ibsen has gone far, Tolstoy has gone far, and if Zola went farther than any of these, still he did not go so far as the immoralists have gone in the portrayal of vicious things to allure where he wished to repel. There is really such a thing as high motive and such a thing as low motive, though the processes are often so bewilderingly alike in both cases. The processes may confound us, but there is no reason why we should be mistaken as to motive, and as to Zola's motive I do not think M. Chaumie was mistaken. As to his methods, they by no means always reflected his intentions. He fancied himself working like a scientist who has collected a vast number of specimens, and is deducing principles from them. But the fact is, he was always working like an artist, seizing every suggestion of experience and observation, turning it to the utmost account, piecing it out by his invention, building it up into a structure of fiction where its origin was lost to all but himself, and often even to himself. He supposed that he was recording and classifying, but he was creating and vivifying. Within

the bounds of his epical scheme, which was always factitious, every person was so natural that his characters seemed like the characters of biography rather than of fiction. One does not remember them as one remembers the characters of most novelists. They had their being in a design which was meant to represent a state of things, to enforce an opinion of certain conditions; but they themselves were free agencies, bound by no allegiance to the general frame, and not apparently acting in behalf of the author, but only from their own individuality. At the moment of reading, they make the impression of an intense reality, and they remain real, but one recalls them as one recalls the people read of in last week's or last year's newspaper. What Zola did was less to import science and its methods into the region of fiction, than journalism and its methods; but in this he had his will only so far as his nature of artist would allow. He was no more a journalist than he was a scientist by nature; and, in spite of his intentions and in spite of his methods, he was essentially imaginative and involuntarily creative.

VI

To me his literary history is very pathetic. He was bred if not born in the worship of the romantic, but his native faith was not proof against his reason, as again his reason was not proof against his native faith. He preached a crusade against romanticism, and fought a long fight with it, only to realize at last that he was himself too romanticistic to succeed against it, and heroically to own his defeat. The hosts of romanticism swarmed back over him and his followers, and prevailed, as we see them still prevailing. It was the error of the realists whom Zola led, to suppose that people like truth in fiction better than falsehood; they do not; they like falsehood best; and if Zola had not been at heart a romanticist, he never would have cherished his long delusion, he never could have deceived with his vain hopes those whom he persuaded to be realistic, as he himself did not succeed in being.

He wished to be a sort of historiographer writing the annals of a family, and painting a period; but he was a poet, doing far more than this, and contributing to creative literature as great works of fiction as have been written in the epic form. He was a paradox on every side but one, and that was the human side, which he would himself have held far worthier than the literary side. On the human side, the civic side, he was what he wished

to be, and not what any perversity of his elements made him. He heard one of those calls to supreme duty, which from time to time select one man and not another for the response which they require; and he rose to that duty with a grandeur which had all the simplicity possible to a man of French civilization. We may think that there was something a little too dramatic in the manner of his heroism, his martyry, and we may smile at certain turns of rhetoric in the immortal letter accusing the French nation of intolerable wrong, just as, in our smug Anglo-Saxon conceit, we laughed at the procedure of the emotional courts which he compelled to take cognizance of the immense misdeed other courts had as emotionally committed. But the event, however indirectly and involuntarily, was justice which no other people in Europe would have done, and perhaps not any people of this more enlightened continent.

The success of Zola as a literary man has its imperfections, its phases of defeat, but his success as a humanist is without flaw. He triumphed as wholly and as finally as it has ever been given a man to triumph, and he made France triumph with him. By his hand, she added to the laurels she had won in the war of American Independence, in the wars of the Revolution for liberty and equality, in the campaigns for Italian Unity, the imperishable leaf of a national acknowledgment of national error.

W. D. HOWELLS.

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.

A HALF-WAY HOUSE TO SOCIALISM?

BY J. A. HOBSON, AUTHOR OF "THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN CAPITALISM," "THE PROBLEM OF THE UNEMPLOYED," "THE ECONOMICS OF DISTRIBUTION," ETC.

THE once familiar view that the public has no right to intervene in a quarrel between capital and labor, and that the only duty of the state is to keep a clear ring so that the combatants may settle the business without external interference, now probably commands few adherents. Several conditions, usually present in a grave industrial conflict, strike or lockout, clearly implicate the public as a third party not indifferent to the encounter. In the first place, such a conflict, commonly attended by violent local disorder and peril to life and property, imposes upon the public the right and the duty to abate a public nuisance, and to make provision against dangerous breaches of the public peace. The admitted claim of either of the two contending parties to the protection of the public force during the course of the conflict, involves some corresponding control of the public over the conduct of an industry calculated to bring about such breaches of the peace. Again, since the close organic relations between various trades scattered over the whole field of industry enable the capital and labor of any important single industry, by a sudden suspension of activity or by any other violent change, in the determination of which the related industries have no voice, to inflict heavy damage upon these innocent industries, the latter are entitled to call upon the public to protect them. This is the social or public aspect of so-called "private" industry, from the standpoint of the producer.

Last, not least, the public, in its capacity of consumer, realizing

its complete dependence for the physical necessaries and conveniences of the common life upon the peaceful, regular and efficient conduct of these private industries, insists that this public interest carries with it certain rights of government. This doctrine does not involve any revolutionary interference with or diminution of rights of individual or corporate property; it simply asserts the existence of certain restrictions upon the abuse of property, in cases where a clear public interest in the proper use has in fact grown up.

In a pamphlet discussing the legal aspects of the Coal Problem, Mr. H. W. Chaplin, of the Massachusetts Bar, quotes principles and adjudged cases from the English and American courts, already establishing the validity of these legal rights of the public which arise out of interests grown up from the habit of dependence upon the continuance and usual conduct of a private business. The broad doctrine of the public right in private property is thus summarized in a judgment delivered by Chief-Justice Waite of the Supreme Court of the United States:

"Property does become clothed with a public interest when used in a manner to make it of public consequence, and to affect the community at large. When, therefore, one devotes his property to a use in which the public has an interest, he, in effect, grants to the public an interest in that use, and must submit to be controlled by the public for the common good, to the extent of the interest he has thus created. He may withdraw his grant by discontinuing the use; but so long as he maintains the use, he must submit to the control."

Statute law has embodied this principle of public control over private business where the public has acquired such interest, not only in the familiar cases of carriers and inn-keepers, but in many modern instances.

Since these several public interests thus carry rights of compulsion over private businesses which disregard the public welfare, that compulsion may be exercised in various ways; by public assumption and administration, by continuous public supervision and control in matters directly affecting the public interest, or by occasional interference such as is involved in compulsory arbitration.

The right of the public to compel capitalists and laborers to arbitrate such quarrels as involve injury to the public welfare is the least radical, the least "socialistic," of these three methods.

Not only in the United States, but in the more advanced industrial nations of Europe, public opinion is setting more strongly in this direction every year. Now that combination is everywhere displacing competition alike in capital and in labor, the old *laissez faire* individualism is perforce abandoned, and state compulsory arbitration is accepted as the most practicable compromise with the spirit of socialism. The objections of economic and political theorists are not likely to prove formidable obstacles to its adoption. But two questions still demand consideration. Is it really practicable? Can we really graft a sprig of socialism on to the old competitive system, so that it will live?

The difference between voluntary and compulsory arbitration is in truth a vital one. The former is at root a matter of individual intelligence and good-will; it presents no substantial economic difficulty. But the forcible intervention of a public authority in a quarrel between operators and operatives as to the price at which the latter shall sell their labor-power, or as to any other conditions of the industry which affect the cost or production of commodities, appears, in theory at any rate, to entail quite revolutionary consequences. "If the state," it may be urged, "is empowered to settle the price which the operators shall pay for labor power, and in other ways to determine the cost of producing the commodities they supply, it may so damage the 'freedom' of industry and so impair the profits of capital as to crush the industry." "If it is the business of the state to secure a 'living wage' for labor, it must also guarantee a living profit for capital." This sounds only fair. But if the state may thus fix the whole cost of production, it does in fact dictate selling prices; and if it does this for one trade, it must soon be called upon to do it for other trades, for the selling prices of one trade will vitally affect the health of other trades. So we shall soon be brought to a condition in which the state will be fixing wages, interest and prices all over the field of industry. It will then be found that state-fixture of prices is invalidated in one of two ways: either it is met by generally adopted methods of evasion, or, if rigidly enforced, it inhibits altogether the adaptation of supply to demand in the market. If compulsory arbitration virtually fixes the selling price for cotton or coal, it either fixes that price above the "free competitive" prices or below. If it fixes the price above, it secures a "living wage" and profit for the

worst placed or worst equipped mill or mine at the cost of an unearned surplus which goes as profit or as wage to the more efficient mills and mines; if it fixes the price below, it exterminates the worst placed or worst equipped establishments and secures a monopoly of trade for the survivors.

The logic of these objections may sound invincible, but the advocates of compulsory arbitration tell us that industry is not run by logic; "the half-way house to socialism," they aver, is proved by experience to be tenable.

The evidence upon which they rely is drawn from recent experiments in New Zealand. During the early nineties, that colony was shaken by labor disturbances which brought it to the verge of civil war; the great maritime strike of 1890 was followed by threats of industrial conflict in the railroads and in several leading manufactories. Stimulated by the extremity of the danger, Mr. Reeves, the newly appointed minister of labor, set himself to study the various schemes of conciliation and arbitration operative in England, on the Continent of Europe and in the United States. The general result of his study was a conviction of the inadequacy of voluntary arbitration; it could settle small strikes, it could not settle large ones. The strongest corroboration of this view was furnished by the recent experience of New South Wales, when the passing of a Voluntary Arbitration Act was followed, almost at once, by the three most disastrous strikes which that colony had ever experienced, the Coal Miners' Strike, the Broken Hill Strike, and the Shearers' Strike. As the result of his investigations, Mr. Reeves drafted a law which, after three rejections by the upper house of legislature, was placed upon the Statute Book in 1894, and has remained in operation since that date. This law has in point of fact substituted the atmosphere and the judgment of a civil tribunal for the appeal to force involved in the strike and the lockout. The New Zealand Compulsory Arbitration Act divides the country into industrial districts. In each district, a Board of Conciliation is provided, consisting of from four to six members duly elected by the associations of employers and of employees, with a chairman elected from outside. These boards of conciliation have full power of inquiring into any industrial issue brought before them; they can visit any premises, compel the attendance of witnesses and the production of documents. They act as Courts of First Instance in investigation and

mediation. They can make awards, but they are not empowered to enforce these awards; and in all important cases the successful party before the Board is obliged to have recourse to the Court of Arbitration. The following summary of the powers of this Court is given by Mr. H. D. Lloyd in his book, "A Country without Strikes."

"The Court of Arbitration is a court with ordinary and extraordinary powers. It can summon any party to a dispute which is before it to appear, and, if he refuses, it can proceed without him. It can enter and investigate any premises and question any persons there without warrant. It can permit any party who might appear to have a common interest in the matter to be joined in the proceedings. It can receive such evidence as it thinks fit, 'whether strictly legal evidence or not.' It has the power of other magistrates to take evidence at a distance. None of its awards can be set aside for any informality; it is required that they be not framed in a technical manner. They cannot be 'challenged, appealed against, reviewed, quashed or called in question by any court of judicature on any account whatsoever.' The Court is directed to make its decision 'in such manner as they find to stand with equity and good conscience.' The Court consists of three persons appointed by the Governor-general for a period of three years, one of them chosen from nominees of the employers, one from nominees of the workmen, and the third a judge of the Supreme Court. The real determination of an issue is thus vested in a judge supported by two assessors versed in the technicalities of the issues at stake. In cases of special complexity, two other experts may be chosen by the parties to act as additional members of the court, and this course is frequently adopted.

The Court and the Board have no power to intervene in a dispute of their own making; but if either of the disputants wishes to arbitrate instead of fighting, the other is not permitted to refuse this peaceful settlement. As soon as either party with a grievance likely to cause trouble appeals to the Court or the Board, it becomes a punishable offence for the workmen to stop work or for the employers to lock them out. Work must continue until the final award is given. The law even goes further, and forbids a strike or a lockout caused through either party seeking to avoid in advance an appeal to the Court.

The first object and result of Compulsory Arbitration, then, is to prevent the friction, waste and public disorder of stoppages of industry.

The successful operation of the legal process requires that the two parties shall be substantial and responsible bodies. It is, therefore, confined to trades in which trade unions and employers' unions exist. Every facility is accorded for the formation of such unions, for any seven workers in a trade may form a union, while two employers may constitute a union on the side of capital. Trade unions as well as employers' associations are incorporated and registered; they can sue and be sued, can recover subscriptions by process of law and can buy or lease land. One distinction, however, is drawn. "Employers can summon their workmen only as members of a trade union, but the men can call on individual employers as well as associations of employers; otherwise, these could defeat the Act by refusing to organize into associations." The action of a union involves not merely the members of that union but outside workmen in the award, the main object of the procedure being to establish, alike in the case of employers and employed, a common rule throughout the trade. Thus, even if the main body of the workmen of a trade were opposed to arbitration, and sought to evade the operation of the law by refusing to organize, their object could be defeated by any seven members in their trade, who, by forming a union on their own account, could bring the entire trade within the provisions of the law. Thus, on the initiative of a minority of either side, the substitution of law for force in a quarrel is made compulsory; the court has compulsory powers to secure all requisite evidence, and, finally, can compel by process of heavy and repeated fines the adoption of its award.

Mr. Lloyd claims complete success for the operation of the Compulsory Arbitration Law, and his claim is endorsed by the able French economist, M. Métin, sent over to make a study of the new legislation in Australasia, who gives a most favorable account of the results in his "*Socialisme sans Doctrines.*"

The Premier of New Zealand, addressing a meeting of British mine owners, presented the case in language which has a peculiar interest for America at the present juncture.

"With us a strike of the miners is impossible, as it is also impossible for the owner of the mine to shut down. That is a condition of

things which does not prevail anywhere else. There is a safe-guard for you. The result has been this, that even the employers, who were the first to object to the legislation, are to-day the strongest in favor of it, because, when they have strikes of any kind where there is a large amount of capital involved, the effect of that capital being laid up for weeks and exactions being demanded which that capital could not bear, would be as disastrous as it would be to our mining. The law, as it now stands, has prevented disputes, which, if there had been an industrial struggle, must have meant a loss of about a million of money to us as a small community, whereas the whole cost of the proceedings, and the whole thing summed up, would not amount to £1,000."

Finally, I may put in evidence the quite recent judgment of one of the ablest and most experienced English labor leaders, Mr. Tom Mann, who has made a close investigation of the working of the Act upon the spot. "I do not think any serious dissatisfaction exists, either on the side of employers or workers, in more than half a dozen cases in the whole colony, and seeing that up to June of last year 310 cases had been dealt with under the Act, this proportion is very small." Mr. Mann's general conclusion that "there are fewer stoppages of work in this colony than in any other country arising from industrial disputes," deserves to be put upon record.

Are there any circumstances in New Zealand specially favorable to the experiment which require us to be cautious in accepting it as conclusive proof of the universal efficacy of compulsory arbitration as a panacea for industrial strife? It is admitted that two favorable conditions are present. In the first place, the period during which the Act has been operative has been one of unusual industrial prosperity, which, even without the Act, might have brought high wages, good profits and general contentment. In most cases, the workmen have got from the Court an award of higher wages and shorter hours, which, it is argued, they might have got without the Court, by ordinary process of individual or collective bargaining. It is the lean years that will test the workmen's confidence in the Act, and those years, some suggest, are now beginning. Critics point also to South Australia, where a similar act, more recently put on the Statute Book, has hitherto remained almost a dead letter. It is certainly reasonable to expect that, when the judgments of the Court demand a wide and general reduction of wages, the ignorant majority of the workers are likely to kick against the compulsion and possibly to use their

political power to secure its repeal. The experience of voluntary schemes of profit-sharing favors this view; in bad years, when there are no profits to furnish bonuses on wages, these schemes for harmonizing capital and labor go over like ninepins.

Again, New Zealand is a very small state, with a population not more than half that of Philadelphia; it contains no great modern manufacturing industries, with their complex conditions and their overlapping and discordant interests. Where small numbers of employers and well-demarcated trades exist, such a law will be far easier of administration than in great industrial countries, such as the United States or Great Britain. It is clear that the structure and technical conditions of industry in these latter countries will render such an act much more difficult to work.

Again, the success of every new law depends absolutely upon the confidence reposed in its justice and efficiency by those whom it primarily affects. In the United States as in Great Britain, the "individualism" alike of employers and workers, though less rigorous than formerly, is still strong enough to prove a formidable obstacle to the success of compulsory arbitration. The grave difficulties in adopting and administering such a law as the Inter-State Commerce Act are at least as much economic as political; and in England both individual employers and associations of employers still look askance at the very moderate powers of conciliation vested in the Board of Trade. Nor can it be said that the laboring classes, in their capacity of producers, are generally inclined towards state compulsion as a mode of settling their quarrels with employers. More than one of the most experienced labor leaders in America assure me that the workmen as a whole would be dead against the policy, partly because it would hamper the liberty to work out their own industrial salvation, partly from their distrust of judges and courts, who they think would be biased, and when necessary bought, by the capitalist interests. British working-class sentiment is not, I think, so strongly set against compulsory arbitration: at the well-attended Trades Unions Congress this fall, a large minority voted in favor of the principle. But the majority which rejected it represented in the main the older, stronger and abler unions; and though the flavor of State Socialism which inheres in the principle attracts many of the "new" and more advanced unions, the backbone of trade unionism in the country stiffens itself against the measure.

Distrust of "class" judges, connected by birth, interest and sympathy with the employing order, is the argument most in vogue among opponents of the scheme. This is, perhaps, stronger in England than in America, where the popular vote has an influence, direct or indirect, on the election of judges. The stronger sense of a "*klassen-kampf*" which prevails in England, and the deeper social cleavage between the "classes" and the "masses," lend great weight to this argument. It is not possible to rely upon getting a just administration of laws affecting the relations of employers and employed in England; for, though there is little or no direct corruption of magistrates, the class bias is ever present and commonly prevails. In America, however, the larger popular control in the election of judges may, as a guarantee of justice and efficiency, be largely if not entirely offset by the domination of the machine and the spoils system in politics. It is commonly averred that workmen in Pennsylvania would have, and ought to have, no confidence in their ability to get justice before the District Courts of Common Pleas, in cases where the interests of great corporations were at stake. The trade-unionist attitude, in England, however, cannot be understood without taking into account the fact that compulsory arbitration implies the definite incorporation of trade unions as legal companies liable to be sued for the action of all persons who can be represented as their agents. The legal status since 1872 of a trade union has, until just recently, been held to relieve it from this liability to be sued in civil courts, and though the recent Taff Vale judgment has in a measure broken down this immunity, the more substantial trade unions are still reluctant to expose their funds to litigation, such as would be likely to occur if a formal incorporation under the Companies Act were forced upon them. If, as seems likely, despite their reluctance, their present anomalous status is removed, and incorporation made compulsory, a powerful objection against State Arbitration will be removed; and a strong movement in favor of this measure will probably spread among the British working classes, who are beginning to realize their impotence in fighting, with their small financial reserves, against the indefinitely large reserves of powerful Federations of Employers.

But, though it seems possible that in Great Britain, if not in America, a genuine impetus in favor of compulsory arbitration

as a means of saving the waste of war, may come from the side of the producers, it is far more probable that it will arise from the revolt of the "public" in its capacity of "consumer."

Just in proportion as combinations of capital so develop as to obtain effective control of certain fundamental industries engaged in supplying necessaries of life to the consuming public, their chronic power to tax this public by raising prices will be a continual irritant; this irritation will be fanned into exasperation by the spasmodic resistance of the employees of the "combination" to oppression, or else by an attempt on the part of the employees to coerce the combination into letting them "go halves" in milking the public cow, a policy which will periodically lead to strikes or lockouts. As "concentration of capital" fastens itself more firmly upon a larger number of the great routine industries, these crises will be likely to be more frequent. Each, when it occurs, will be a sharp lesson in the essentially "social" character of private industries, and no theoretic objections to socialism will, in the long run, keep the consuming public from insisting that its security and convenience shall be safeguarded by whatever remedies are needed to protect it against stoppages of industries due to faction fights of rival producing interests.

The consumers are, by reason of the individualistic nature of "consumption," unorganized, but they need not remain so; for they are also citizens, and, however slow-witted, they cannot fail to learn how to use the franchise and the machinery of state which belong to them, in the defence of their vital economic interests.

Whether this will lead to the general adoption of state control in fixing minimum rates of wages, maximum working days and other elements of a "common rule" for the several industries, and even force on a public regulation of prices for commodities, in extension of the policy of fixing railroad rates and cab fares, it is needless to discuss. The logic of "the thin end of the wedge," though it may deter during the preliminary stages of reflection, never finally prevents the adoption of an obvious method of escape from an intolerable predicament. Nor will any speculation as to possible future perils be likely to prevent the consumer-citizens of modern industrial states from seeking the experimental shelter of this half-way house to socialism.

J. A. Hobson.

IS IT PEACE?

BY F. W. REITZ, FORMERLY SECRETARY OF STATE IN THE LATE SOUTH-AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

On the 31st of May, 1902, at eleven o'clock at night, a document was signed at Pretoria, in the Transvaal, by Lords Kitchener and Milner, acting on behalf of the British Government on the one side, and by the members of the Governments and the Generals of the two Republics of South Africa, on the other.

This document, known as the "Articles of Peace," but which should more properly be named the "Articles of Surrender," sets forth that the Signatories, being desirous to terminate the present hostilities, agree on the following articles:

"1. The Burgher forces in the field will forthwith lay down their arms, handing over all guns, rifles and munitions of war in their possession or under their control, and desist from any further resistance to the authority of His Majesty King Edward VII., whom they recognize as their lawful Sovereign. The manner and details of this surrender will be arranged between Lord Kitchener and Commandant-General Botha, Assistant-Commandant-General De la Rey and Chief-Commandant De Wet.

"2. All Burghers in the field outside the limits of the Transvaal or Orange River Colony, and all prisoners of war at present outside South Africa who are Burghers, will, on duly declaring their acceptance of the position of subjects of His Majesty King Edward VII., be gradually brought back to their homes, as soon as transport can be provided and their means of subsistence insured.

"3. The Burghers so surrendering, or so returning, will not be deprived of their personal liberty or their property.

"4. No proceedings, civil or criminal, will be taken against any of the Burghers surrendering, or so returning, for any acts in connection with the prosecution of the war. The benefit of this clause will not extend to certain acts, contrary to usages of war, which have been notified by the Commander-in-Chief to the Boer Generals, and which shall be tried by Court-Martial immediately after the close of hostilities.

"5. The Dutch language will be taught in public schools in the Trans-

vaal and Orange River Colony where the parents of the children desire it, and will be allowed in Courts of law when necessary for the better and more effectual administration of justice.

"6. The possession of rifles will be allowed in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony to persons requiring them for their protection, on taking out a license according to law.

"7. Military administration in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony will, at the earliest possible date, be succeeded by Civil Government, and, as soon as circumstances permit, representative institutions leading up to self-government will be introduced.

"8. The question of granting franchise to the natives will not be decided until after the introduction of self-government.

"9. No special tax will be imposed on landed property in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony to defray the expenses of the war.

"10. As soon as conditions permit, a commission, on which the local inhabitants will be represented, will be appointed in each district of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, under the Presidency of a Magistrate or other official, for the purpose of assisting the restoration of the people to their homes, and supplying those who, owing to war losses, are unable to provide themselves with food, shelter and the necessary amount of seed, stock, implements, etc., indispensable to the resumption of their normal occupations.

"His Majesty's Government will place at the disposal of these Commissions a sum of £3,000,000 for the above purposes, and will allow all notes issued under Law I. of 1900 of the South-African Republic, and all receipts given by officers in the field of the late Republics, or under their orders, to be presented to a Judicial Commission, which will be appointed by the Government, and if such notes and receipts are found by this Commission to have been duly issued in return for valuable considerations, they will be received by the first-named Commissions as evidence of war losses, suffered by the persons to whom they were originally given.

"In addition to the above-named free grant of £3,000,000, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to make advances on loans, for the same purposes, free of interest for two years, and afterwards repayable over a period of years with three per cent. interest. No foreigner or rebel will be entitled to the benefit of this clause."

Alongside of these articles there lay the following document presented by the British Representatives:

"Lord Milner to Chamberlain
"Parliamentary Paper, South Africa, Cd 1,096.

"After handing to Boer delegates a copy of draft agreement which His Majesty's Government are prepared to approve with a view of terminating the present hostilities, I read to them the following statement and gave them a copy:

"'His Majesty's Government must place it on record that the treatment of Cape and Natal Colonists who have been in rebellion and who now surrender will, if they return to their Colonies, be determined by the Colonial Governments and in accordance with the laws of the Colonies, and that any British subjects who have joined the enemy will be liable to trial under the law of that part of the British Empire to which they belong.

"'His Majesty's Government are informed by the Cape Government that the following are their views as to the terms which should be granted to British subjects of Cape Colony who are now in the field, or who have surrendered, or have been captured since 12th April, 1901:

"'With regard to rank and file, they should all, upon surrender, after giving up their arms, sign a document before the Resident Magistrate of the district in which the surrender takes place, acknowledging themselves guilty of high-treason, and the punishment to be awarded to them, provided they shall not have been guilty of murder or other acts contrary to the usages of civilized warfare, should be that they shall not be entitled for life to be registered as voters or to vote at any Parliamentary, Divisional Council, or Municipal elections. With reference to Justices of the Peace and Field Cornets of Cape Colony and all other persons holding an official position under the Government of Cape Colony, or who may occupy the position of Commandant of rebel or burgher forces, they shall be tried for high-treason before the ordinary Court of the country or such Special Court as may be hereafter constituted by law, the punishment for their offence to be left to the discretion of such Court, with this proviso, that in no case shall penalty of death be inflicted.

"'The Natal Government are of opinion that rebels should be dealt with according to the law of the Colony.'"

In addition to this, both Lords Kitchener and Milner solemnly promised—and that promise had been conveyed by the Boer Generals to the sixty Delegates of the People assembled at Vereeniging on the Vaal—that, at the Coronation of King Edward VII., they would do their best to persuade the King to exercise his prerogative of Pardon, and grant a general Amnesty to the Cape Rebels.

Before signing the ten Articles, the Signatories on the part of the Republics handed in a Protest—for a Protest it was, to all intents and purposes—against this so-called Peace.

The British Ministry have carefully refrained from publishing this document, and their reason for so refraining is not far to seek.

This Protest runs as follows:

"This meeting of representatives of the People of the South-African

Republic and the Orange Free State, held at Vereeniging from the 15th of May, 1902, to the 31st of May, 1902, has learnt with regret of the proposal made by His Majesty's Government in regard to the cessation of existing hostilities, and of the intimation that this proposal must be accepted or rejected in an unaltered form.

"The meeting regrets that His Majesty's Government has absolutely refused to negotiate with the Governments of the Republics upon the basis of our independence, or to permit our Governments to enter into communication with our Deputation.

"Our peoples have indeed always thought that, not only on the ground of Right, but also on the ground of the great material and personal sacrifices that they have made for their Independence, they have a just claim to such Independence.

"This meeting has earnestly taken into consideration the condition of Land and People, and has more especially taken into account the following facts:

"1. That the Military tactics pursued by the British Military Authorities has led to the entire ruin of the territory of both the Republics, with burning of farms and towns, destruction of all means of subsistence and exhaustion of all sources necessary for the support of our families, for the maintenance of our forces in the field, and for the continuation of the war.

"2. That the placing of our captured families in the Concentration Camps has led to an unprecedented condition of suffering and disease, so that, within a comparatively short time, about 20,000 of those dear to us have perished there, and the horrible prospect has arisen that by continuing the war our entire race might be exterminated.

"3. That the Kaffir tribes within and without the borders of the territories of both Republics are almost all armed and take part in the struggle against us, and by perpetrating murders and committing all kinds of horrors, an impossible state of affairs has been brought about in many districts of both Republics—an instance of which took place lately in the district of Vryheid, where 56 Burghers were murdered and mutilated in a shocking manner, at the same time.

"4. That by Proclamations of the enemy, which he has already carried into effect, the Burghers still in the field are threatened with loss of all the movable and immovable property, and so with total ruin.

"5. That, through the circumstances of the war, it has already long ago become impossible for us to retain the many thousands of prisoners of war taken by our forces, and that we thus could do but comparatively little damage to the British troops, whilst our Burghers captured by the British are sent abroad, and that, after the war has raged for nearly three years, there remains only a small portion of the forces with which we entered into the war.

"6. That this remnant still in the field, which forms but a small minority of our entire people, has to contend against overwhelming odds, and, moreover, has reached a condition virtually amounting to famine and want of the necessary means of subsistence—and that, notwith-

standing our utmost endeavors and the sacrifice of all that we value and hold dear, we cannot reasonably expect a successful issue.

"This meeting is, therefore, of opinion that there is no reasonable ground for thinking that, by continuance of the war, our People will retain the possession of its Independence, and considers that, under the circumstances, the People are not justified in carrying on the war any longer, as that can alone tend to bring about the social and material destruction, not only of ourselves, but also of our descendants.

"Urged by the above-mentioned circumstances and motives, this meeting authorizes both Governments to accept the Proposal of His Majesty's Government, and on behalf of the People of both Republics to sign the same.

"This Meeting of Delegates expresses the confident hope that the conditions which have now been called into being by adopting the Proposal of His Majesty's Government, may soon be ameliorated in such a way that our Nation may thereby attain the enjoyment of those privileges to which it considers that, not only on account of its past, but also on the ground of its sacrifices in the course of this war, it can justly lay claim.

"This meeting has noted with satisfaction the resolution of His Majesty's Government to grant a large measure of amnesty to those British subjects who took up arms on our side, and to whom we are bound by the ties of blood and honor, and expresses the hope that it may please His Majesty to extend this amnesty still further."

If, with these documents and these facts before me, I am asked: Is it Peace? I distinctly and unreservedly would answer: No!

It may be the much vaunted "*Pax Britannica*," but it is not Peace in the ordinary and honest meaning of the word.

To use the words of Holy Writ reverently but secularly, it may be "a Peace that passeth all understanding," but it is not a Peace that should be regarded as a lasting one, or as one binding upon the consciences of those men who, to save the remnant of their wives and children, signed it—signed it, so to speak, with the knife at their throats.

The writer of this article desires to have it clearly understood that, in making this assertion, he is speaking neither for himself as one of the Signatories, nor for those of his nation who remain in South Africa as subjects of the British Crown.

He is not speaking for himself, because, before signing that document, he clearly intimated to Lord Kitchener in the presence of all who were sitting there, that he would only sign upon the clear understanding that it was in his representative, and not in his individual, capacity that he was signing; and Lord Kitchener unreservedly accepted that condition.

He is not speaking for his compatriots who may elect to remain in South Africa, and whose clear duty it is, so long as they are not unduly oppressed, to obey the laws of the government under which they live—"rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's."

He is speaking as a lawyer of many years' standing, who knows that a contract made under compulsion is not a binding contract.

It may be urged that this principle is not recognized in International Law; but that immediately suggests the question, What is International Law; and is there such a thing after all?

This war in South Africa has, amongst other important things, proved to the world that, "Geneva Conventions" and "Hague Conferences" to the contrary notwithstanding, International Law has come to mean nothing more than the "Law of the Strongest."

Moreover, the Terms of Peace and the solemn and undeniable promise of the British Representatives as regards a general Amnesty to Cape Rebels have been deliberately and scandalously broken, while the ink was hardly dry on the paper on which they were written.

Therefore, even if upon moral and legal grounds those Peace Articles were binding (which they are not) when they were signed, I would still maintain that, the one party to the agreement having broken its promises, the other party is thereby released.

Is this Peace?

No, it is not. And what is taking place in South Africa to-day, under the pettifoggingly vindictive and malicious rule of the two men who were chiefly responsible for the war—the British Secretary of State for the Colonies and his satellite, Lord Milner—fully confirms me in this view.

F. W. Reitz.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF VIRCHOW.

BY KARL BLIND.

In this short and rapid sketch it is not, and could not possibly be my object to treat in any connected way of the political career and the matchless scientific merits of a man of such world-wide renown as Professor Rudolph Virchow, the famed Progressist leader and eminent pathologist. Volumes would be required for such a task. All I wish to do is to supply, in the shape of personal recollections, a number of much-forgotten or scarcely known facts that linger in my memory, or are brought vividly before me by a look at the correspondence I had with him for many years past. When the history of his life is some day written, perhaps they may serve as useful supplements.

I

Few outside of Germany probably know, and even in Germany the younger generation may be little aware of the part Virchow played in the revolution of 1848-49. In September of that year of universal upheaval, we had fought in the Black Forest for the establishment of a united German Commonwealth. Our proclamations, issued in the name of a Provisional Government, bore at the head the words, "*Deutsche Republic: Wohlstand, Bildung, Freiheit für Alle*" (German Republic: Material Welfare, Culture and Freedom for all). After we had tried to uphold these principles with arms in hand, but had been defeated in battle by overwhelming royalist forces, Virchow, at Berlin, actually employed, as his political device, in his speeches and writings, these very words "Material welfare, Culture and Freedom for All." He declared these demands to be "the only true guarantees for the lasting health of the nation."

It was a bold thing for him to do in the North. We in the

South, having been overcome, had been put in chains, had been court-martialled, had narrowly escaped being shot or beheaded by the sword of the executioner, and we had only been freed after an eight months' incredibly cruel imprisonment in the casemates of the Fortress of Rastatt by a new revolutionary rising. All this might have been a warning to Virchow not to adopt the motto prefixed to our proclamations, lest he should be accused at Berlin of republican aspirations.

But he had seen in Silesia, and in the poor districts of the Spessart Forest, the fearful sufferings of the toiling masses from famine typhus; so he boldly agitated under a motto which was a terrifying one to the royal, aristocratic and capitalistic classes. He even embodied it in one of his medical essays, in which he dealt with the deplorable condition of the people of the Spessart. For many years afterwards he dwelt in the same spirit on what he called the urgent necessity of "Social Medicine."

This action of his was the first virtual link between the great scientist, the advanced Liberal leader, and myself, though I did not know him personally at the time, nor did I have any correspondence with him for years afterwards. His incisive and courageous utterances in those earlier days against princely tyranny and wrongful exploitation of the working classes, were of such a kind that they look in the light of the present time like strong revolutionary manifestoes.

When Virchow once sent verbal greetings to me through our common friend Dr. Schliemann, he specially impressed upon him the fact that I had come near being stretched on the sand heap by court-martial bullets. So the discoverer of Troy, Mykene, and Tiryns told me with a degree of curious interest. To me this reference of Virchow to long by-gone days sounded like a remembrance of his own early past, when he made our maxim in social politics his own.

Need I mention that a number of the foremost men in Germany in science, literature, poetry, philosophy and art were, in 1848-49, on the side of the national and democratic movement? Alexander von Humboldt marched in the grand funeral procession which conducted the bodies of those who had fallen on the barricades at Berlin to their last resting-place; the poets Uhland, Freiligrath, Kinkel; the philosophers Ludwig, Feuerbach, and Arnold Ruge; Gottfried Semper, the great architect; Richard

Wagner and many others were implicated in the popular movement—a number of them becoming exiles. Had Wagner been caught at Dresden after the storming of the town by the Prussian troops, his fate would have been the same cruel one as that awarded to the members of the Provisional Government of Saxony, who for ten years or more were held in most inhuman captivity.

II

Virchow was punished for a while by being removed from his professorial chair at Berlin, and driven to accept a position at Würzburg University in Bavaria. Some years afterwards, on his return to Berlin, he, as a leader of the Parliamentary Progressist party in Prussia, framed the programme which aimed at German unity. He and his friends laid emphasis on this German national character of their aims, whilst, even during the Revolution of 1848-49, the Parliament at Berlin had called itself "The Prussian National Assembly," as if the conglomerate of territories under the sceptre of the house of Hohenzollern constituted a special nation distinct from the German nation at large. In the same way, an Austrian Reichstag had sat in 1848 at Vienna. Yet at Frankfort there sat, at the same time, a "National German Assembly," in which Prussia as well as Austria was represented, together with all the minor German states.

It was this threefold parliamentary representation which, by the centrifugal tendencies of two of them, was in a large degree answerable for the final overthrow of the national cause.

The programme framed by Virchow declared that "the greatness of Prussia depended upon the unity of Germany." Prussia, it is true, was, according to that programme, to become "the central power, on the basis of a common national representation."

On this point, the democratic party of Germany no doubt joined issue with the Prussian Progressists. Being out-and-out anti-dynastic—that is, republican—it wished, to merge Prussia and the federal provinces of Austria, together with all the minor kingdoms and principalities, into a united Germany, with an elective, popular executive power at her head. The distinct view of the democratic party, for whose aims we worked, was that in this way only could the connection of the federal provinces of Austria, which had been an integral part of our older Empire and of our subsequent Bund, with the remainder of Germany be preserved. Any

other procedure would lead to the separation or ejection of those important federal Austrian provinces from Germany. A dangerous increase of the influence of the Slav element in Austria, and, finally, of despotic Russian power in the southeast of Europe, would be the inevitable result. The events of 1866 have proved the correctness, at any rate, of this latter view.

Virchow and his friends, whilst aiming at German unity, with Prussia as the central power, struck out firmly for the establishment of parliamentary control and truly representative government, with ministerial responsibility, in Prussian home affairs. Out of this the great "constitutional conflict" arose, which in the early sixties seemed to bring matters to a crisis.

In the parliamentary discussions, and in that part of the press which was at Bismarck's command, there came then the fiercest attacks against the Progressist party as led by Virchow. A favorite trick was to identify that party with republicanism. The charge was an utterly false one; for, though among the Progressists there were a few men with a democratic past, and though among others of the same party there was no absolute opposition to the republican principle, taken in a philosophical or academic sense, it was an outrageous misstatement that the Prussian Progressists, officered by Virchow, were only "republicans in disguise." Their real object was constitutional, parliamentary government, especially as to full control of budget and army affairs, without which no such government is possible.

It was understood, and it naturally stands to reason, that republicans wished well to the Progressists in their struggle against budgetless autocratic régime. Many years afterwards, in 1876, when Bismarck was on the pinnacle of success, he himself, in replying to Virchow, said:

"For my part I have attained sufficient impartiality [*objektivität*] to be able fully to comprehend now the circle of ideas which moved the House of Deputies between 1862 and 1866. I acknowledge and I have all respect for the resolution with which the Prussian representatives of the people then upheld that which they considered to be the right. I reproach nobody for it. You could not know then the object which in my opinion government policy was to pursue, nor had I any security that that policy would really succeed. And you had also the right, even if I could have told you about our intentions, to answer that the constitutional principles of our country were of higher value to you than its foreign policy. Hence, I did not wish, at least I do not wish

now to reproach any one, although in the passionate heat of the struggle I may not always have behaved in that way."

Quantum mutatus ab illo, who in 1865 challenged Virchow to a duel with pistols, on account of a speech of the latter in Parliament. One of the Liberal leaders, Twesten, a moderate man if ever there was one, had some time before been challenged by Herr von Manteuffel, and had his arm smashed by a bullet. Now Virchow, one of the most eminent scientific men of the whole civilized world, was invited to meet Bismarck in a duel. To cap the horrible absurdity, Bismarck, by letter to Virchow, informed the latter that the Minister of War would be one of his seconds, and this Minister of War actually appeared at Virchow's house in the latter's absence, to the utmost alarm of the great scientist's family.

To his credit, Virchow declined the challenge. He knew better than to expose his valuable life in this silly fashion. He did expose it, five years later, on a battlefield in France, when with his sons he fetched the wounded out of the range of action amidst the greatest risk.

III

The false charge of leading a party of "republicans in disguise" did not prevent Virchow from speaking out in favor of one who had become an exile for having fought in the cause of republicanism. It was on the occasion of a discussion of Schleswig-Holstein affairs in the Prussian House of Deputies in 1862. Of their own free will, the people of the Duchies had risen, in 1848, and established an army of their own. Forsaken by our princes, they were put back under the foreign yoke of Denmark, after having maintained a struggle for nearly three years. The disgrace of this issue was deeply felt by the German nation; but after the sanguinary orgies of reaction no hope appeared to exist for the "forsaken brethren in the North."

It was then that a propaganda of the Schleswig-Holstein cause was started by me in England, with the aid of a number of German exiles. By the "London Protocol" the fate of the Duchies had been sealed. London, therefore, was a natural centre of action. In 1848, after the disgraceful armistice of Malmö, which was brought about by Royal Prussian policy, we had risen in arms, in the South, by way of protest against this practical dereliction of the national cause. The day after the battle in which

we were worsted, seven of our musicians, who had played the Schleswig-Holstein melody during the two hours' encounter at Staufen, were dragged forth from their hiding-place, and shot out of hand by the brutal victors. I never forgot them.

It is not the place here to mention what we did by numerous publications in English and German — occasionally, also, in French and Italian—to impress the English government, the two Houses of Parliament, the ambassadors and consuls, the editors of all the chief journals, and a number of notabilities in the United Kingdom, as well as to influence public opinion in our fatherland by a similar course of action. Time and money were freely spent for the Schleswig-Holstein cause.

It was then that Virchow, in the House of Deputies at Berlin, flinging a taunt at the Prussian government in his well-known incisive manner, exclaimed: "A single exile has done more for the Schleswig-Holstein cause than the whole diplomatic service of Germany." He mentioned the name of the writer of this present essay. I have always prized these words of his beyond any other recognition of services rendered to the national cause. It was in 1862 that this occurred—before there had been any contact between Virchow and me.

During the Polish insurrection against Russia in 1863-64, the sympathies of German Liberals and democrats were fully with that movement. It was supported, also, by the public opinion of England and France. There again the Progressist party, led by Virchow, stood on the side of freedom as against tyranny.

That Polish movement was planned and carried on on democratic lines. In London, Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin and the present writer had been informed beforehand, by the confidential agent of the "Warsaw Committee," of the very day when the rising would take place. I may mention that Mazzini had by letter declared that it was inadvisable, in his opinion, to start armed action so soon. But the Recruitment Decree of the Czar, by which the whole able-bodied youth of Russian Poland were to be drafted out and to be sent to distant parts of the Empire, left the patriotic party no choice. It will be remembered what a long time it took Russia to quell that rising.

During this prolonged struggle, exiled German democrats were again at one with the political friends of Virchow. On its part, the Prussian government, under Bismarck's leadership, gave, on

the contrary, active support to the Czar, against the Polish insurgents. Ferdinand Lassalle, who under Socialistic guise was in collusion and personal intercourse with Bismarck, issued a fly-sheet to deprecate German sympathies with that democratic rising, a procedure all the more remarkable, as many men of Jewish race, to which he himself belonged, were deeply involved in the insurrection.

It may be useful to record here, incidentally, that Lassalle, whilst describing the Hohenzollern dynasty in one of his speeches as a "true people's kingship," which, "with hand on sword would drive the *bourgeoisie* from the political stage by means of the introduction of universal suffrage," tried to enter at the same time into relations with Louis Blanc, the famed Socialist leader and historian of the great French Revolution. A letter from that French exile was to give Lassalle, so to say, a high standing in the eyes of the German working classes. Louis Blanc, an intimate friend of mine, consulted me on the point. I advised him not to reply, explaining to him the underhand connections of Lassalle. The result was that no answer was given from London to Berlin.

When Lassalle, later on, fell in a duel with a rival of his in a love affair, General Klapka, a common friend of his and mine, who had been Lassalle's second, gave me some noteworthy information. He told me that the Countess Hatzfeldt (Lassalle's intimate friend since the forties, when he aided her in her divorce law suit) had said to him (Klapka): "Had Lassalle lived six months longer, he would have occupied a place in the Prussian government."

Lassalle's fellow-worker and testamentary executor, the renegade ex-democrat Lothar Bucher, became, it will be remembered, the appointed tool of Bismarck, whom he served in the most unscrupulous manner, attacking under an assumed mask former political associates with craftily concocted falsehoods. I can speak on this point from sad personal experience. It was only after the death of Bucher that some of those disreputable actions of his came to light. Among his posthumously published writings one was unwarily included which he had issued under a mask in the "Grenzboten," a magazine of which Dr. Busch, Bismarck's Boswell, was editor for some time. When, during Bucher's lifetime, the then anonymous calumniator was publicly declared and

proved in the Berlin "*Vossische Zeitung*" to be a liar, he kept perfectly still, not saying a word in reply. After his death, the editor of his pamphlets did him unconsciously a bad disservice, for the man's knavery then became patent.

IV

It will be remembered that, in the years immediately following the war with France, which had been carried on with the enthusiastic aid of the Liberal party of Germany, Bismarck seemed to turn over a new leaf for a while. It was in those years that the Kulturkampf arose against Papal and hierarchic pretensions. In that struggle, Virchow, the free-thinking scientist, gave hearty aid. It was he, even, who had coined the word Kulturkampf—that is, the fight of civilization against clerical obscurantism. In those days, also, Bismarck made to Virchow the honorable "apology" I have already quoted.

But soon the Imperial Chancellor forsook the cause he had espoused. Though he had boasted he would "never go to Canossa," he practically did, reversing his anti-clerical policy, and resuming, too, his dictatorial manners toward the Liberal representatives of the people. In Virchow, however, he had henceforth once more a determined opponent.

Unfortunately, there came an increasing disruption in the forces of the Opposition; split into contending groups, it was unable to act with any efficiency. There were ominous signs of disintegration, even among the numerically diminished "*Fortschritte Partei*" (Progressist party) whose head Virchow was.

Under these circumstances it seemed to me that the only hope was in the foundation of a new party of wider scope, in which minor differences would be merged, at least for the time being, so as to present a united front to the anti-constitutional dictatorship. In an appeal to that effect, which I made in the "*Vossische Zeitung*," I proposed for it the name "*Allgemeine Deutsche Freisinnige Partei.*" Though I held no direct communication on that subject with any members, the name *Freisinnige Partei* was, after a while, substituted for the old designation, "*Fortschritte Partei.*"

It would lead too far to enter into German politics in general on this present occasion; so I will only add, in order not to be misunderstood, that, as regards armament on land and on sea, I

have never ceased, since the war so frivolously provoked by France, to acknowledge the seriousness of the situation of Germany, wedged in, on the West and the East, between two Powers of well-known aggressive tendencies. On this point, I have always gone by my own judgment as to our national interest, irrespective of party.

The creation of a German fleet had been strongly advocated by our Liberal and democratic parties, even before and during the revolution. A beginning was made in that direction by the German National Assembly in 1848, but what was accomplished was undone by the diet of kings and princes after the sanguinary overthrow of the national cause. They actually brought whatever men-of-war Germany possessed under the hammer. To me, cherishing the traditions of the Hanseatic league, a strong navy has always appeared an absolute necessity.

As to army affairs, whilst being, on principle, in favor of a militia system like the Swiss one, I could not, since 1870, but recognize that any disarmament such as Virchow had proposed before 1870, or any change of the whole military system, was unfortunately impossible now, so long as France and Russia retained their vast and threatening forces. Some recent speeches of General André, General Cuny, the Bishop of Nancy, and others are in this respect truly an evil sign. Those harangues are literally declarations of war, *in spe,* against Germany. They prove, to the dismay of all friends of humanity, of whom Virchow was one of the noblest, and with all the ordinary coolness of his judgment one of the most enthusiastic, that the time is yet far off when swords can be changed into ploughshares.

V

It only remains to say a few words about my frequent correspondence with Virchow on learned matters. It ranged over a great variety of subjects—the ethnology of the German race as evidenced by the color of the eyes, the hair and the skin, the statistics of which, by investigations made in schools, Virchow had first got up in a systematic manner; the apparently Aryan, even Germanic, kinship of the Ossetes in the Caucasus, where he was going to make inquiries; "Old Trojan tombs and skulls," the result of his co-operation with Schliemann; the Skythic remnants, found in the South-Russian barrows; the Weddahs of Cey-

lon; prehistoric Egyptian anthropology, and kindred matters. On some of these subjects I had given my opinion in Schliemann's "Troja," in the London "Academy," in the monthly magazine "Time," and elsewhere. A number of his treatises and speeches Virchow was in the habit of sending to me. Whilst expressing his thanks for what I had written, he, with the most unselfish considerateness, added: "By all means I pray you not to think, when I send you such publications, that I ask for any notice or discussion; my sole object is, considering the wide horizon of your scientific interests, to express to you thereby how much I have it at heart to place these attempts of mine before you personally."

On Egyptian race questions, he had made a remarkable discovery, which Professor Sayce, in a letter to Virchow, the main contents of which the latter communicated to me, declared to be one of the most important for the earliest history of Egypt. Yet in England scarcely any notice was taken of what Virchow had written in his "Royal Mummies." He had shown there the strong contrast between the short-headedness of the Egyptians of the old kingdom, and the long-headedness of those of the later kingdom and of the present time. He was evidently surprised at, not to say pained by, the difficulty one met in making this discovery of his properly known in England, for which I had in vain exerted myself.

When he came to London to lecture, he very thoughtfully sent me, beforehand, from Berlin, cards of admission for my wife and myself. On one occasion, when we met after one of his lectures, of which he had sent me a proof in advance, my wife and I were much amused by the truly characteristic greeting he gave me. Heartily shaking hands, he looked over his spectacles, with the sharp glance of the anthropological scientist, and exclaimed with a kind of rapt utterance: "*Wahrhaftig, ein solcher Schädel kann viel aushalten*" ("truly such a skull can endure a great deal"). He referred to that of which he had told Schliemann when sending me friendly remembrances through him.

Virchow's lecture in London, before a meeting of the foremost scientific men of England, was to be followed by another oration of his at Cambridge, in celebration of Harvey, who is generally, but I believe erroneously, considered the first discoverer of the circulation of the blood. At a party given in honor of Virchow,

on the eve of his departure for Cambridge, I took the opportunity of broaching the Harvey question in a conversation with Virchow. Now, though Harvey certainly worked out his doctrine most fully and irrefutably by scientific research, there were various predecessors of his who held that same view quite clearly. More than seventy years ago, Professor Hecker, at Berlin, who taught the history of the medical art at the University, already gave proofs of that fact. I have, myself, gone over the original sources, and found additional evidence in the writings of Leonardo da Vinci, and elsewhere. There can be no doubt that Harvey must have learned this same doctrine in Italy, where he had studied at the University of Padua. His merit, nevertheless, is that he made the deeper and wider investigations: the original discoverer he cannot justly be called. I will not say more here than that Virchow, in a conversation lasting nearly half an hour, endeavored with the utmost eagerness to convince me to the contrary. Finally he observed: "It might as well be contended, and it has even been contended, that the cellular doctrine was not my own." This hint, evidently, was directed against those who had pointed out that Schleiden before him had first applied a theory of that kind to plants, and that Schwann had followed with "Microscopical Inquiries as to the Harmony between the Structure and the Growth of Animals and Plants." Yet though this is so, the merit and glory of Virchow remains, that he has worked out a cellular doctrine of his own, rectifying erroneous notions of predecessors, and fully proving his axiom "*Omnis cellula e cellula.*"

It was, generally speaking, a prominent and excellent trait in Virchow's character that he kept his mind impartially open to anything he considered right or good, whatever country it came from. In this sense, whilst being a German patriot of unbending Liberal principles, he may be said to have been a truly international man—cosmopolitan in the best acceptation of the word. When in matters of sanitary import he found praiseworthy arrangements in this or that case, even in backward Russia, he hastened to proclaim the fact loudly enough, with his usual incisiveness of language. This was not done with the purpose of gaining favor abroad, but with the object of spurring his own countrymen to stronger exertion. His was a kind of "cold enthusiasm," as it has been called, and it often found utterance

in sharp, even satirically bitter sayings, little relished by adversaries, time-serving trimmers and popularity hunters. Whilst in France, unfortunately, after the war so recklessly provoked by her, Chauvinist feelings and actions were for many years a deplorable feature, even in the scientific, literary and artistic world, which ought to form a republic of its own, including all civilized countries, Virchow steadfastly refused to countenance anti-French reprisals at home. His judgment of the political situation remained, however, unbiased. Thus the scientific interests he had in Russia did not make him forget the dangers threatening from that quarter the freedom, the independence and the civilization of European nations.

In 1876, when I foresaw the coming eruption of Russia in the direction of Constantinople, and wrote to Virchow to ask whether the German people could not be roused to a proper understanding of the situation, he answered: "Your observation as to the East is certainly very correct; nobody can feel it more painfully than I myself do, that our people, and even our Parliament, silently look at the tragedy which the Russians are enacting." He pleaded, in the same letter, the fact of his not being a member of the Reichstag, and his being so much engaged, with all the strength available to him, in scientific work, as causes preventing him from consecutive political action. He added that though he still attempted, now and then, to originate a political move, he was much hampered by the "wholly unjust assertion that he was a personal enemy of the Imperial Chancellor." Any fair-minded observer, I need not say, could not possibly have preferred such a charge against Virchow. His opposition was not a personal one, but founded on principle.

Whether scientific or political questions were at issue, Virchow always spoke his mind fearlessly, having only Truth and Right as his guides. Germany and the whole world are the poorer for the loss of such a man. At his death-bed, homage was done to him at last, even by those in high quarters who, during his laborious life-time had for so many years tried to leave him in the shade. His great fame had certainly never suffered from their pettiness.

KARL BLIND.

VESALIUS IN ZANTE.

(1564)

BY EDITH WHARTON.

Set wide the window. Let me drink the day.
I loved light ever, light in eye and brain—
No tapers mirrored in long palace floors,
Nor dedicated depths of silent aisles,
But just the common dusty wind-blown day
That roofs earth's millions.
O, too long I walked
In that thrice-sifted air that princes breathe,
Nor felt the heaven-wide jostling of the winds
And all the ancient outlawry of earth!
Now let me breathe and see.
This pilgrimage
They call a penance—let them call it that!
I set my face to the East to shrive my soul
Of mortal sin? So be it. If my blade
Once questioned living flesh, if once I tore
The pages of the Book in opening it,
See what the torn page yielded ere the light
Had paled its buried characters—and judge!

The girl they brought me, pinioned hand and foot
In catalepsy—say I should have known
That trance had not yet darkened into death,
And held my scalpel. Well, suppose I *knew?*
Sum up the facts—her life against her death.
Her life? The scum upon the pools of pleasure
Breeds such by thousands. And her death? Perchance

The obolus to appease the ferrying Shade,
And waft her into immortality.
Think what she purchased with that one heart-flutter
That whispered its deep secret to my blade!
For, just because her bosom fluttered still,
It told me more than many rifled graves;
Because I spoke too soon, she answered me,
Her vain life ripened to this bud of death
As the whole plant is forced into one flower,
All her blank past a scroll on which God wrote
His word of healing—so that the poor flesh,
Which spread death living, died to purchase life!

Ah, no! The sin I sinned was mine, not theirs.
Not *that* they sent me forth to wash away—
None of their tariffed frailties, but a deed
So far beyond their grasp of good or ill
That, set to weigh it in the Church's balance,
Scarce would they know which scale to cast it in.
But I, I know. I sinned against my will,
Myself, my soul—the God within the breast:
Can any penance wash such sacrilege?

When I was young in Venice, years ago,
I walked the hospice with a Spanish monk,
A solitary cloistered in high thoughts,
The great Loyola, whom I reckoned then
A mere refurbisher of faded creeds,
Expert to edge anew the arms of faith,
As who should say, a Galenist, resolved
To hold the walls of dogma against fact,
Experience, insight, his own self, if need be!
Ah, how I pitied him, mine own eyes set
Straight in the level beams of Truth, who groped
In error's old deserted catacombs
And lit his tapers upon empty graves!
Ay, but he held his own, the monk—more man
Than any laurelled cripple of the wars,
Charles's spent shafts; for what he willed he willed,
As those do that forerun the wheels of fate,

Not take their dust—that force the virgin hours,
Hew life into the likeness of themselves
And wrest the stars from their concurrences.
So firm his mould; but mine the ductile soul
That wears the livery of circumstance
And hangs obsequious on its suzerain's eye.
For who rules now? The twilight-flitting monk,
Or I, that took the morning like an Alp?
He held his own, I let mine slip from me,
The birthright that no sovereign can restore;
And so ironic Time beholds us now
Master and slave—he lord of half the earth,
I ousted from my narrow heritage.

For there's the sting! My kingdom knows me not.
Reach me that folio—my usurper's title!
Fallopius reigning, *vice*—nay, not so:
Successor, not usurper. I am dead.
My throne stood empty; he was heir to it.
Ay, but who hewed his kingdom from the waste,
Cleared, inch by inch, the acres for his sowing,
Won back for man that ancient fief o' the Church,
His body? Who flung Galen from his seat,
And founded the great dynasty of truth
In error's central kingdom?
Ask men that,
And see their answer: just a wondering stare,
To learn things were not always as they are—
The very fight forgotten with the fighter;
Already grows the moss upon my grave!
Ay, and so meet—hold fast to that, Vesalius.
They only, who re-conquer day by day
The inch of ground they camped on over-night,
Have right of foothold on this crowded earth.
I left mine own; he seized it; with it went
My name, my fame, my very self, it seems,
Till I am but the symbol of a man,
The sign-board creaking o'er an empty inn.
He names me—true! *"Oh, give the door its due*
I entered by. Only, my masters, note,

Had door been none, a shoulder-thrust of mine
Had breached the crazy wall"—he seems to say.
So meet—and yet a word of thanks, of praise,
Of recognition that the clue was found,
Seized, followed, clung to, by some hand now dust—
Had this obscured his quartering of my shield?

How the one weakness stirs again! I thought
I had done with that old thirst for gratitude
That lured me to the desert years ago.
I did my work—and was not that enough?
No; but because the idlers sneered and shrugged,
The envious whispered, the traducers lied,
And friendship doubted where it should have cheered,
I flung aside the unfinished task, sought praise
Outside my soul's esteem, and learned too late
That victory, like God's kingdom, is within.
(Nay, let the folio rest upon my knee.
I do not feel its weight.) Ingratitude?
The hurrying traveller does not ask the name
Of him who points him on his way; and this
Fallopius sits in the mid-heart of me,
Because he keeps his eye upon the goal,
Cuts a straight furrow to the end in view,
Cares not who oped the fountain by the way,
But drinks to draw fresh courage for his journey.
That was the lesson that Ignatius taught—
The one I might have learned from him, but would not—
That we are but stray atoms on the wind,
A dancing transiency of summer eves,
Till we become one with our purpose, merged
In that vast effort of the race which makes
Mortality immortal.
"He that loseth
His life shall find it": so the Scripture runs.
But I so hugged the fleeting self in me,
So loved the lovely perishable hours,
So kissed myself to death upon their lips,
That on one pyre we perished in the end—
A grimmer bonfire than the Church e'er lit!

Yet all was well—or seemed so—till I heard
That younger voice, an echo of my own,
And, like a wanderer turning to his home,
Who finds another on the hearth, and learns,
Half-dazed, that other is his actual self
In name and claim, as the whole parish swears,
So strangely, suddenly, stood dispossessed
Of that same self I had sold all to keep,
A baffled ghost that none would see or hear!
"Vesalius? Who's Vesalius? This Fallopius
It is who dragged the Galen-idol down,
Who rent the veil of flesh and forced a way
Into the secret fortalice of life"—
Yet it was I that bore the brunt of it!

Well, better so! Better awake and live
My last brief moment, as the man I was,
Than lapse from life's long lethargy to death
Without one conscious interval. At least
I repossess my past, am once again
No courtier med'cining the whims of kings
In muffled palace-chambers, but the free
Friendless Vesalius, with his back to the wall
And all the world against him. O, for that
Best gift of all, Fallopius, take my thanks—
That, and much more. At first, when Padua wrote:
"Master, Fallopius dead, resume again
The chair even he could not completely fill,
And see what usury age shall take of youth
In honors forfeited"—why, just at first,
I was quite simply credulously glad
To think the old life stood ajar for me,
Like a fond woman's unforgetting heart.
But now that death waylays me—now I know
This isle is the circumference of my days,
And I shall die here in a little while—
So also best, Fallopius!
For I see
The gods may give anew, but not restore;
And though I think that, in my chair again,

I might have argued my supplanters wrong
In this or that—this Cesalpinus, say,
With all his hot-foot blundering in the dark,
Fabricius, with his over-cautious clutch
On Galen (systole and diastole
Of Truth's mysterious heart!)—yet, other ways,
It may be that this dying serves the cause.
For Truth stays not to build her monument
For this or that co-operating hand,
But props it with her servants' failures—nay,
Cements its courses with their blood and brains,
A living substance that shall clinch her walls
Against the assaults of time. Already, see,
Her scaffold rises on my hidden toil,
I but the accepted premiss whence must spring
The airy structure of her argument;
Nor could the bricks it rests on serve to build
The crowning finials. I abide her law:
A different substance for a different end—
Content to know I hold the building up;
Though men, agape at dome and pinnacles,
Guess not, the whole must crumble like a dream
But for that buried labor underneath.
Yet, Padua, I had still my word to say!
Let others say it!—Ah, but will they guess
Just the one word—? Nay, Truth is many-tongued.
What one man failed to speak, another finds
Another word for. May not all converge
In some vast utterance, of which you and I,
Fallopius, were but halting syllables?
So knowledge come, no matter how it comes!
No matter whence the light falls, so it fall!
Truth's way, not mine—that I, whose service failed
In action, yet may make amends in praise.
Fabricius, Cesalpinus, say your word,
Not yours, or mine, but Truth's, as you receive it!
You miss a point I saw? See others, then!
Misread my meaning? Yet expound your own!
Obscure one space I cleared? The sky is wide,
And you may yet uncover other stars.

For thus I read the meaning of this end:
There are two ways of spreading light; to be
The candle or the mirror that reflects it.
I let my wick burn out—there yet remains
To spread an answering surface to the flame
That others kindle.

Turn me in my bed.
The window darkens as the hours swing round;
But yonder, look, the other casement glows!
Let me face westward as my sun goes down.

EDITH WHARTON.

Note.—Vesalius, the great anatomist, studied at Louvain and Paris, and was called by Venice to the chair of surgery in the University of Padua. He was one of the first physiologists to dissect the human body, and his great work "The Structure of the Human Body" was an open attack on the physiology of Galen. The book excited such violent opposition, not only in the Church, but in the University, that in a fit of discouragement he burned his remaining manuscripts and accepted the post of physician at the Court of Charles V., and afterward of his son, Philip II. of Spain. This closed his life of free enquiry, for the Inquisition forbade all scientific research, and the dissection of corpses was prohibited in Spain. Vesalius sank into the rich and successful court physician, but regrets for his past life were never wholly extinguished, and in 1561 they were roused afresh by the reading of an anatomical treatise by Gabriel Fallopius, his successor in the chair at Padua. From that moment life in Spain became intolerable to Vesalius, and in 1563 he set out for the East. Tradition reports that this journey was a penance to which the Church condemned him for having opened the body of a woman before she was actually dead; but more probably Vesalius, sick of his long servitude, made the pilgrimage a pretext to escape from Spain.

Fallopius had meanwhile died, and the Venetian Senate is said to have offered Vesalius his old chair; but on the way home from Jerusalem he was seized with illness, and died at Zante in 1564.]

AMBASSADOR WHITE'S WORK.

BY WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND.

If ever a retiring American diplomatist deserved the glorious cognomen of "Peace Preserver," Andrew D. White does. He seeks the shades of private life now at the rounding-out of the scriptural threescore-and-ten, content in the knowledge that but for him the peace between two great and powerful nations might have been broken and untold sacrifice in blood and treasure spilt. The day has come when this truth may, without endangering anew the amicable relations between Germany and the United States, be proclaimed in unfaltering accents. It was a Providential fact that the late President McKinley had intrusted the onerous and delicate position of Ambassador to the Court of Berlin to such a man as Mr. White, a man whose very personality makes for peace and conciliation, and whose indubitable sympathies for the German people, whose singular modesty, whose high standing for broad scholarship and whose self-sacrificing attitude towards education and research gave him, from the start, a hold upon the nation to which he was accredited far stronger than any other living American could have had. He went as *persona gratissima,* early in 1897, at a time when none but ordinary diplomatic complications had been foreshadowed. He had served, under Bismarck's all-powerful régime, as United States Minister, and had then acquired an enviable reputation as being prëeminently distinguished for that quality without which the ideal diplomat cannot be bred, the combination of the *suaviter in modo* with the *fortiter in re.* Thus, with German prejudice, both official and unofficial, all in his favor, he quickly knew how to win over the impetuous successor to the mild old monarch he had known, and by the very law of contrast Kaiser William II. conceived a sincere liking and a genuine respect for him.

Then the war with Spain broke out. To none did it come more unexpectedly than to Mr. White. Thorough man of peace as he is, 4,000 miles from the scene of events, gauging correctly Mr. McKinley's fervent desire to avoid bloodshed, it was a rude shock to his sensibilities and a painful surprise to him, when, after all, war had become unavoidable and hostilities actually commenced. I remember, during a conversation I had with Mr. White but a few weeks before the outbreak of the war, how he, with heart aflame, gave utterance to his conviction that no open hostilities would ensue, and how he, in support of his belief, related a little scene that had taken place between him and the President, during a short visit to Washington. Mr. McKinley had said to him on that occasion: "If I can help it, no war will come during my administration." And he told me other incidents illustrative of Mr. McKinley's earnest wish to settle amicably the complications with Spain.

But, war once declared, Mr. White rose instantly to the occasion, and his wisely and efficiently directed efforts, from first to last, in behalf of the strict and loyal maintenance of neutrality by Germany can hardly be valued too highly. With untiring vigilance he kept watch over American interests during those trying days at the beginning of the war, and made Count Bülow, then directing, under the Kaiser's personal guidance, Germany's foreign policy, "toe the mark," as it were. Not the slightest chance of serving his country escaped him. Not the minutest detail of his wide range of duties was neglected by him. I remember his passing sleepless nights in his anxiety to get the war-vessels hurriedly purchased by the United States on the very eve of the war, fully equipped and in time out of Stettin and Dantzic, and out of German waters on to the high seas, bound for an American harbor, and in his endeavors to prevent contraband of war leaving Hamburg and other German ports for Spain; and I recall distinctly how in every case he was successful.

The Fourth of July speech which Mr. White delivered that summer, at Leipzig, before an audience of American fellow-citizens assembled to celebrate the day, was a diplomatic deed of the greatest and most far-reaching importance.

Of the extent and depth of anti-American feeling at that time rampant in the Empire, it is not easy to give an adequate idea. Only those Americans who happened to be on German soil while

the war lasted, and who understood the language and came in continual contact with the people and studied the press, were in a position to judge the situation fairly. There is a curious analogy between the state of German feeling then and during the British war in South Africa. In its essence it was identical in both cases. Enviousness was at the bottom of it. A latent dislike, bred by fierce commercial rivalry, had risen in lurid flame under the stress of novel and propitious conditions. Sympathy for the weaker combatant had likewise something to do with it, and so had other, though less potent, motives hidden away in the recesses of the German heart. But, whatever the causes, the sentiment was surprisingly strong and widely diffused. I remember that during the whole war there was, of the entire German press, but one journal of influence that was friendly to the United States, and that paper, to its lasting credit be it said, was the *Frankfurter Zeitung,* of Frankfort-on-Main, the fearless champion of South German democracy, owned and edited by a Jew. Nearly all the leading periodicals, too, showed distinct animosity towards the United States, the one conspicuous exception being another radical Liberal publication, Dr. Theodore Barth's *Die Nation.* In venom and bitterness, those political parties and organs which were closest to the government, the Conservatives and the Ultramontane Centre (the latter partly for religious reasons), were easily in the lead, and the chief Conservative organ, the "*Kreuzzeitung,*" read by the court (including the whole Imperial family), the army and the nobility, during the war paid a special correspondent in New York for scurrilously slandering and vilifying the nation and country which had extended cordial hospitality to him. His letters were read with avidity, reprinted extensively and formed a large part of the stock-in-trade employed in the wholesale abuse of everything American.

In the beginning of the war, no German statesman or general believed in initial or even ultimate American success, and that the American forces on land and sea were to meet great reverses at the hands of the Spaniards was a foregone conclusion with every class of Germans. Even the Kaiser, misled by his *entourage* and misinformed by his diplomatic representatives and military attachés, shared this belief at first, as I happen to know from an unexceptionable source. There was wild rejoicing throughout

Germany at the prospect of a severe dose of humble-pie being forced down the throat of the hated Yankee.

If at that time this country had been represented in Berlin by a man possessing less of admirable tact, less of patience and fortitude, and less of that calm but strong confidence in the sober second thought of the German people, a war might have been precipitated within a fortnight. The method chosen by Mr. White at that time of fighting the ill-informed public opinion of Germany with a weapon at his command, the peaceable weapon of publicity, was typically and victoriously American.

His Fourth of July speech in Leipzig reverberated through the length and breadth of the Empire like a thunderbolt, all the more effective because of Mr. White's well-known usual placidity and gentleness of demeanor. The firm and yet wholly unaggressive stand he had taken in that speech against the outspoken and venomous hostility shown by the Germans towards the American people, made a deep and lasting impression. For a time he had the jingo press of Germany baying and snarling in his tracks like a pack of hungry hounds, but Mr. White calmly ignored them. The insincere official press, and all its subsidized or pampered followers, could, in the face of Mr. White's unequivocal declaration that the United States would not suffer any intervention or interference in this war, do nothing better than retrace their steps. Mr. White had made it plain, by his unofficial utterance at the Leipzig banquet, which yet doubtless (at least such was the general impression in Germany at the time) had had its inspiration in Washington, to both people and government in Germany that their only course, compatible with a continuance of the traditional friendship between the two countries, lay in the maintenance of the strictest neutrality, and in the curbing of that unreasoning hatred to which the press of the whole Empire had given, up to then, unbridled vent.

Nor was this all Mr. White did during those memorable six months from April to October of that year.

With keen, dispassionate insight and full appreciation of the true facts—never to this hour wholly divulged for publication—Mr. White did much to allay suspicion in Washington consequent upon the queer doings of Admiral von Diedrichs and the German squadron in Manila Bay and elsewhere. He nailed the German government down to an unequivocal declaration of purpose in

those waters, thus frustrating in advance any possible ulterior objects lurking in the minds of official Germany in those days; and what is, perhaps, even more, he persistently, though always with the greatest urbanity, saw to it that this declaration was carried out to the letter. What Admiral von Diedrichs's real purpose was in openly bidding defiance, during a time of actual warfare, to the naval power of the United States in Philippine waters, it is hard to conjecture even now, opinion on that score having by no means yet crystallized on either side of the water. Leading German papers in those days published joyfully letters from German naval men on board Admiral von Diedrichs's vessels, wherein ambiguous and in some instances openly threatening phrases occurred, intended to convey the meaning that there was but a hair's breadth intervening at a particular juncture between hostilities with the United States. But, at any rate, Mr. White extracted in time any poison fangs possibly concealed from casual observation.

The war ended, and the inflamed state of public anti-American feeling in Germany slowly subsided. It reached fever heat, at slight provocation, again and again, during the succeeding two years. The tone of a portion of the American press, which, in response to insistent German attacks, had become quite unfriendly to Germany, sufficed for that. There was a season of uninterrupted give-and-take between the press of the two countries, and in Germany they pretended to be the wholly innocent and wronged party, and in token of that they renewed their campaign of bitter abuse of everything American. Irresponsible utterances on this side of the ocean, chance remarks or criticisms dropped from the lips of individual Americans, were picked up and tossed to and fro in the entire German press, as convincing evidence of a deep-laid plot of the American government to browbeat Germany into war. Ill-temper was the rule among the German people for another space wherever anything American was concerned, and to the wrangling kept up in thousands of German sheets there was no end.

The effects of the Dingley tariff law, at first quite seriously injuring German export, also sufficed to generate another wave of Americophobia, and as this deluged above all the commercial classes in Germany, who politically had till then usually felt in a more friendly mood towards this country, it brought another layer of German society into the hostile camp. It even affected the

Socialists, as a class the stanchest friends this country has in the Empire. The effects of this particular wave of anti-American sentiment have been most lasting.

The Samoan squabble again sufficed to raise German public opinion to a high pitch of animosity. While the negotiations in the three capitals, in London, Berlin and Washington, and subsequently in Samoa itself, lasted, that large portion of the German press which is under all circumstances unfriendly to the American nation, sought out every opportunity, no matter how trivial, for beclouding the German mind and hectoring public opinion there into the assumption that there was a conspiracy afoot between the cabinets of Washington and London, whose sole object was to humiliate Germany and to deprive her of her just dues in the matter at stake. Every carelessly worded despatch that appeared in London or New York was cabled over and seized upon for the purpose of proving this contention, and small as the whole object at issue really was, in every sense, it was treated by the major part of the German press—and, let me add, by the German government as well—as a matter of life and death to the nation at large.

In all these three cases, Mr. White displayed consummate ability, a resourcefulness that never failed him, and an unfailing tact that finally won the battle for him.

The present writer may perhaps be pardoned, if he mentions the fact that, throughout Mr. White's long appeal from German public opinion misinformed to public opinion better informed, he himself shared a part of this fight, and enjoyed a confidence which he was proud of and which he did his best to justify. At Mr. White's suggestion, articles were launched by me into some of the leading German papers which rectified gross misstatements about the effects of the Dingley law, about alleged American hostility, and particularly about the Samoan question then pending. These articles had a wide circulation and did, I believe, a modicum of good in removing some of the thickest cobwebs from the German mind.

That, however, as stated before, was but a part of Mr. White's fight. His personal intercourse with the élite of Germany's intellectual class did enormous good in allaying hostility and removing prejudices unfavorable to America. At his hospitable board gathered frequently the leading minds of Germany in

science, politics and society, and mingled there with American guests of distinction, thus affording a rare opportunity to men who could not possibly have met elsewhere, of exchanging views and destroying erroneous opinions. The seeds of a better and kindlier mutual appreciation, of a fairer understanding of each country's views and aims, were sown on these occasions, seeds destined to sprout and bear fruit some day. In his quiet, unostentatious way Mr. White, whose dinners enjoyed the reputation in Berlin diplomatic and official circles of being, in a dainty way, the acme of perfection, has done more in this line during his five years' stay at the German capital than his predecessors combinedly did during the last two generations. In this, it may be well to state, he was ably and tactfully assisted by his wife. Incidentally, I will mention that this patriotic hospitality cost Mr. White several times the amount of his salary, a fact which, it is true, he never alluded to, but which was very palpable.

He attended, besides, as an honored and cherished guest, scores of public commemorations and other important functions, and on all of these occasions he was invariably a conspicuous, active figure, never a mere cipher, and in a land where scholarship still counts for more than it does elsewhere, despite recent developments in a different direction, he was an honor to his country. One such occasion stands out in strong relief—the bicentenary celebration of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, when Mr. White was created an honorary member on the strength of his scientific achievements. He alone of all the diplomatic corps in Berlin was accorded this distinction—a distinction as rarely conferred in Germany as it is highly valued.

Again, Mr. White's happy gift of ready and felicitous speech stood him in good stead during his ambassadorship. He used it, as he used his other gifts, always in the cause of peace and good-fellowship between the two nations. His impromptu remarks on many public and private occasions, as well as his carefully prepared orations on days of special significance, will live, some of them, in Germany for years to come, as evidences of the best and most advanced American thought, and as a living proof of cordial American appreciation of all that is best in German culture.

His particular aim, though, has been to influence, by every legitimate and honorable means, the German and American press with a view to a restoration of amity and cordial relations. To

this end, he broke with a tradition to which his predecessors had more or less rigidly adhered, and allowed himself to be interviewed, on certain occasions, by reputable and responsible editors and correspondents. His intimate acquaintance with press conditions on both sides of the ocean, and his wise caution and unerring judgment brought it about that he was rarely if ever misrepresented by his interviewers, and a vast deal of good was thus accomplished by him, more especially in the line of imparting information tending to a better understanding of the views and motives stirring and propelling both nations, and to remove misconceptions.

In his intercourse, too, with the Kaiser, Mr. White showed from the first that psychological insight and exquisite tact which made him a born diplomat, and which enabled him, within a few short months after his arrival, to win and hold the confidence and unvarying esteem of that monarch. Probably more than to any other single factor, the reëstablishment and the knitting together of intimate and friendly relations between the two countries are due to that. Having unwavering faith in his singleness and purity of motive, the Kaiser has been swayed, probably to a larger extent than he himself is aware of, in his judgment of America and Americans and in his policy resulting therefrom, by this mild-mannered, frank-eyed citizen of the great Republic.

The post of ambassador in Berlin was the culmination of Mr. White's diplomatic services, always undertaken solely from patriotic motives, and against the strong bent of a nature essentially scholarly and averse to pomp and splendor. But before that, while serving as United States Minister to Germany, in the heyday of Bismarck's glory, and to Russia, during President Harrison's term, he had given proof of his rare aptitude for this line of activity. The autocracy of Bismarck and the autocracy of the Czar interested him greatly as differing types on the same line of human and political development, and he recognized clearly in both the component parts of mighty commonwealths. While serving his first Berlin term, he successfully stayed the strong hand of the Iron Chancellor from meddling in South-American internal troubles, during the long internecine strife between Chile and Peru. He did much to soften the rude tariff war which Bismarck waged against that pride of the boundless West, the American hog; and he contrived to eliminate sundry elements of

ceaseless trouble embittering the diplomatic relations of the two countries, notably the frequent arrests on German soil of American citizens of German birth for evasion of military duty.

The Czar, Alexander III., strangely enough, had a warm corner in his heart for the American diplomat, and it was primarily due to this that Mr. White succeeded, above all expectations, in improving relations with Russia, which just before his arrival had become somewhat strained. The brutal and incessant arrests of adopted American citizens, Russian Israelites by birth, who on visiting their native country had been pounced upon and ruthlessly dumped on Siberian soil, ceased almost altogether, owing to Mr. White's solicitous intervention and unremitting vigilance. Trade relations with this country, too, improved perceptibly, and it is since his stay in St. Petersburg that American engineers and manufacturers have gained a secure foothold for their enterprises in the wide domains of the Czar. There, too, as in Germany, he did much in successfully combating prejudices unfavorable to this country held by the Russian commercial classes, and this greatly redounded to the financial advantage of the United States.

A page by itself is taken up by Mr. White's participation, as a delegate from the United States, in the famous Peace Conference at The Hague. A firm believer in the doctrine underlying international arbitration, he devoted himself enthusiastically to the labors of that memorable gathering. Contrary to the opinion held in most countries, and particularly on the European Continent, that the conference was, on the whole, rather a fiasco, he returned from it to his post in Berlin with the firm conviction that this conference marks the beginning of a new epoch in human affairs, and that it is nothing less than the entering wedge in the colossal edifice over whose portal it is written that might is above right. He felt, therefore, particularly grieved at the strangely inconsistent attitude assumed at The Hague by nearly all the delegates from Germany, and especially that of Professor Zorn, then of the University of Königsberg, the Kaiser's protegé and mouthpiece. Professor Zorn, it will be remembered, with the majority of the German delegates and those of the other Dreibund Powers, strenuously and successfully opposed the principle of admitting arbitration in international quarrels where vital questions—or questions considered vital at the time by each particular government —should be at stake. He also opposed every plan proposed look-

ing to a *pro rata* reduction of the armed forces of Europe. However, Mr. White holds that enough has been accomplished in the way of practical good by this initial conference, of so immense a scope as to justify the belief that it has been but the forerunner of other and more sweeping reform conventions of the same nature. Recent events seem to bear him out in this, and it so happens that it is his own country which has been the first to submit an important controversy with a neighbor to the decision of the new tribunal.

Mr. White within a few days will commemorate the seventieth anniversary of his birth. He has told the writer repeatedly that he means to retire wholly from public life and never again accept an office, of whatever kind. His retirement has doubtless been hastened by the great sorrow that came to darken his declining days in midsummer of last year. Up to the day when this awful blow—which deprived him of an only and tenderly beloved son under circumstances peculiarly tragic—fell on him, Mr. White was a hale and hearty man, looking and feeling a full decade younger than his age, with hair that was barely grizzling. But on receipt of that terrible news, his hair and beard turned white as snow, and he now feels the absolute need of rest, at least rest from a prescribed round of public duties that he can neither slight nor escape from with honor. The nervous energy that lives within that frail, slender body of his is, however, so great that he has, within the last three years, undertaken, merely as a pleasant respite from his official duties, literary labors of such scope and magnitude that their accomplishment would amply suffice for the lifetime of an ordinary man. Mr. White's vitality, indeed, is so amazing and his recuperative powers so extraordinary, that much may yet be expected of him, if not in the domain of diplomacy or statecraft, then in the republic of letters.

WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND.

TENDENCIES OF AMERICAN LEGISLATION.

BY SAMUEL J. BARROWS, COMMISSIONER FOR THE UNITED STATES ON THE INTERNATIONAL PRISON COMMISSION.

ONE of the many illustrations which might be adduced as to the denationalizing effect of the American system of local self-government is, that at the capital of the nation not the slightest provision has ever been made for a comparative study, analysis, and classification of the legislation of the different States and Territories. The output of coal and iron, the volume of agricultural products, the totals of manufacturing industries, are all carefully analyzed and compared and made the subject of exhaustive treatises for the purposes of commerce and trade; but the output of State legislation, which bears a vital relation to the development and expression of the national life, is not recognized as of sufficient importance to be even indexed by the general government. This is a function of public service which might naturally be devolved upon the Library of Congress or the Department of State; but it has never been required or requested by Congress, the body which might be supposed to recognize the advantages of a conspectus of the tendencies and movement of American legislation. Only a few years ago, I found it difficult to find in Washington a complete set of the session laws of the different States. Mr. James Bryce, in writing his "American Commonwealth," likewise found it difficult, he said, to get the constitutions of the different States. The compilation which Ben Perley Poore made some years ago, and which was published by Congress, has long been out of date. It was left for the State of New York, when it held its Constitutional Convention, to do what ought to have been done by the general government—that is, to bring together and edit the constitutions of the different States, which the convention needed as a basis for its discussions.

So it has been left for the State of New York to do two other things which more naturally ought to be done by the general government. One is the publication every year of a *Comparative Summary and Index of Legislation* by the New York State Library, covering all the public laws passed by the fifty-one separate legislatures. The other is the establishment at Albany of an anthropometric bureau of identification, for the registration of criminals in all States of the Union, the several States being simply asked to furnish the data from their prisons. The State Library has now gone further. In order that readers may not be without a guide in threading the mazes of this labyrinth of legislation, it has prepared in a separate volume a *Review of Legislation,* in which every subject embraced in the classification is assigned to a competent specialist, the whole volume, like the Summary, being under the charge of the librarian of the sociological department, Dr. R. H. Whitten. In the compass of 240 pages, 46 subjects are treated by 38 specialists, Dr. Whitten himself writing four of the papers. All the papers are founded upon the legislation of 1901, though comparisons are often made covering a series of years.

Reviews and compilations on a few special lines have not been hitherto wanting. Colonel Carroll D. Wright has issued, in his Bulletins from the Department of Labor, valuable compilations of the labor laws of the States. For the International Prison Commission I prepared a review of New Legislation Concerning Crimes and Misdemeanors, which showed the movement of criminal law in the United States for the years 1897-98. The Bureau of Education and the Department of Agriculture have recognized the value of comparative legislation on special lines; but for the first time we now have a review of legislation which is comprehensive enough to cover the entire field of legislative activity. And Mr. Melvil Dewey, the director of the New York State Library, who has inspired this work, encourages us to believe that it will be done by the State of New York every year. Leaving out the kaleidoscopic and kakeidoscopic mirrors of the American press, there is nothing which is such a perfect reflector of American life, institutions, habits, and commercial, political and educational organization; nothing which serves so well as a barometer of ethical sentiment as the fifteen or twenty thousand pages which are bound up annually in the session laws. Taking

these laws for 1901, the threshold year of the new century, what do they, as interpreted by 38 law chemists, show as to the tendencies of our American civilization?

Looking first at fundamental questions relating to political constitutions and organization, it is to be noted that the new constitution of Alabama went into effect on November 28th, 1901, and that constitutional conventions have been held in Virginia and Connecticut. The Alabama constitution, like those recently adopted in New York, South Carolina and Delaware, is marked by a great increase in bulk. The growing habit of forcing into constitutions a large amount of matter which ought to be left to legislative enactment is to be deprecated. Twelve States have applied to Congress to call a constitutional convention on the subject of a direct vote by the people for United States Senators. Increase in population has compelled re-districting, and eighteen States have made a re-apportionment of Congressional districts, fifteen States have re-apportioned representation in the upper and lower branches of the legislature, and seven others representation in either the upper or lower branch. Alabama is the first State to adopt quadrennial instead of biennial legislative sessions. The new constitution limits the regular session to a period of fifty days once in four years. The Governor may call special sessions limited to thirty days, but no acts can be passed other than those designated in the Governor's proclamation except by a two-thirds vote. Alabama has made another decided reform. Its statute books have hitherto been padded beyond measure with local, special and private laws. The new constitution will correct much of this abuse.

Dr. Whitten notes a "growing distrust of the legislature in the constitution of almost every State." Some States are making provision for more direct legislation. The South Dakota constitutional amendment, providing for the initiative and referendum, adopted in 1898, has not yet been made use of. Utah adopted in 1900 a constitutional amendment providing for the initiative and referendum, but the legislature of 1901 failed to pass the legislation needed to put it into effect. Oregon submits a similar amendment to vote of the people in 1902. An Act providing for the submission of questions to electors was adopted by Illinois; and a provision of similar purpose, but of different effect, will come up before the Nevada Legislature of 1903. Some of these

provisions for the referendum are cumbersome. They indicate a reaction from representative towards purely democratic government. It is evident that this movement may go too far. We shall make a mistake if we abolish instead of improving our legislatures.

Passing to the organization of State government, nothing is more evident than the remarkable increase in the number of new departments, boards and commissions. This multiplication of State machinery provides for the inspection, supervision, and regulation of various interests and activities. During the last year, more than forty new State offices or boards were authorized by the various legislatures. They represent the interests of agriculture, labor, public health or safety, the care of defectives, dependents, and delinquents. Minnesota has created a board of control, of three members, to have supervision over the charitable, reformatory and penal institutions of the State. Kansas has reorganized its State Board of Charitable Institutions as a board of control. The tendency towards centralization in administration is seen to be strong in the Western States. There are now centralized boards of control in nine States, Kansas, Wyoming, South Dakota, Wisconsin, Arkansas, Nebraska, Washington, Iowa, Rhode Island, the latter being the only representative of the Eastern States in this policy. Of the fifty boards or commissions mentioned, nearly all are appointed by the Governor, thus increasing the power of the executive. A disposition is evident to increase the compensation of State officers.

Some of the Western States have been rather reckless heretofore in allowing foreigners to vote. A proposed constitutional amendment in Colorado denies the suffrage to all but citizens. In Texas intention could be declared at any time before election, but a proposed amendment requires aliens to declare their intention of becoming citizens six months before election.

With reference to election methods, the movement for voting machines is making rapid progress in various States. California has passed severe laws against extremes of defamation or of caricature of candidates for office. The system of direct nominations without the medium of a convention already exists in various States. Oregon has passed a stringent law doing away with the convention system. This act does not seem to be free from objection, for it renders it possible for the members of one party to participate in the nominations of another.

In the sphere of city government, the policy of State interference still continues, but there seems to be no doubt of the steady growth of home-rule provisions, the disposition to throw upon cities the responsibility and privilege of managing their own affairs. Notable among city government laws was the new charter of Greater New York, passed without the acceptance of the city. Various city charters provide for a non-partisan distribution of offices. Dr. Max West of the United States Department of Agriculture points to the fact that inheritance-tax legislation exhibits radical tendencies in the direction of high and progressive rates in several States. The heaviest taxes on collateral inheritances of personal property are levied in North Carolina, but they are applied to personal property alone. More than one-half of the States in the Union now have inheritance taxes. With reference to business corporations, the legislation for 1901 tended towards an increase in incorporation and license fees. Colorado has shown its hostility against foreign corporations by imposing license fees fifty per cent. greater than those imposed on domestic corporations.

Dr. Whitten reports the most important movement in the taxation of public-service corporations to be the substitution of taxation at actual value for various kinds of specific taxes. In Michigan, "equal taxation," as it is called, triumphed this year after a long, exciting and obstinate struggle. Substantial progress has been made in Dakota in a movement to substitute *ad valorem* for specific taxes.

School legislation in 1901 was important and significant. The tendency is towards better organization and further centralization in the supervision of teachers. Attendance requirements are more rigid. State and local provisions for the support of schools show a liberal increase. Especially noticeable is the extension of secondary education, the multiplication of free libraries, the increase of instruction in agriculture and mechanic arts, the adoption of uniform text-books and the establishment of higher standards for teachers. Dr. William T. Harris, who has so long advocated the consolidation of rural schools in sparsely settled districts and the transportation of pupils, notes with satisfaction the growth of laws in this direction in Indiana, Minnesota, Kansas, Missouri and Nebraska. Another happy tendency is seen in the increased provision for kindergarten instruction. "Nothing yet invented,"

says Dr. Harris, "is equal to the kindergarten for the instruction and nurture in right habits and views of life of the children of the slums." If public education is spreading at the roots, it is also spreading at the top. The Commissioner of Education shows that there has been an enormous increase of free, public high-schools in the United States in recent years. They increased from something less than fifty in 1860 to 2,523 in 1890; and during the ten years from 1890 to 1900 they increased to 6,005. Coincident with the growth of cities is the provision to lengthen the school term. It has been likewise lengthened in the rural districts. The average school term in the United States has increased from 130 days in 1881 to 145 days in 1900. Another tendency is against nepotism and political influence in school affairs. Up to 1900, thirty-one States had already adopted compulsory laws of one kind or another. During the last year, thirteen States have passed laws requiring a prescribed minimum of attendance during the year for those of school age working in factories. Professor Brown, of the University of California, declares that recent "legislative movements are indicative of the new purpose which has been dawning upon the American people—the purpose to make secondary education accessible to every child in the land who is capable of doing the work of a secondary school."

As to higher and professional education, there is no common standard in the United States. With reference to the practice of law, changes have been made in the laws of ten States and Alaska and the Philippines. In sixteen political divisions women are now admitted to practice by special laws. In twenty-eight political divisions, according to Dr. Henry L. Taylor, of the University of the State of New York, they seem to be admitted by inference, and to be definitely excluded only in six political divisions, viz., Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia. In Rhode Island and Vermont the statutes and rules are silent: and, strange to say, no woman seems to have tried to break the silence by applying for admission.

Legislatures have taken a heavy dose of medicine in the past year; for, since January 1st, 1900, twenty-eight political divisions of the country have medicated their laws, all except Alaska now having examining boards for the regulation of the practice of medicine. Osteopathy, "discovered" in 1874, is now

recognized by law in fifteen States. Changes in laws concerning dentistry in the last two years have been made in thirteen political divisions, and the practice of dentistry is now regulated by law in fifty political divisions of the United States, and pharmacy is regulated by statute in forty-nine. In eighteen States a diploma in pharmacy does not now admit to practice, an examination being required in all cases. This shows the increased care which is regarded as necessary in the compounding and sale of drugs. Veterinary medicine is regulated by statute in sixteen States.

Imagine Mr. Carnegie's delight in knowing that, in 1901, ninety-two library laws pertaining to the State at large in thirty-one States and Oklahoma were passed, not including the great number of local acts applying to special libraries or localities. The South is not conspicuous in this legislation; thirty-nine of these laws were passed in the Central States, thirty in the North Atlantic States. Mr. Melvil Dewey informs us that, since 1889, twenty States have established library commissions. Seven States increased the powers, duties and funds of these commissions in the last year. Delaware, Nebraska, Washington and Idaho created new commissions, notwithstanding the fact that a Philistine in Idaho moved to amend the title of the bill to read "A bill to provide employment for idle people." Mr. Dewey notes that the evolution of the district library and home education department is going on in all the more progressive States. Illinois gives $2,500 a year for libraries for its farmers' institutes. Travelling libraries increase in influence and recognition, Idaho appropriating no less than $6,000 annually for this purpose. More liberal laws for establishment and maintenance have been passed in fifteen States. New Hampshire has a law requiring the provision of public libraries in every town of the State, and Mr. Dewey reports a large number of laws passed for the promotion of historical societies, geological surveys, and other scientific interests. The historic and æsthetic spirit is more and more asserting itself. Movements for the preservation of scenic and historic places and objects secure legislative approval.

In the field of charity the same tendency towards centralization of institutions is to be noted. A fresh impulse to the child-saving movement is recorded in the legislation of various States. The probation system, as applied to children, finds a new instrument in the children's court adopted by Illinois and Pennsylvania and

by the city of New York. Indiana, in the view of many, has taken a backward step in allowing children between the ages of three and seventeen to be kept in the almshouse for sixty days, instead of for ten days only as heretofore. Improved legislation appears for the insane, the feeble-minded and epileptic. Following the example of New York and Texas, New Jersey last year passed an act to establish a village for epileptics. In its admission of the well-to-do and middle classes, as well as paupers and indigents, and in the power granted the managers to hold and detain patients judicially committed, the New Jersey law is progressive.

Laws relating to excise matters were enacted by thirty States in 1901, most of them modifications of existing laws, none showing distinctively new features.

In 1901, Montana and Wyoming were added to the list of States having a State Board of Health. All the States but Georgia, Idaho and Oregon now have such State boards. Various forms of local, sanitary organization have grown up in countries, towns, and villages. Dr. Charles V. Chapin, Superintendent of Health, Providence, is authority for the statement that "the registration of vital statistics in the United States is notoriously inferior to that of most other civilized countries." Only ten States have a satisfactory system of registering vital statistics. Among anti-nuisance laws of recent enactment, are those forbidding the emission of dense smoke in the open air, and also those relating to spitting in public places. Most of these are local laws, but Virginia, during the last year, showed an interesting blending of the religious and sanitary spirit in making it "a misdemeanor to expectorate on church floors or aisles, or otherwise in a church or other place of worship." It will be interesting to see whether this law will diminish the church attendance in that State. Communicable diseases received much attention. Elaborate laws on this subject have been passed by Kansas, Montana, and New Hampshire. Massachusetts leads the States in protecting the public from shell-fish living in sewage-polluted waters. New Mexico forbids the employment of tuberculous teachers in the public schools. Massachusetts was the pioneer State in building in 1898 a sanatorium for consumptives. New York last year appropriated $100,000 for such a hospital; New Hampshire, Minnesota, Rhode Island, have appointed commissioners to consider the subject. Many recent laws relate to the regulation of embalming.

In the regulations adopted by several States concerning barbers, the element of protection to public health is less conspicuous than the trade-union spirit.

The conflict between oleomargarine and butter is seen in food laws. There is a great lack of uniformity in food legislation.

The creation of public employment bureaus first began in the United States in 1890. There are now twenty-six offices in eleven States. Various laws protect the health of laboring men. Factory inspection has been increased. Laws against insect pests and plant diseases protect the fruit-grower, and there are laws for the protection of animals from contagious diseases. A remarkable growth in interest in matters relating to forestry is seen in recent legislation. Pennsylvania has created a distinct State department in the interest of forestry, and proposes to inaugurate, for purposes of revenue as well as protection, a progressive forest system for the 325,000 acres owned by the State. The year 1900 was characterized by unprecedented interest in game protection. New game laws were passed in thirty-three States and Territories. The number of States now prohibiting the killing of all, or certain, kinds of big game, has been increased to twenty-eight. Concerted agitation has resulted in great progress in the direction of uniform legislation for the protection of song-birds and those that destroy insects. Curious features of game legislation are the Illinois law requiring photographs on non-resident licenses, and an act of Nevada requiring teachers in the public schools to read the game laws at least twice during each school year. Still another is the law of Maine, which punishes by imprisonment for not more than ten years, or a fine of $1,000, the negligent or careless shooting or wounding of a human being while hunting.

There were passed 168 laws in the various States in 1901 relating to insurance. Legislation on the subject of mortgages is not specially important.

Over 169 road laws were enacted in forty-three States, more than have been passed in any previous year. The bicycle and the automobile have, doubtless, had something to do with this. The contract labor and cash-tax system of building and maintaining country roads is gradually replacing the old statute labor system.

In all this review I have thus far paid no attention to the important part assigned to me, viz., the review of penal legislation. I have space to mention only a few indications. Most significant

was the rapid, simultaneous, yet unconcerted, action of twenty-four States last year in passing laws relating to kidnapping and abduction. The kidnapping of a Nebraska boy awakened general alarm and called attention to the fact that in many States there was no definition of the crime and no penalty attached to it. In three States, Alabama, Delaware and Missouri, the death penalty may now be imposed for kidnapping; in five States the maximum penalty is life imprisonment. The increasing tendency in later years to impose severer penalties for sexual crimes is seen in several States in the raising of the age of protection. California, Michigan, Utah, and Washington, now impose penalties for docking horses' tails. Concerning penal institutions, there is a tendency towards centralization of control, and toward the substitution of reformatories for prisons. Decided progress was made in the extension of the indeterminate sentence in New York, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Indiana. Parole laws were passed in New York, Connecticut, Minnesota, and Vermont. New York and Vermont adopted probation laws, and Pennsylvania a new commutation law. In Alabama a law was passed requiring inspectors of convicts to establish a separate camp for convicts having tuberculosis. In New York such cases will secure isolation at Clinton Prison. The new hospital for insane criminals in New York is opened at Dannemora, so that that State has now two hospitals for the criminal insane. A new reformatory for women was opened at Bedford, making three reformatories for women in New York State, besides the Women's Prison at Auburn. New York has adopted a new prison at Napanock, which is thus far only a reformatory in name. A new reformatory has also been opened at Rahway, New Jersey.

Few reactionary and unwholesome tendencies appear in the legislation of 1901, though some of it moves on lines of doubtful experimentation, and the question may be raised whether legislation does not tend to excess, and to include measures which are crude and untimely. On the whole, however, it will be found that the general trend of American legislation is along lines of education, equality, philanthropy, the preservation of public health and order, the diffusion of intelligence, and the general development of civilization.

SAMUEL J. BARROWS.

HOW I WROTE "PAGLIACCI."

BY R. LEONCAVALLO.

I WAS born at Naples in March, 1858, my parents being the late Cavaliere Vincenzo Leoncavallo, President of the High Court of Justice, and Virginie d'Aurion, daughter of a celebrated Neapolitan painter, many of whose works are now in the Royal Palace at Naples. I studied first at Naples, where I entered the Conservatoire as a day scholar at the age of eight, and received my diploma when sixteen; my professors of composition were Serrao and de Piamcesi: a cantata was the work I wrote on leaving the Conservatoire. Afterwards, I went to Bologna to complete my literary studies at the University, under the direction of the great Italian poet, Corducci; and I received my diploma as doctor of letters at the age of twenty. I was not obliged to do any military service, as, at the time of conscription, my brother was in the army. So I began my peregrinations as a concert pianist in Egypt, where at that time I had an uncle, Leoncavallo Bey, who was Director of the Press at the Foreign Office.

There I played at Court, and Mahmoud Hamdy, the brother of the Viceroy Tewfik, appointed me as his private musician. I was driven out of Egypt by the war with the English, Mahmoud having sided with Arabi Pasha, who had promised officially to give me the appointment of head of the Egyptian military bands, with a liberal salary. Instead of this fine promise being fulfilled, I was fortunate in saving my life after Tel-el-Kebir, by means of a twenty-four hours' ride in Arab costume to Ismaïlia. There I resumed European dress, but being penniless, I was obliged to give a concert at Port Said in the house of M. Desavary, representative of M. de Lesseps. The proceeds of this concert amounted to five or six hundred francs, with which I was enabled to take an English boat, the "Propitious." I recalled this episode to

Her Most Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria, when I had the honor and happiness of seeing her, a few years ago, at Nice. Arrived at Marseilles, I immediately took a train (not *de luxe!* nor, alas, express!) which brought me to Paris, where, in the depths of want, I was forced to begin my career as an accompanist in café-concerts. I shall always remember one evening when I was engaged by a large wine merchant at Creil for eight francs, plus the amount of the fare there and back, and supper. When I was introduced into the concert-room (!), to my surprise I found no piano, but a small harmonium, and the *artistes* who sang had no music, but only those small leaflets that are sold for a sou in the streets, giving the melody only without accompaniment; this did not prevent the *artistes,* however, from asking, before they began: *"A tone and a half lower, please, Maître!"* It seems that I did marvels in the way of accompaniment, for the next day all the small agencies of the suburban café-concerts were asking for *the little Italian who was so clever,* according to the recommendation of the *artistes* whom I had accompanied. Little by little, my reputation reached the *Eldorado,* when the then director, M. Renard, asked me to write some songs for his "stars." These songs were successful, and were paid for by Père Bathlot at the princely rate of twenty or thirty francs apiece, without counting my royalties, which used to rise to the giddy height of seventy to eighty centimes an evening.

Later on I quitted the sphere of café-concerts, and got singing pupils among the *artistes,* whose répertoire I used to work up for them. It was at this period that I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of M. Maurel and the Maestro Massenet, who from the first treated me with great kindness.

Having met with many kind people at Paris who did their best to help me and assist me towards the attainment of a higher position, I succeeded at last in making a good living. About that time I wrote a symphonic poem on de Musset's *"Nuit de Mai,"* which is still unknown, although it was on the point of being performed by Colonne, who had promised to introduce it. When one day in conversation with M. Maurel on the subject of my hopes for the future, I read him the poem of the *"Medicis,"* which I had just completed; this great artist was so struck by the magnitude of my self-imposed task and the quality of the poem, that he advised me, as an Italian, to go to Milan, where he was to take part in

the first rehearsal of "Otello," promising me an introduction and recommendation to M. Ricordi.

Relying on this promise, I pawned the furniture of my little flat and went to Milan, where M. Maurel kept his word, and presented me and recommended me to M. Ricordi, who finally gave me a commission to write the music for the libretto of the "*Medicis,*" which I had read to him, for the sum of 2,400 francs, payable in sums of 200 francs a month, thus obliging me to finish my opera in the course of a year. But, alas, although the opera was ready at the end of the year, M. Ricordi was by no means ready to produce it! And I waited thus in vain for three years, during which I recommenced at Milan the melancholy task of teaching, which I had hoped I might never have to resume!

After the success of "Cavaleria," by Mascagni, I lost all patience, and I shut myself up in sheer desperation, resolved to make a last struggle. In five months I wrote the words and the music of "Pagliacci," which was acquired by M. Sonzogno, after he had only read the libretto, and which Maurel admired so much that he insisted on producing it at Milan on May 17th, 1892. The success of this piece, as is known, was as striking as that of "Cavaleria," and its fame spread like wildfire. When this work was translated, M. Mendès, seeing that it bore some resemblance to his "*Femme de Tabarins,*" honestly believed that I had borrowed the subject of my work from him, and he even took steps towards bringing an action, which he frankly withdrew, with a letter published in the *Figaro,* after having found that there were other "*Tabarins*" written before his own. The truth is that I was then completely ignorant of the work of this writer, whom I admire so much, and I had taken my plot from an event that really took place in Calabria and was brought before my father when he was holding the Court of Justice at Cosenza. And what is stranger still, as I have since learned, the protagonist of my work is still living, and having been released from prison, is now in the service of Baroness Sprovieri in Calabria. If the action had come to trial, he would have been willing to come and give evidence in my favor. I regret that this did not happen, as we should have had a very dramatic scene during the evidence of poor Alessandro (the real name of my *Canio*) when he was relating his crime, his jealous fury and his sufferings!

R. Leoncavallo.

AMERICA IN CHINA: OUR POSITION AND OPPORTUNITY.

BY JOHN BARRETT, COMMISSIONER-GENERAL OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION TO ASIA, AUSTRALIA AND THE PHILIPPINES; FORMERLY UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SIAM.

AMERICA holds in China to-day a position of unprecedented strength and significance. Never in the first cycle of America's intercourse with Cathay has she been so much respected and trusted there. Never in the history of her foreign relations has there developed a more favorable opportunity abroad for the exercise of wholesome political influence, and for the furtherance of legitimate material interests. The secret of this position is not complex; in diplomacy America is implicitly trusted by China, because her diplomacy is that of truth; in commerce America is everywhere welcomed in China, because her commerce involves no territorial aggression.

This statement is not made in any spirit of American boasting. It is the expression of a fact that is evident to every student of Asian-American relations. It might be true of any other nation similarly located and inspired by like traditions.

Although the United States has been flooded from time to time with discussions of our interests in China, present and prospective, especially during the Boxer outbreak and the subsequent crisis at Peking, it is doubtful if now, in view of all the attention given to home politics and problems, the American people realize the importance of profiting by our new position in Asia. In the press of prosperity, it may be unnoticed that the remarkable conditions already described are incomparably favorable for extending our commerce and prestige where 500,000,000 people debouch on seas that lave our own Pacific shores, where a fallow area of 5,000,000 square miles is yet in the infancy of its material development,

and yet where already, with limited facilities and under adverse conditions, the annual foreign commerce exceeds $1,000,000,000. These figures include not only China, but also Japan, Korea, Siam and neighboring foreign dependencies, although China is the centre of foreign effort and the field of greatest promise. It may be excusable to overlook the Orient when a strong flood-tide of home demand is running. On the other hand, when the ebb shall inevitably set in, our manufacturers and merchants who have neglected the Eastern markets, and our statesmen and economists who have minimized their importance and decried the Government's policy in China, will sorely regret that they did not favor competition and interest during the earlier and critical stages. There will be another illustration of hindsight proving clearer than foresight. For instance, American merchants are the only merchants who have not made creditable arrangements for representation at the great Oriental expositions to be held, respectively, at Hanoi, in Indo-China, this winter, and at Osaka, in Japan, in the spring of 1903. They say they are too busy at home. Another day when they are less busy they will find German, British, and other European houses, who are to take part on a large scale in these exhibitions, gaining by their neglect of the present opportunities. These industrial expositions will be the most elaborate ever undertaken in Asia. The French and Japanese Governments, under whose official auspices they are to be conducted, are leaving no stone unturned in the effort to make them successful in every respect. They will be visited and studied by native and foreign merchants from all parts of the Orient, and yet the American manufacturer says, "Never mind." In contrast, the attitude of Asiatic manufacturers, merchants and artisans towards our own great Louisiana Purchase Exposition to be held in 1904 is, fortunately, one of profound interest; and, as a result, Asia will take part therein on a measure surpassing all her previous efforts. In this comparison, the conservative Chinese appears as even more enterprising than the vaunted American hustler.

The circumstances and influences leading up to America's present unique position in China are interesting and instructive, even if they are not generally appreciated. From the time of the negotiation of our first treaties of commerce and amity with China, our record of fair dealing has been maintained without serious blot. The Chinese, in casting about now in their perplex-

ity to know whom they can trust, are studying history and learning the truth. From the first we have stood for the territorial integrity of the Empire, and for the extension of trade along legitimate lines. Above all things, we have not conspired to acquire territorial concessions, except those of limited area comprised within the original foreign settlements provided for in all the treaties with foreign countries, in the exercise of extra-territorial rights over nationals residing in designated ports. No matter what aspersions may be cast by jealous critics on our Chinese Exclusion Act, any representative Chinese official, scholar, or business man will say that this law is a mere bagatelle or incident compared to the forcible acquisition of China's territory by foreign nations. He will at once admit, even though he deprecates the legislation, that America has the sovereign right to exclude Chinese labor, but he will stoutly contend that no foreign nation has the right to deprive his country of its territory. He would prefer that America should restrict Chinese immigration forever, rather than strike at the life of his nation and the power of its Emperor by depriving it of one foot of its own dominion. Chinese exclusion may touch in a measure the personal pride of the Chinese, but wanton seizure of Chinese territory arouses at once whatever patriotic resentment there is in him. This is not an argument in support of, or an excuse for, our Exclusion Act, but a statement of its influence in our relations with China as compared with the influence of the policies of other nations. The Chinese Government is well aware that it is inspired by American economic conditions, and not by popular or official hostility to China.

Another significant agency that has developed Chinese confidence in America is the well-established belief, among the officials at Peking and the powerful Viceroys throughout the Empire, that America's diplomatic and consular representatives can be trusted for unselfish negotiations without ulterior or hidden purposes. It is a cause of deep satisfaction and pride to the American visiting China at the present time to note that our Minister and consuls are thoroughly respected by Chinese officials and merchants alike. The Wai Wu Pu, or Board of Foreign Affairs, at Peking, and the Viceroys and Governors of Provinces in which our consulates are located, have repeatedly learned from experience that American diplomacy is frank, direct, and forceful without buncombe. It is no exaggeration or self-assumption on the part of

American diplomatic and consular representation to contend that it was its influence with the great Yangtse Viceroys, Liu Kun Yi at Nanking, Chang Chih Tung at Wuchang, and the shrewd Governor of Shantung, Yuan Shih Kai, now the Viceroy of the Metropolitan Province of Chihli, which prevented the spread of the Boxer outbreak and the absolute wiping out of the Legations at Peking. Some European diplomats and many foreigners resident in the treaty ports smiled critically at the attitude of the American Minister and Special Commissioner during the negotiations at Peking which followed the insurrection, and stated that the Chinese would soon forget all such consideration on the part of the United States. Events that have occurred since the signing of the protocol indicate, on the contrary, that the Chinese statesmen not only have not forgotten our policy, but are striving to show their appreciation of it.

I do not base this conclusion merely on my own observations of the last few months, in which it has been my privilege to be brought into close contact with the highest officials of the Chinese Empire, but on the word of our Minister at Peking and of our consuls stationed throughout the land. Two recent illustrations of Chinese friendliness towards the United States can be cited as cases in point. First, in the facilities afforded the American railway syndicate for the construction of its railway concession from Canton to Hankow, and in the agreement to the wording of the concession in such terms that it can be successfully worked and carried to completion, the Chinese Government has acted in good faith. Second, in considering the question of creditable representation at the St. Louis World's Fair, and in preparing to make a comprehensive exhibit from all parts of the Empire, it has taken active steps in high circles never before characteristic of its interest in such an enterprise. There were certainly no indications of prearrangement or concerted action on the part of Viceroys Yuan Shih Kai, Liu Kun Yi, and Chang Chih Tung when they declared in unmistakable terms to the Commissioner of the Exposition, and to the American consuls who presented him, that they were most desirous of doing everything in their power to strengthen relations of commerce and friendship with the United States. These sentiments were earnestly expressed by them without the words in any way being put into their mouths by the American representatives. In the conversation which followed

the formal audience of presentation to the Throne at Peking, the Empress-Dowager departed from the ordinary platitudes of such occasions, and stated to the United States Minister and to the Exposition Commissioner that China deeply appreciated the attitude of the American Government during China's recent troubles, and desired that a special message to this effect should be conveyed to the President at Washington.

The endeavors of the United States to keep the indemnity at the lowest figure possible, and then finally its willingness to accept payment thereof on a silver basis; the efforts of Secretary Hay and Minister Conger, in response to the representations of Viceroy Yuan Shih Kai and Minister Wu Ting Fang, to secure the early evacuation of Tientsin by the foreign troops, and to bring the provisional government to an end; the readiness of the Administration at Washington to draw up the temporary tariff provided by the protocol, and to negotiate new treaties of commerce and amity more favorable alike to China and foreign countries, are all well known among Chinese officials from Peking to Canton, and from Shanghai to Chunking. The Viceroys, the Governors and their Secretaries discuss these features of American policy with a clearness that shows they are not forgotten. It is not intended to suggest here that America makes no mistake in her dealings with China, and that she has not a legitimate selfish interest to guard. By making as few mistakes, however, as could be expected under the trying circumstances, and by mingling with its care for American interests a sincere fairness which the Chinese have been quick to see and recognize, the Government at Washington has succeeded in placing the political, commercial, and missionary interests of the United States in a position of unprecedented strength.

Reference to missionary interests prompts me to advert to the exceptionally complimentary terms used towards them by responsible Chinese officials whom I have met. Without any initiative on my part, they volunteered the statement that the American missionaries as a whole are doing a good work, and are, in a Chinese sense, law-abiding foreign residents who undertake to support local Chinese administration. They said that American missionaries had been more reasonable and modest in their demands for indemnity than those of some other nationalities. While not generally favoring in principle the presence of missionaries in the interior, especi-

ally in remote sections, they admitted that they had fewer complaints against Americans than against others, and that they believed the American missionaries were striving to avoid trouble. In conversation with our diplomatic and consular representatives, I found the missionary situation to be summed up about as follows: the missionaries as a body are bending their energies unselfishly to accomplish the best results, but now and then in this and that place there will be one indiscreet man or woman whose acts and methods will do more to arouse native prejudice and feeling than all the others put together. It is said, moreover, that wherever there is a tactful missionary and a pro-foreign Chinese official, there will be no trouble whatever, but wherever there is a tactless missionary and an anti-foreign official, there will be trouble galore. In view of the rampant criticism of missionaries in the treaty ports, it is only fair to cite the statement of several high Chinese, that foreign merchants and the advancement by some of their Governments of the material spirit they represent had done China far more harm than all the missionary exploitation. Whether this is the truth or not, there is no question in the mind of the impartial observer that the time has come when only men and women of unquestionable qualifications should be allowed to go to China as missionaries.

Looking at the opportunity for our export trade in China, our business interests must bear in mind that the vast possibilities of Asiatic trade will not be realized in the immediate present or in the near future. Its growth will be slow and in some measure disappointing. The potentialities for a great demand and supply in China are almost limitless, but their practical value depends upon the facilities for exploiting them which do not now exist. The one chief developing influence required, in addition to the reform of government, is the construction of a network of railways throughout the interior. The dreams of the riches of Cathay will not be realized until the Empire is gridironed with railroads. The railway enterprises already inaugurated and the concessions granted for others are only a small part of what are needed. Throughout China's present area of 4,000,000 square miles, there are not yet 1,000 miles of railroads in active operation. There is not trackage equal to that of a single line from New York to Chicago. What this means can be best understood when we picture the United States as she was in material development

before the era of railways. These are absolutely necessary to carry the products of the foreign countries into the distant interior and bring the wealth thereof to the seaboard. Only with them can China's buying capacity be fostered. Only with them can her iron, coal, gold and silver, copper, tin, antimony and sulphur deposits, be turned into money. Railway construction will do more to make China a world power than the combined diplomacy of the allied nations.

The permanent nullification of the *likin,* or inland-barrier taxes, is now the chief topic of discussion in China. A treaty has recently been signed with Great Britain which calls for the abrogation of the *likin* and the increase, in lieu thereof, of the import tariff approximately from five per cent. to twelve per cent. If the other nations of Europe and the United States negotiate similar treaties, the Chinese Government will have an opportunity of proving its capability of carrying out its promises. The United States has not yet reached an agreement with China on this point, but the Government at Washington can be depended upon to do what is right. The President and the Secretary of State are in touch with the situation, and will take such steps as will protect American interests and be fair to China in this proposed radical change. The sentiment of American merchants residing in China is somewhat divided on the question of *likin* repeal. They are unanimously in favor of its abrogation only on condition that the Chinese Government will abolish it in fact. They are unwilling to consent to a horizontal increase of import duty unless they are convinced that the revocation will be final and lasting. There is no question that illimitable advantages will result from the unhampered shipment of products into the interior; but it is contended by many that, after securing a general increase in the tariff, the Chinese officials will still wink at an unofficial collection of the *likin.* Unprejudiced observers are inclined to believe that China should have a trial on this point. If her promises are carried out, a mighty change will be wrought for the benefit alike of China and foreign countries; if she fails to make good her assurances, it will be possible to return to the present average duty of five per cent. General T. S. Sharretts, the American Tariff Commissioner, who has just returned to America from China, is quoted as believing that the *likin* cannot be successfully abolished. His acknowledged standing as a tariff

expert entitles his views to careful consideration, but others, who have made a thorough study of Chinese conditions, argue that there will never be any marked growth in foreign trade with China until the *likin* is no more. It has been stated in America that our exporters are not interested in the *likin* question because the majority of our products sold in China, like cotton goods, find a market in districts of the north where no *likin* is imposed. This contention has been immediately met by the statement of Chinese officials that, if the *likin* is not abolished and a higher tariff negotiated in its place, it will be necessary to collect *likin* throughout all of China, including the northern provinces, in order to secure sufficient funds to pay the Boxer indemnity. The Chinese Government contends that an average duty of twelve per cent., following the abolition of the *likin,* is not high in comparison with the tariffs of Japan, the United States, and most of the countries of Europe, and that it is entitled, as a sovereign power, to determine the duties that shall be paid for imports and exports, provided they are not excessive or unreasonable. As the United States is described as residing in a glass house, so far as duties on foreign imports are concerned, the Chinese Government seems to expect its approval of the new system outlined. If this can be accomplished without infringement of the free list, which includes American flour, it is not improbable that a satisfactory solution of the problem will be reached.

There are a few influences at work in connection with America's position and opportunity in China that should be touched upon, even in brief terms, in the course of a discussion of this kind. The laying of the new Pacific cable and the construction of the Isthmian Canal will prove great incentives to the development of our commercial exchange with all Asia. When the cable is in working order and the canal is opened, we will wonder how we ever managed without them. The increase in the value of our trade that will surely come within a few years after their completion will more than pay their initial cost. Our occupation of the Philippine Islands gives us a commercial and strategic advantage which, though disputed by many, is believed by jealous European interests to provide us with an unrivalled opportunity to control the commerce of the Orient. The Philippines are the geographical centre of the resourceful coast-line which extends in and out for 8,000 miles from Vladivostok to Melbourne. Manila is cen-

tral to more important points on this line than any other port controlled by foreign governments, except Britain's post of empire and commerce—Hong Kong. The American papers are constantly referring to the immense cargo steamers that Mr. J. J. Hill is soon to place on the Pacific to ply between our western coast and Asiatic ports; the despatches describe the organization here and there of companies with large capital to carry on trade with China; and there are glowing accounts of a wonderful excursion and floating commercial exhibition which is soon to set sail from Seattle for the Orient. But there seems to be a neglect of the vital consideration that these merchant vessels must have return as well as outgoing cargoes in order to compete with the European fleets, that large dividends for new corporations will be slow in payment unless these companies are willing to remain long in the field and rest content at first with meagre profits, and that commercial exhibitions are of little account compared to the efforts of individual resident agents and branch houses of recognized standing and quality. A measure has recently been introduced into Congress appropriating a quarter of a million dollars for a permanent American exhibition at Shanghai; but, as the American-Asiatic Association of New York has pointed out, this scheme, aside from the unconstitutionality of a Government subsidy for such a purpose, is unpractical no matter how well intended and worthily espoused. A thousand times as much good could be accomplished if half this money were appropriated to provide our diplomatic and consular representatives in China with creditable offices and with sufficient clerical assistance.

Summed up in a word, the diplomatic position of the United States in China is one of which our people, whether interested directly or not, can be honestly proud, and her material and moral opportunity is one that is tempting in its possibilities. President Roosevelt, if we may judge from his public utterances and his messages to Congress, and Secretary Hay, if we may infer from the instructions he is issuing to our Minister and consuls, will maintain this position with satisfaction to the American nation. Upon the business interests and the churches of America is placed the task of developing the opportunity, and it is for them to determine whether the opportunity shall be improved or not—either to their immeasurable advantage on the one hand, or to their lasting loss on the other.

JOHN BARRETT.

THE JEWS IN ROUMANIA.

BY THE REV. M. GASTER, CHIEF RABBI OF THE SEPHARDI COMMUNITIES OF ENGLAND.

WHOEVER has been able to watch the agonized look of the animal under the air pump, when it slowly begins to realize that the life-giving air is disappearing, can picture to himself vividly the look upon the face of the Jews in Roumania. They are under such an air pump, called the Roumanian Chambers, and session after session a little more of the air which has been left to the Jews is slowly and remorselessly drawn out. That which increases the horror of the situation is the satisfied countenance of these legislators, and the cynical attitude with which they watch the gaspings of the animal under the pump, and the resentment they show if it attempts to escape from the terrible situation thus created.

Lest it be thought that the situation here described is exaggerated, I will mention some of the laws which have been passed; some of the ordinances which have accompanied apparently innocent laws, directing the officials how to apply them, and some of the cases of persecution as well as some of the consequences which have resulted therefrom.

Firstly, the Jews living in Roumania have been driven out of the villages and rural districts, and compelled to live in the artificial Ghetti thus created in the small rural townships and in the larger towns. The Jews, without exception, have then been declared "aliens not subject to an alien Power." Who on earth understands such a definition? Not to belong to any country in the world is an absolute impossibility, and yet have the Powers of Europe, to their lasting shame, winked at such preposterous sophistry. For this remarkable fiction of "aliens not subject to another Power," Austria is morally responsible. For when Rou-

mania aspired to become an independent state, immediately after the Russo-Turkish war, one of the first steps towards official recognition was the abolition of the status of "protegés" granted by various Powers to aliens living in Eastern countries. This is still the case in Turkey, Morocco and elsewhere, and as Roumania had, up to then, formed part of the Turkish Empire, such protegés abounded. Austria, which counted about 16,000, by a stroke of the pen declared these people thenceforth not to stand any longer under its protection; yet Austria took no steps to ascertain what would become of these people, and what would be their political and civil status; they were left suspended in the air, as it were. Evidently, Austria hoped, or expected, that they would pass now under the protection of the Roumanian Government, and would enjoy at least all those civil rights which they enjoyed whilst still subjects of Austria. Roumania, however, took advantage of this state of things and declared *all* the Jews, natives as well as those who up to that time had been subjects of other Powers, to be "aliens not subject to any power." Hence "alien," in the legislation of the country, means, and meant, almost exclusively, Jews, for they alone are no longer protected by the representatives of other Powers; they have no possibility of obtaining redress by the intermediary of ambassadors.

Other Powers did not interfere. The reasons are not far to seek, and may be mentioned here briefly, notably in view of the vigorous action taken by the United States Government. The Governments of Europe are playing a political game, and every pawn on the chess-board counts. In order not to drive one of these smaller states into the arms of one of the two groups of Powers, they have refrained from exercising any pressure on Roumania on a question on which the Roumanian governing parties felt very keenly. It would not suit Austria to drive Roumania into the arms of Russia, nor would it serve the purpose of Russia to make Roumania an open enemy. There is further the old adage of the "beam and the mote" which could be applied, should any of the Central European Powers interfere too strongly in the Jewish question in Roumania. Anti-Semitism, which is rampant in these countries, gave a kind of support and countenance to the action of the Roumanians, and thus the only argument which would be of any weight was wanting—the moral condemnation of the treatment of the Jews in Roumania.

Of greater importance was the economic factor, which determined the benevolent neutrality of the Central European Governments. By ignoring the Jewish question, and by playing into the hands of the different political parties, one Power after the other got some bargain in exchange. Germany got the conversion or the redemption of the great railway undertaking by Stroussberg, into which much German money had been sunk. It was carried out at a very remunerative price, and now Roumania is indebted to Germany for no less than three-quarters of a milliard of francs. It is, therefore, easy to understand why Germany will take up an attitude of cool reserve in response to the American note. Any weakening of Roumania's credit is sure to shake its financial position, and might jeopardize the enormous interests Germany has at stake there.

We must not forget, also, the plan Germany has in view to connect the future Bagdad Railway with Central Europe by way of Bucharest-Constanza.

And thus the Jews are left to their fate to be treated as "aliens." But they are aliens only as far as the enjoyment of rights is concerned; they are considered as "natives" when it is a question of duties. They are exempt from none. They must serve in the army, but cannot be promoted. They have to pay all taxes and fees, but are not allowed to benefit by any of the advantages to be derived therefrom. For example, they pay towards the establishment and maintenance of all the public schools, but, in virtue of the Law passed in 1896, they are excluded, under the plea of "foreigners" or "aliens;" if admitted, they must pay a separate fee, and they can be admitted only if there is room left after all others are provided for. Similarly, though they form the majority of merchants, they are not allowed to vote for the Chambers of Commerce, nor can any Jew be a member of a Chamber. The hardship is the greater, as these Chambers pass laws which affect the Jews.

The Jews cannot own any rural land and they are excluded from agriculture. Not living in the villages, and being prohibited, already as far back as 1873, from selling any liquors, even where they are tolerated, the charge which is sometimes levelled against them, on the head of usury and sale of intoxicating liquors, falls entirely to the ground in the case of the Roumanian Jews.

By the law passed in 1887, the Jews were prevented from selling tobacco, and by the same law they were excluded from the public service and from participating in any public work. It was also declared unlawful even to employ Jews in any of the above trades, and they will soon be deprived of the right to sell groceries, to keep coffee-houses, or baker shops, etc., in rural districts, according to a law submitted to Parliament in December, 1901. Slowly the whole Jewish population, which, on the basis of accurate statistical returns, numbered about 260,000 in 1895, has been driven more and more into the small towns, increasing the hardships already experienced by those who lived there before.

In order to understand clearly the economic conditions prevailing in Roumania, it is necessary to remember that, out of five and a half millions of inhabitants, about four millions are peasants, living in the most destitute condition, worse off than the "moujik" of South Russia, and perhaps even worse than the Polish peasant of Galicia. These poor people are the prey of the landowner and of the official of the government. They want nothing, spend nothing, and earn just as much in prosperous years as will pay taxes and other obligations and will, perhaps, keep soul and body together. These are the genuine Roumanians, kind-natured, well-disposed, frugal and honest, not given to persecution or hatred, and even disposed to be friendly towards the Jews who live in their midst. I well remember the scenes at Brusturoasa, some twenty years ago, when armed peasants would not allow the Jews to be driven out from their village by the government officials.

Such warm friendship has been shown whenever Jews were driven out by the prefect or mayor at the instigation of the Government. The Jew had befriended them, said the peasants, and often protected them by his advice from abuses from other quarters, and therefore they would not part with him.

This alone is ample refutation of the charges of the official agents, who, on the basis of a specially-designed law preventing "vagabonds" from living in villages, coolly declared Jews to be vagabonds. Thanks to this interpretation they and their furniture and little belongings have often been taken out forcibly from the houses or shops in which they had lived for many years, loaded on carts, sent out of the village under the escort of the local police, and then left to their own fate. Such ejections from

villages have taken place when the woman was in childbed, and in terrible weather when the children were actually dying.

So recently as August 18th, of this year, a certain Michel sin Bercu, who from his childhood had lived in the village Ciurneshti, district of Zlatinoasa, county Botoshani, found himself suddenly driven out of that district, from which his children had been recruited for the army. Forty peasants signed a petition for his re-admission, stating that he had lived peaceably with them all the time. Of course, no notice was taken of the petition, and a man who has hitherto been able to support himself and family honestly, is suddenly ruined and goes to swell the number of poor in the town, who find their means dwindling from day to day. Small townships have been retained under the category of villages, only and solely for the purpose of keeping the Jews out of them. The reason was openly stated in the Roumanian Parliament when the petition of the inhabitants came up for discussion.

How difficult it is made for Jews to live on the land, will be shown by another case, which came under my own observation when I was in Roumania two months ago. Owing to the rich harvest, the landowners were in want of hands to reap the corn promptly. A number of young Jews offered their services for a very scant emolument, and worked on the farm for about a fortnight. At the end of the time, payment was refused, and the mayor of the village expelled them as "vagabonds" who had no right to live in rural places. They had to find their way back on foot to the various towns from which they had come, depending on local charity for their subsistence. This is the answer which must be given to the statement of the Premier, M. Sturdza, who recently stated, in the interview he granted to a foreign journalist, that the Jews ought to take to agriculture.

The fact is that the Jews would be only too willing to work as peasants, if allowed.

About twenty years ago, when still living in Roumania, I approached the late minister and statesman, C. A. Rosetti, then Minister of the Interior, and suggested to him the plan of settling the Jews in the newly-acquired province of Dobrudja, and thus solving the Jewish question. But he replied that, according to the constitution, they could not plant a foreign colony on Roumanian soil. The argument was fallacious, for Dobrudja did not form part of Roumania when the constitution was promulgated (1864);

and, furthermore, native Jews could not be termed a "foreign" element.

I mention this incident, because it shows how long ago the Jews wished to take to agriculture in Roumania, and it illustrates, on the other hand, the settled policy of the Roumanian Government to treat the Jews as "aliens" from the first years of their independence, and to use the Jews as a party weapon.

Here is another instance of the arbitrary treatment to which the Jews are exposed, without the possibility of remedy. They are the property of the Government and subjected to the will of the meanest official, who knows that he will be protected by his superiors in any action against them. Legal action taken by the Jews against any official has not had any result hitherto, except in a few cases of abuse too flagrant to be wholly ignored,—and then the punishment was ludicrously out of proportion to the wrong done.

Take the case of a certain Jancovitsh, who had been robbed and murdered by four Roumanians. Their guilt was beyond doubt, and the jury in Jassy condemned each of them to ten years' penal servitude. Brought soon afterwards before another jury in March, 1902, the court acquitted two, and merely imposed on the others a fine amounting in the aggregate to about $800. Again, instigated by the Government, as evidenced by the protection granted to the rioters by the police, the students and the mob of Bucharest attacked the Jewish quarters in 1897, robbed and plundered and ill-treated a number of Jews, entered the great Synagogue, destroyed the desks, tore the sacred vestments and desecrated the Ark. The police connived at these excesses and protected the rioters. Real foreigners had also to suffer by these ruffianly acts, and at the remonstrance of the foreign ambassadors, 150 rioters were *pro forma* arrested. All but seventeen were immediately liberated, and these seventeen were unanimously acquitted when tried soon afterwards. The then minister, Pherekyde, had the audacity to state in plain language in the House of Parliament that this was a mere patriotic ebullition on the part of generous youths!

The reason for this patriotic ebullition is still more instructive than even the ebullition itself and its consequences, for it throws a curious light on the mental disposition of the governing classes in Roumania. The ostensible cause was a meeting called together

by young Roumanian Jews, in order to protest against the attempt of the then Minister of War to exclude Jews from military service. The claim of the Jews seemed to a few at least of the better Roumanians to be a just one, for they asked to be treated also in other respects as natives, just as they were when recruited for the army, whilst true aliens are exempt from military service. To obviate the logical sequence of the recruiting, the Minister of War conceived the idea of asking parliamentary sanction to exclude the Jews. The Jews, however, though badly treated in the barracks and not allowed by law to be promoted, were yet anxious to pay their blood-obligation to the state, and came together to protest against that proposal of the minister. This was the crime of the Jews! It was for this audacity that they were mobbed.

Yet another result was that the right of public meeting was more stringently narrowed down, for the Premier, Mr. Sturdza, declared to Dr. Beck, the Rabbi of one of the Synagogues at Bucharest, that the right of meeting was a political right, and as such, Jews could not enjoy it. A meeting called by the artisans to discuss the consequences of this decision was forcibly dispersed by the police, and when some of them went on a Friday night to Synagogue for their devotional service, they were told by the police to disperse, and the sanctity of the place was as much ignored by them then as on all occasions when the Government chooses to intimidate the Jews.

The latest exploit took place only a few days ago. I am informed, on unimpeachable authority, that towards the middle of September, persons who hold a very high administrative position proceeded on a mission to some of the most northern parts of Moldavia, which lie on the confines of Bucovina and Galicia, notably Dorohoiu. This place is famous for the excesses of the prefect Morruzzi, some twenty years ago, who went on the great Day of Atonement, and, under the pretext of fumigating the place, out of fear that a possible contagion might have been introduced from across the border, brought burning charcoal braziers into the densely packed Synagogue, and heaped on the burning coals pounds of sulphur, with the result that the congregation was nearly asphyxiated. The case was reported through the press and not denied, and the then prefect was thereupon advanced to the post of prefect of Bucharest. The Commission is

going now to the same spot and also to the small townships of Radautz, Hertza, Saveni, Mamornitza, etc., photographing some of the less attractive types, and also putting questions to the people.

This Commission violates the sanctity of the Synagogue and outrages the feelings of the worshippers, by going with the photographer on the Sabbath into the Synagogue to take the photographs whilst the people are at prayers. The members of this special Commission are Mr. Vasile Lascar, the former Minister of the Interior and now first secretary of the ministry; Captain Vasescu, the Parliamentary representative of the locality, and the prefect of the District himself, the highest administrative functionary, Mr. George Billat.

The object of this new manœuvre it is not difficult to guess. When the Anglo-Jewish Deputation waited on Lord Salisbury some years ago, the Roumanian Government, with the view of discrediting the Jews, had photographs taken of the most disreputable-looking persons and sent them abroad as specimens of Roumanian Jews. This time, however, the manœuvre will not succeed. There are photographs of groups of emigrants taken in Roumania and on the way during the course of the last two or three years, and they show a far different type of Jew. This is the genuine, for this is the only fair, representative of the hard-working element driven to bay and forced to leave the old home. In the face of these photographs, specimens of the most backward Jews of the country will not mislead anyone.

A few words, now, about that famous law of expulsion. When the attempt was made on the life of Alexander II., Roumania could not give up to foreign jurisdiction any one who had entered the land. The men who had drawn up the Roumanian Constitution had all eaten of the bread of exile, and had therefore taken good care that such a law should not be introduced into the new order of things. But at the instance of Russia, the Roumanian Government passed a law by which it was authorized to expel from its territory any *foreigner* who had been guilty of inciting to rebellion, and who had caused grave troubles to the country. The object was to make it legal to expel Nihilists. This law was applied at a given moment to native Jews. It is modelled after the laws of mediæval barbarism, for no appeal is possible, no reason need be given. The police alone have the power to apply

it, and on many occasions blank formulas of expulsion have been given to the prefects of various districts to be filled in with any names they like. Thus, Jews can be plucked out of their homes without warning and without time for settling their affairs, and can find themselves escorted by police agents to the nearest frontier. Russia took good care not to allow such a perversion of justice to be perpetrated against its own subjects living in Roumania, nor would Russia allow such expelled Jews to cross the Russian frontier. Austria again connived at this violation of the most elementary principle of personal liberty. It so happened in my own case, eighteen years ago, that I, whose great grandfather lies buried in Bucharest, had to leave the country thus as an exile. I had incurred the displeasure of the Nationalist faction by my literary work, and by my open advocacy of the cause of my brethren. Being ordered to leave my country, I demanded a passport and obtained one. There is the irony of the thing: I had to leave as an exile *with a passport!* John Bratiano and D. Sturdza were then at the head of the Government. Yet, at my reception by Their Majesties in August last, Her Majesty the Queen said to me: "We often grieve that you are no longer among us."

I call attention to this incident, only to emphasize the fact that no Jew, however high he may have been placed and however earnest his efforts may have been for the intellectual or material welfare of the country, is safe. An imprudent word, effective opposition to local blackmailing by police and administration, and on the morrow he may find himself a ruined and a broken man driven across the frontier, a homeless vagrant. To return to Roumania means to expose himself to the rigor of the law, which provides exemplary punishment and re-expulsion.

The Government has also been careful to break the last possible staff upon which the Jews could lean for self-protection, and for the assistance of their poorer brethren. By a ministerial decree the Jewish Communities have been dissolved. They have no *locus standi,* they are not recognized as "legal persons" and therefore cannot hold any property. Thus it is impossible for the Jews to combine and to establish charitable institutions on a communal basis, neither school, nor hospital, nor public bath, nor any other institution, for before the law no such thing exists as a Jewish Community. It has, therefore, happened that a public

bath-house belonging to a Jewish community has been confiscated in one of the principal towns of Moldavia, for the reason that no one was recognized as the legal owner.

The Jews can not establish a "Gabella," a local meat tax from the meat slaughtered according to Jewish rites. To heighten the irony, the Roumanian local municipalities who rule the abbatoirs have arrogated to themselves the right to levy this very tax on the Jewish meat killed by Jewish slaughterers, and to apply the proceeds to their own needs, whilst depriving the Jews of any benefit.

The little charitable work that can be carried on in such a state of absolute anarchy is due solely to private initiative. With the increasing poverty, this source is also dwindling down, and thus the poor wretches are neither able to be represented nor to be helped, and misery is growing daily.

Those who have now grown old under persecution feel too weak and broken to venture upon a new life outside the old home. But what is there in store for the younger man, with every step beset by snares and pitfalls, every feeling of manhood stifled, every form of ignominy and hatred heaped upon him, abuse to the right of him and blackmail to the left, not sure of the morrow, not secure in his work, and in some cases not safe with his life. Only those who have lived in such a state can realize the terrible agony and suffering of these unfortunate people. No professional career is open to them. They may not even act as broker in commercial transactions, nor as assistant to a chemist, to a lawyer, or to any one engaged in technical work. The Jew may not teach, even in schools founded by Jews and kept with Jewish money.

Driven into the towns, where the demand for labor is not so great considering the primitive economic conditions, the Jews have to trade chiefly with one another. Roumanians, except the peasants, are as a rule either officials or desirous of becoming officials. The mercantile community and the artisan class consist chiefly of real foreigners, who have lived in the country for one generation or even less, and these are the people who claim rights as Roumanians, and who have to be propitiated by the persecution of the Jews. The state of the government often depends upon voters who are personally interested in removing the Jewish competition. There are very few native traders and still fewer

genuine native workmen. To these the same bribe is offered—to restrict as much as possible the Jewish competition either by restrictive laws, or by regulations and boycott. Thus the little work left to the Jews is now forcibly taken away from them by the latest "Artisan law," which has at last roused the conscience of the world, for by it the Jews are now face to face with starvation.

It is to be wondered at how these people, in spite of their appalling poverty, can manage to keep clean and decent. Whoever has seen a group of Jewish emigrants from Roumania must have been surprised to find them scrupulously clean. As for their education, there are few Roumanian Jews who can not read and write. As to their skill, only a few examples may be cited. The khaki uniforms for the English army were made to a large extent by Jewish tailors who had emigrated from Roumania to England, and similarly a large proportion of the saddlery and leather-work used in the army during the last war was the work of Roumanian Jews in London.

These facts I had the honor of submitting recently to His Majesty the King of Roumania, when an audience had been granted me in Sinaia. His Majesty is conversant with all the details of the situation. To add that His Majesty, who has rescued Roumania from a state of primitive semi-barbarism and has raised it to the position which it now claims among the European nations, would be anxious to see the work accomplished by him placed on the firm foundations of internal peace, and to see the country assured of a flourishing and prosperous future, would merely express in a few words the programme planned by His Majesty. No wonder, therefore, that His Majesty would be pleased if he saw the political parties in Roumania adopting broader views, and sinking political quarrels in order to unite in a promising economic development of the country. The Jews are an essential economic factor in that development, and it is in the highest degree desirable for the benefit of the country itself to utilize the very forces which are now uselessly repressed. To grant them some security of life and limb, to remove the artificial barriers erected by narrow-minded political partisanship, to interpret honestly the law of expulsion, to banish the anomaly of "aliens not subject to an alien power," to place on a clear footing the social status of the Jews, and the position which they occupy in the legislative and administrative life of

the country, and to give them the right and power of internal communal organization, would be just so many steps in the moral and economic development of the country. If only the leaders of political parties were endowed with a little of the perspicacity and love for the country evinced by His Majesty, we would not have to despair of its future. But for the time being, no ray is breaking through the storm clouds. The Government listens neither to the voice of reason, nor to that of humanity.

M. GASTER.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN JAPAN.

BY THE REV. WM. ELLIOT GRIFFIS, D.D. AUTHOR OF "THE MIKADO'S EMPIRE."

As the one white man living who, at a daimio's capital, saw the working of the Japanese feudal system, I cannot but call attention to the contrast in the methods of government in Japan in 1871 and in 1902. I shall never forget the excitement, the pale faces, the set teeth, and the angry scowls when the Mikado's order arrived in Fukui, bidding all the barons throughout the country to turn over all property and authority to the central Government, to leave their ancestral castles and land and come and live in Tokio. Men thrust their two swords in their belts and went in sullen mood from the Government house homeward, to brood over their "wrongs" and to meditate on the outcome of the unexpected. In good old-fashioned style, they plotted to kill the man thought to be locally responsible. Then it was government "despotism tempered by assassination." The first idea was that, when a man in office interfered of his own will with custom, he must be removed by the sword. In like manner, when a reformer called for change, he must seal his document with his own blood—that is, commit hara-kiri in order to show the sincerity of his convictions.

Then Chinese ideas reigned. Originality in thought was a crime. The golden age was in the past. Wisdom had died with the ancients. True progress consisted in returning to the ideals which had been settled æons ago. Change meant sacrilege and treason. The Mikado, of course, could do no wrong. The wicked ones were the ministers of the Government. Those who differed from the ministers in convictions of policy, who felt bound to remove them, were "instruments of Heaven's vengeance," who,

after prayer, purification, and consecration—often reinforced in practice by many cups of *saké*—went forth to their bloody work with a document in their bosom explaining their pure purpose. After they had removed the head of the offending minister or properly slashed him to pieces, they opened their own bowels or surrendered themselves,—usually to be glorified after death, their graves enjoying perpetual decoration-day.

Matters are different now, though not all, for "things are not what they seem." Japanese words, though translated into English words that are supposed to be equivalents, do not have the same depth, perspective, fulness of contents, that English words have. History, heredity, race traits, are not altered in a day. We have in Japan a written constitution, parties, elections, and very much modern governmental machinery at home and abroad, and the Japanese wear clothes and decorations such as are seen in Europe. Nevertheless, let those who use the English language expect to be puzzled, as long as they suppose that the same words represent the same things in East and West, or that "the people" in the United States means the same as "the people" in Japan.

Nothing puzzles visitors in Japan so much as her political "parties." The smart interviewer on the world's highway will find that a famous statesman in Tokio is a "radical" to-day, a "conservative" to-morrow, and a man "in the middle of the road" the next noon. Indeed, so long as the traveller is under the spell of his own speech, he will give up the problem as insoluble. And, in truth, how is it possible for the globe-trotter, or even for the recent resident in Japan, to understand the phenomena of 1902, unless he knows not only something of Japanese history and the great Japanese personalities of our era, but also of the quality of the meat on which these new Cæsars have fed. Despite the fact that two or three Japanese names to-day loom up as though they were the makers of the New Japan, it is the hereditary forces that dominate. The intellectual history of the two or three brilliant men who stand in the world's gaze as "creators of modern Japan" is almost as important as their personality.

As the perspective of forty years now reveals it, the truth seems to be that there are in Japan two lines of thought and training, two courses of intellectual and ethical force. With even more reason and propriety than we apply the terms "conservative"

and "progressive," we may describe the two main parties in Japan as the missionary or the Anglo-American party, and the Shinto or Prussian party. In reality, there are no conservatives; all are progressive and, in certain phases, radical.

On the one side we see such men as Okuma, Soyéshima, Itagaki, Shimada, and hosts of others, successors of a noble line who have ended their labors, whose purpose is not only political but ethical. They are the true representatives of the commonwealth and the people, liberal in politics, but conservative in social matters. They uphold personal and public morality. They believe in a written constitution which makes the ministers responsible to the Congress or Diet, to the people, and not to the sovereign. They have been educated in the historical documents and writings of English and American publicists. They admire English and American constructive men of action and wisdom. They have been trained in the art of conference, of assemblage for the public good. They do not believe in making sovereignty reside in the throne, but in the people rightly educated and controlled by high ethical standards and practices. They hold that the best things to borrow from the Occident are high ethical standards, and that the best things to conserve in the native civilization are the old ideals, transfigured and adapted to the new age of Bushido or Japanese chivalry. Their fundamental idea is that enunciated by Gladstone, "trust of the people, tempered by prudence."

The Shinto or Prussian party is based on the idea that all sovereignty resides in the Emperor; that the constitution is his gift to the nation; that the ministers must always be responsible to the sovereign and not to the Diet; that the Upper House must be the Emperor's creation and always his support; that the greater part of the constitution must be rigid and unamendable; that there must be great orders and dignities conferred by the Emperor and that everything must centre in him; that parties have nothing to do with the policy of the government; that even in the Lower House, as well as in the Upper, legislators are simply advisers, and the chief minister of the imperial will is the chancellor, who has subordinates but no associate; while, all through the body politic, the governors and the deliberate gatherings are to follow out the example of the upper personnel of the empire. In their strictest view, there is no state of Japan apart from the Imperial family.

Is it not something like a great political miracle, or would it not be such, to have party government possible in a country and among a people whose leaders were born and reared in feudalism? To understand, even in a measure, Japanese parties in 1902, we must look back to their first beginnings.

In feudalism there existed no such thing as "the people," in any political sense. The sword had won and the sword held. Conquest and military dominion for six centuries, from the sixth to the twelfth, in Japan passed into feudalism for six centuries more, from the thirteenth to the nineteenth, during which the sword was the only ruler, though tempered by Buddhism and chivalry. Having no pressure of enemies from the outside, there arose of necessity two centres of government, the Throne and the Camp, the Mikado in Kioto among monks and nobles, the Shogun in Yedo among vassals and soldiers—in a word, theory and practice.

After Perry's apparition, native forces from within and the alien energies combined to produce a new resultant. First duarchy and then feudalism fell. An irresponsible ministry, made up of the victors of the Revolution of 1868, governed the country in the Mikado's name. Within a decade, two lines of thought were visible under the two leaders of opinion, Fukuwaza and Nakamura. The one economic and materialistic, the other ethical and socially conservative, issued in something like parties. Yet note that the genesis of these was not from the people, but from those scholars who in both body and mind had visited Occidental countries. It was not until 1870—when the American teachers had been eleven years in the land—that the idea of popular freedom took form. Then common folks, as well as the gentry, began to act. A decade of tremendous political agitation followed, during which the most remarkable phenomena of method and opinion startled the men of the old order. Plots thickened the air, assassinations were frequent, and the prisons were enlarged to hold editors and writers. The hand of the Government was forced, and in 1879 the Emperor gave his promise of a constitution and of a Diet to be formed in 1889. The beginning of the next decade was marked by the formation of the three parties, Liberal, Progressive, and Constitutional Imperial. Discussion and dissemination of ideas powerfully educated the nation. In 1889 the constitution was proclaimed, and the new Government came into

being. We have had thirteen years of representative and party government, marked by frequent cabinet crises, dissolution and prorogation of parliament, only one ministry lasting twenty months, and only one parliament, the last one, continuing through the full period for which the members were elected.

Let us look at the platforms of these three parties. In theirs, the Liberals (1880) say nothing about the throne or the Emperor. The four principles laid down aim at the full extension and permanent preservation of the freedom and rights of the people; they declare that all men ought to be equal as to their rights, and that a constitutional government was best adapted to Japan. Here the ideas are English and American, with a flavor of the French, or, as some might say, the revolutionary and abstract. With many pure and able men, there was a long tail of uncertain and dangerous characters.

On the other hand, the Progressist party (1881) came chiefly from the middle class of society, and was made up of men perhaps better read and self-controlled and more anxious for safeguards. They laid emphasis less on the theories of Rousseau, Mill, and Spencer, than on the experience and the wisdom of those nations to whom self-government is second nature. In their platform we find that they aim to support and maintain the dignity of the throne, as well as to promote the happiness of the people. They believe that internal reformation must precede national expansion. They aim at the establishment of local self-government, with as little interference from the central Government as possible. They call for the gradual extension of popular suffrage as society improves, and urge the extension of commerce and the avoidance of political complications with foreign countries. Not a particle of abstract theory can be recognized in this platform, which is reformative, as against the revolutionary ideas of the Liberal Party. The Progressists inherited the ideas of the old Economic party, taking Bentham and Mill as their great teachers, without, however, reaching the noble ideas of the pure-minded Englishmen. Too often the working politician's conception of utilitarianism became a simple engine for getting office, while among the more ignorant it was the easy slide into a licentious life. In fact, both the liberalism and the utilitarianism of the lofty-minded English thinkers, as interpreted by men no longer bound by the old *vincula* of feudal ethics, wrought incalculable

moral woe upon Japan. Nevertheless, the influence of these Occidental theories was powerful in tempering absolutism and in hastening the dawn of constitutional government.

It could hardly be expected that in the new political formations, when the first disentanglement from feudalism had been made, that there would be two parties only, for an idea and an institution, older by a millennium and a half than modern Occidental philosophy, was Mikadoism—the core of all Japanese history. Those who knew the nation's story saw clearly that neither the Liberal nor Progressist party was a sufficient exponent of Japanese life. They were not surprised at the formation (1881) of the Constitutional Imperial party, which, in four out of the eight principles asserted, emphasized the sovereignty of the Emperor as the basis of all order, the fountain of national life, and him as the giver of the constitution. "We shall not claim," said they, "any share in framing the constitution." The other four declarations insisted on the separation of the military from political affairs, the independence of the judicial power, the bicameral system of legislation, and liberty of speech, writing and assembly within the limits of the law and not prejudicial to peace and order. In a word, here is Shinto, though with its dogmas ignored. The demand is for government emanating wholly from the Emperor, though differentiated into the three great divisions of executive, legislative, and judicial, according to modern ideas, as some might say, or after the Hebrew prophet, who declared that "the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our law-giver, the Lord is our King, He will save us." A devout Shintoist in full faith, or a Constitutional Imperialist in hope of office, might, with prudent reservations, replace the name of "the Lord" with that of the Mikado, and we should have the platform of his party. As matter of fact, this party was organized by men already in office to support the cause of "the Government"—of modern political phrase—against the two parties made up of men out of office. Its real, though not professed, leader was Count, now Marquis, Ito, and the platform was drafted under his eye, if not by his own pen. In fact, some of its phrases actually reappear in the text of the constitution. It was a dyke built around the divine right of the Emperor, and was intended to keep the throne impregnable against the rising waves of democracy. For their political philosophy, in order to justify

themselves by Occidental precedents and teaching, the Imperialists of Japan adopted the theories of sovereignty taught in Germany, embodied in Prussia, and having its contemporaneous exemplar in Bismarck. On the issue of the Emperor's order to frame a constitution, Count Ito started for the West, passing through the United States and Great Britain, and making his main stay as to time, place, and intellect in Prussia. Count Bismarck being then in the height of his power, Ito learned from him the secret of a nominally constitutional government—making the ministers the servants first and always of the Mikado, and only mediately of the nation. Indeed, it was under the subjective influence of the Iron Chancellor that the constitution of Japan was drafted. Thus, with a Government in which all power was lodged in the Emperor, who had a chancellor for his executive minister, and legislative chambers whose function it was to discuss, but only within certain limits to make law, Ito returned to Japan in 1883 after a year's absence. He began the reorganization of Government by building around the throne a whole series of dykes of aristocratic orders, so as to keep back the on-rush of the rising democratic tide. Many opponents were won over by the decorations, titles, or offices so freely showered. When finally the constitution of 1889 was promulgated, it was found to be in accordance with the ideal of the Constitutional Imperialists, to the bitter disappointment of the men of the other parties. Instead of being a covenant between the throne and the people, or in any sense the natural outcome of prolonged agitation for liberty on the part of the nation, it was rather, like a French creation, a work of art and logic, and of extraordinary rigidity, in which only a certain percentage of power was given to the two houses of the Diet. The great structure was built upon the idea that the Mikado is the sole source of authority, and that he not only reigns, but governs. While the law of the Lower House, of the election of its members, and of finance was set forth as amendable by ordinary legislation, the law constituting the Upper House was really an imperial ordinance, amendable only at the initiation of the Emperor, with the consent of the House of Peers only. This Upper House was to be composed of the higher nobility as life members, of a certain number of the lower nobility elected by members of their respective orders, and of citizens nominated by the Mikado from among the highest tax-payers. In a word,

the Upper House in both its organization and legislation was as another dyke against democratic tendencies. The legislative system was thus modelled closely on that of Prussia, and the real significance of the idea of two legislative bodies is obscured or lost, the crown being able at any time to control the Upper House by creating new peers. In short, the duty of the Diet is to give advice and to consent, the chambers being regarded as a council, and not as assemblies which are delegated by the people to control the Government.

Such being the case, it seems hardly possible that there should be any real party government in Japan. Foreign visitors, misled by phrases and the eloquence of native writers about "Japan's doing in a generation what it required other nations a thousand years to accomplish," find themselves in hopeless perplexity. For us it is not to praise or blame, but only to state the facts. Perhaps it was best that the nation emerging from feudalism should be governed only by the strong hand and the subtle brain. For a generation the Government seemed to rest with a committee of gentlemen from the two clans of Satsuma and Choshiu, the former excelling in military, the latter in civil, abilities—thus making a perfect combination, especially when occasionally a man of Tosa or Hizen was friendly helper. Speaking roughly, the great revolution of 1868 was carried through and on by a committee of four, Iwakura, Okubo, Saigo, and Kido. When Saigo dropped out, Okuma the Hizen man came in, while Itagaki of Tosa led the popular agitation for the abolition of "clan government." Itagaki had been called the Rousseau of Japan, and Okuma the Peel, though the avowed political purpose of both is identical. Yet, to show the inherent weakness of Japanese politics, regarded from the point of view that party government is the ideal one, while Itagaki was the moving spirit of the Liberals, Okuma organized a separate party called the Progressists. Thus, in the last analysis, a student discovers a difference of platform in words indeed, but discerns that the lines of attraction and repulsion are personal and not political. Strictly speaking, in Japan there has never been, with the exception of Saigo's leadership of the Satsuma rebellion of 1877, any real reaction. There are no Conservatives in politics. All have wanted to go forward, all desired constitutional and representative institutions, all urged the complete transformation of the Japanese into a

modern man. It has been simply a question when,—whether to wait or not until the common people, as distinguished from the *samurai,* were prepared for the new ideas and methods. All pressed to the goal of reform in a written constitution and houses of parliament; yet, in the first actions which interpreted the platforms, one notes an utter absence of profound differences on ethical or moral principles. The predominant motive of the first agitation, under the name of party, was to oust the men in office and secure their positions.

At the first session of the Diet, it was soon evident that the consuming purpose of "the Opposition" was to get out those who were in, and that they looked upon the constitution and the Diet as the instruments by which they could effect their purposes. In the wise ambiguity in the text of the constitution—which neither admits nor denies the principle of parliamentary mandates—they found a new platform. Making an interpretation of the constitution which suited their purpose, and with obstruction as their weapon, they sought to paralyze the power of any ministry which would not obey the majority vote of the Lower House. For three years obstruction in the Diet was met by the Government's calling on the Emperor to prorogue and dissolve.

In 1894, during the war with China, all squabbles were forgotten in the presence of foreign danger. The first years of division were followed by an era of coalition, the votes on the budget for prosecuting the war being unanimous. When peace was made with China, the political war in Japan broke out afresh. The Progressists were chronic implacables, and the Liberals refused to support the Ito ministry in the *post-bellum* scheme of taxation of 1896.

Until 1898, therefore, government by party was a total failure. The capture of the offices long held by "the clansmen" had not been effected, nor had even the personal hopes of the would-be reformers been fulfilled. They now turned to the idea of union, and in 1898 the Progressists and Liberals fused together, adopting the name of the Constitutional Party, and commanding a working majority in the Lower House led by experienced chiefs. Seeing this, Ito did what his enemies say he always does when great difficulties confront him. He refused to face the obstacle and resigned. Okuma and Itagaki were called to form a cabinet. They did so, and for a time hope was high, but the theories of men out

of office are apt to suffer a sea change when in office. The new people in power showed the same extraordinary avidity to put their friends and relatives under salary which had so long characterized the "clan" statesmen. To the disappointment of the nation and the mortification of the unselfish men of the parties, the new government went to pieces in six months.

Among the leaders of the Liberals was the famous Mr. Hoshi Toru, minister in Washington, a man never choice either in his language or methods, and the typically "strong" man in "practical" politics. When in America he learned the methods of the "bosses." This past master of political art as practised in London, New York, and the Tokio of the period, looking with no kindly eye upon the fusion of Liberal and Progressist, hurried back to Japan to break it up. From the moment of his arrival on home ground, it was evident that Manhattan Island methods had become fully operative in Tokio. He soon had control of the municipal council of the chief city of the Empire, whereupon patriotism and purchaseability were considered by many as interchangeable terms. His dexterity and nimbleness added immensely to his reputation, and on the fall of the Okuma cabinet he was the man in all eyes.

What was now to be done? The Progressists and Liberals had reformed on their old lines of personal affinities and antipathies, with ethics and policies in the far background. They now found they must make friends with Marquis Ito and "the elder statesmen," if victory were to be coaxed to perch on their banners. But, on one point, Ito was as implacable as he was consistent. He refused to adopt the principle of parliamentary cabinets, and he declared that, if he were made leader of a new party, he must be master. It may be true, as Shakspere declares, that "misery acquaints a man with strange bedfellows," but, in the new and astonishing combination of Japanese politics, present hope excelled all past misery. The new bed of 1901 contained not a party, but a "kai," or "Association of Friends of the Constitution," and the chief plank in its platform was—that ministers were not responsible to the Diet! Thus on the one hand they (the Rikken Seiyu-kai) surrendered to the "clan statesmen" the very principle for which they had long been fighting, while on the other they handed over to the Progressists a principle which gave Opposition an intelligible principle or platform. In brief, person-

ality was as yet stronger than partyism in Japan. The strong man was too great for the inchoate particles gathered under a name, for Ito was the one magnet that held the particles together. Happily, too, there was Mr. Hoshi Toru, who had long since learned the elasticity of American-built political platforms, and could read promises written both in sympathetic ink and in quickly-fading aniline. He understood not only how to take assertions in the Pickwickian sense, but he knew also just when a man, even though dead, was "a good enough free-mason until after election." Mr. Toru confirmed all halting or recalcitrant members of the new combination, by showing them that Marquis Ito's remarks about "irresponsible cabinets" were less disturbing than they might suppose, being intended merely as a polite verbal concession to conservative opinion. In a word, here was a "deal," between the subtle, "all round" clan statesman Ito, and the strong man Hoshi. The latter, for melting his party into the Seiyu-kai, was to govern economics and education, furnishing the popular elements of the new civilization, while Ito was to control the national policy in the Prussian style, in order to prevent reaction and to secure continuance of progress.

Among the old "clan statesmen" who considered that the Marquis Ito had gone back on his former principles and basely deserted his old comrades, was Yamagata, Field-Marshal in the Chino-Japanese war. The House of Peers was even more scandalized, and determined on quick vengeance against the traitors in their camp. Disgusted and roused to wrath also by the methods and prominence given to the gentleman returned from Manhattan, as well as Washington, they determined to show that they possessed, and could use, power. It came as a genuine surprise to Ito, when, having floated his financial measures through the Lower House, he found a rock in his way in the attitude of the Upper House. Almost as a matter of course, say his enemies, Marquis Ito appealed to the Emperor to intervene, and the difficulty was temporarily adjusted. Nevertheless, such recourses to the Mikado, too often repeated, might shake even the throne itself. Since 1868, there had been forty ministries, of an average duration of seven months, none surviving more than twenty months. There had been seven constitutional cabinets in eight years. The Diet had been dissolved by the Government five times, and there had been six suspensions of the Lower House for "unreasonable op-

position" to the Government. Hence, seeing complications about to arise almost as disagreeable as those of the first year or two of parliamentary government, the subtle Ito flinched again, and resigned. This is what they say who declare that Ito is not a statesman, but an opportunist: "So long as things are going on smoothly without any great obstacles to his policy, he appears to be a great statesman; when the political world becomes stormy and a grave disaster is staring him in the face, his only alternative is to evade his responsibility by retiring from his position before a final catastrophe befalls him."

The new ministry that came into power was formed of the "elder statesmen," that is, of the men of 1868. They were unconnected with any party, and were led by Yamagata. It was evident that during their lifetime the principle of parliamentary cabinet would never be openly acknowledged as constitutional. The ministry of "the elders" lasted through the military operations of the Boxer period in China in 1900. When new diplomatic complications arose, requiring the highest civic ability, the Yamagata ministry ended late in September, 1900. The Emperor, using almost the language of filial respect, called Marquis Ito, for the fifth time, to form a cabinet. When this body began its work in October, instead of having, as in former instances, six or seven, or at least three or four, of the "elders" of 1868, it was seen that Marquis Ito alone, of the noble band of 1868, was now in office, all but himself being young men educated abroad, including five ex-Liberals, one being the "strong man," Hoshi Toru. The latter was so violently assailed by his enemies and in the press, which pointed to him as the source of the corruption in the Tokio Municipal Council, even stigmatizing him as "the chief of the public robbers," that Mr. Hoshi called for a public trial. He was acquitted. He then resigned from the cabinet, on the eve of the opening of the Diet.

The new Ito ministry suffered from the long illness of its chief, and before it had been six months in office split upon a rock. The tremendous expansion of Japan's naval, military, and commercial programme, following two wars in China, called for an amount of money which Japan had not in her possession. The alternative was a foreign loan, against which, with more sentiment than sense, many Japanese revolted. While all the rest of the cabinet believed in steady progress, the Minister of Finance

wished to suspend the programme of expansion, and he obstinately persisted, wishing not only to defer but to postpone enterprise. By the 4th of May, 1901, the seriousness of the situation, foreshadowing impending collapse, was set forth in an amusing sketch in a comic paper at the capital. The residence of the obstinate Minister of Finance was at Toad Lake, and the crest of the Marquis Ito is the wistaria. The picture represented a huge toad squatting placidly under wistaria blossoms, while sprays of water fall on it from all directions. The point of the satire lies in a Japanese proverb describing what is absolutely useless—"pouring water in a frog's face." On the 21st of May, 1901, Ito went to the palace and tendered his resignation. The Minister of Finance refused to resign, but he had to obey the mandate of the Emperor. On June 8th, a new cabinet, made up for the most part of relatively obscure men and on the principle of absolute indifference to parties, was organized by the former Minister of War, the brilliant General Katsura. Next to strategy and tactics in the field, his powers lie in the line of conciliation and unity. In personal methods he is the opposite of Ito. On the 21st of June, "the strong man," Hoshi Toru, was assassinated by a genuine Conservative, Iba Sotaro, who held tenaciously to the old ideals, and was a close reader of the Chinese books which recommend the removal by murder of offensive politicians. This was the sixth actual assassination, and the ninth attempted, since 1868, on high officers of the Japanese Government, the record in the previous decade of men slaughtered for their political opinions being much larger.

Under the Katsura cabinet, things have worked smoothly because political agitation has temporarily quieted down, but this is only the lull before the storm.

In the constitutional development of Japan every experiment, except the coming and inevitable one of pure party government, has been tried, and every other theory has been put in practice and tested. How varied the list of experiments! Government by the "elders" or "clan statesmen" independent of political parties; government by the "elders" in coalition with a party; government by the combined parties independently of the "clan statesmen"; government by a party in combination with a section of the "elders"; government by a few of the "clan statesmen" independent of the other section,—have all been tried, and

ended in failure. It seemed to be certain that, while the "elder statesmen" were living, real government by party and a cabinet obedient to parliamentary mandate could not exist. Nevertheless, the men of 1868, already greatly diminished by death, cannot live forever (Saigo, the youngest, died only a few weeks ago), and the principle of government by party has been practically recognized.

The last House of Representatives, though the only one that lived the full length of its legal life, did no particular credit to parliamentary institutions, and the nation saw its dissolution without grief. In the elections of August, 1902, the new law of voting went into operation for the first time. It was more favorable to the expression of minor constituencies. It required a candidate to appeal to a whole prefecture instead of to a small district, while the ballot, instead of being stamped and open, was secret. With commendable order the elections were held throughout the Empire, though the great rainstorms in the south prevented the full results from being quickly known. The results show that, while almost all of the old members of the Lower House stood for election, only about one-fourth of them were returned. Other interesting results followed, but what is of supreme importance is that government by party is now possible to the Japanese, because, for the first time in their history, one party is paramount. The Ito Association of Friends of the Constitution completely dominates the situation. Above Progressists, Independents, Imperialists, and minor groups, the Seiyu-kai has not only a majority, but a plurality. Nevertheless, the Progressists have a minority so respectable in numbers, strong in organization, and rich in abilities, and under such astute leadership, that the Ito party will have to be both wise and moderate. The latest returns distribute the seats as follows: Seiyu-kai, 192; Progressists, 104; Imperialists, 20; Independents, 59; and one invalid election—the total being 376.

Meanwhile, the Katsura ministry has developed such personal fitness for office and such shining talent in execution, that it has been wondered whether the Premier and his assistants would at once hand over their office and power to others. Yet no one doubts that they will. With the incoming of a purely party ministry, "the elders" will retire from executive activity, and younger men, educated for the most part in Western countries, will guide the ship of state. The vital questions to come before the Diet in No-

vember, 1902, are the expansion of the country's trade and industries, the reduction or maintenance of the present amount of the land tax, the increase of the navy, and the general fulfilment of the tremendously ambitious programme outlined after the war with China in 1894-95. Victory in war is always costly, sometimes as much so as defeat; and since Japan triumphed and became a "Power," she must advance or retreat, and the latter word is not in her vocabulary. A definite stalwart foreign policy is demanded by her new position. A wise home policy is vitally necessary. It is not as to the end that Japanese parties differ, it is only as to means. The Progressists demand right principle rather than material show, even though progress be at a slower pace. They are bent on securing parliamentary supremacy. Despite the overwhelming numbers of the Seiyu-kai, they are less homogeneous in composition, and even so profoundly experienced and so superbly equipped and "all around" a statesman as Marquis Ito may have more difficulty with his party than in coping with the general political situation. This requires sound finances and popular content at home, and power to curb Russia on the Asian continent, or, at least, to retard the movement of the Muscovite glacier.

It seems evident that the logic of fact and the overwhelming influence of the English-speaking nations, under whose tutelage the majority of the newer generation of Japanese scholars and publicists have been reared, must dominate the situation. Japan will then be in reality a nation with representative institutions and parliamentary government. Meanwhile, the student of Japanese history, and the well-wisher of the most hopeful nation in Asia, must be thankful for the conservatism of the "elders" and of Marquis Ito, which has so long guided the nation to its education, its strengthening, and its ultimate advantage. Their record is a noble one, and their fame as constructive statesmen sure. Nor can one who has had a hand in helping to lay the foundations of that public-school "education," which the Japanese themselves a generation ago declared to be "the basis of all progress," falter in his faith that Japan will yet solve nobly the problem of transit from mediævalism to the modern life of the "living nations."

Wm. Elliot Griffis.

THE STORY OF OUR FARM.

BY LADY HENRY SOMERSET.

We wander through a whole gallery of recollections when we conjure up the pictures that are presented to us by the words "An English Farm." We recall pleasant orchards, gay flower-borders, an ivy-clad house, a shady herb-garden, and the restful green of English meadows where cows are pastured.

Among the Surrey hills, amidst wide-spreading oaks, there stands a red-brick farm-house. Sunny gardens slope away to the meadows, and velvet lawns divide the flower-borders. Monthly roses and hollyhocks bloom against the clipped yew hedge, and across the fields the distance rolls away to the chalk hills, the summit of which is crowned by the dark yew trees which line the Pilgrims' Way to Canterbury, made immortal by the song of Chaucer. If we follow the path across the fields, we shall go but a little distance before we come to a quadrangle of small thatched cottages. Against the walls the white roses are climbing with a profusion of snowy blossom; dainty white curtains wave in the summer breeze as the windows stand ajar, and under the porches beneath the clematis and creepers groups of women are sitting, some knitting, some talking, while others are leaning against the white gate, and the sound of children's voices is heard over the distant fields. Across the road there stands the little church, and more cottages surround it; and again beyond, another group nestling on the border of the wood. Presently, children clad in scarlet come dancing across the fields in a long line, shouting as they go, with wreaths of wild roses and honeysuckle and branches in their hands; and as the women look they laugh, and the lines of care are smoothed from weary brows, and on older faces wrinkles are lost in smiles.

By-and-by, evening comes, and the lights twinkle in the win-

dows, and the children are lying at rest; the birds have ceased to sing now, and only the voice of the nightingale is heard in the hedge. But there are no footsteps to tell us of men returning home, no women going out to meet bread-winners, for this is not a village where family life is lived, but rather one where it is rebuilt. The women and children who live on this farm have a story which I am about to tell.

But in order rightly to understand what this Colony means, we must leave for a moment the fields and the flowers and the birds and beasts, and go into the dingy city, and pass the courts and the alleys and the pawnbrokers' shops and the old-clothes shops; we must go down into the kitchens where the rats share the damp darkness with the inhabitants, and then walk out again into the dusty street; and then we shall begin to understand what is the centre of attraction to the dwellers in the narrow court and gloomy slum. At the corner of the street there is a public house; and, if we watch that swinging-door for a moment, we shall be able to realize why it is that in England there are more drunken women than in any other nation, and how it is that the brewers have made larger fortunes than can be amassed at any other trade. Between the hours of one and three o'clock, you will see in this squalid district from one hundred to two hundred women enter the drink-shop with little babies in their arms; and, as those women crowd into that public house and stand to drink, they will often give the baby a share of the liquor, and the little mouth will greedily suck the spoon or the glass that has in it the taste of gin. Between those hours, too, you will see a hundred and fifty or two hundred girls, with tattered clothes, torn pinafores, some almost shoeless, all ragged, all dirty, all dishevelled, entering with jugs to carry away the drink to their miserable homes. As many boys under the age of fourteen or fifteen will be there too, making perhaps a total in one afternoon of five hundred children. I remember on one occasion standing in front of just such a public house (and if you look down the street, you will see that there are twenty more), with an American, and when she saw the women going into the public house, some of them respectably clad, she said: "Are they going to hold a Crusade meeting there, as they did in America twenty years ago?" It seemed to her inconceivable that women were going there to drink; but to us it has become a commonplace, and those

who know anything of the social life of the people in England have long realized that children are drunk for the first time in their mothers' arms, or cursed with the appetite before they are born. In their earliest association, the public house stands as the most prominent factor in their existence, and has stored their minds with the impressions of everything that is vile and bad.

But there is another picture of our social life of which I have to speak before I go back again to the country farm; and, in order to bring this before the minds of those who are interested in social problems, I must ask them to go inside a large London drink-den. There you will find that the finest houses are supplied with a great number of entrances, six, eight, or ten; and each of these entrances leads into a separate small bar; and, if you are inclined to sit for a moment and ask for a glass of lemonade, you can watch those who pass in and out. A young girl well dressed and of respectable parentage will come in, accompanied by the young man to whom she is engaged, and they will call for a glass of spirits or beer, and sit down to drink as a matter of course. A middle-aged woman who has known better days draws her mantle about her, and looks round to see if any one has noticed that she has crossed that threshold; her face is pale and drawn, and she has anxious lines round her eyes. Employment is hard to get, and she is going to try and forget how difficult it is to live, as she carries in her thin, trembling hand a glass of neat spirit to the further corner of the bar. Then there are a middle-aged man and his wife who ask for beer, a woman with a baby and a young husband; the baby cries, and the mother dips her finger in her glass and rubs its lips. A little noise in another bar tells us that there a different class has assembled, and there we see the ragged denizens of the slums; but every class is represented, and among them women are prominently to be found.

What wonder, then, that as we read the annals of our English police courts we realize that drunkenness has not only invaded the homes of the poorest of the people, but also that drinking is alarmingly on the increase among women of the wealthy and the leisured classes; that not only are destitute and degraded women committed to our prisons who are unable to pay the fine, but that women in apparently respectable positions are continually convicted of drunkenness, until it may be truly said that scarcely a family exists but has some record of this hideous disease.

Many and perplexing are the causes that have led to this result, and it is obviously the duty of the reformer to inquire into these causes, and to endeavor to change the current that has brought such a flood of disaster; but it is also the duty of the Christian to deal with the effects of ill, and to endeavor to save the individual, as well as to protect the race. For many years, therefore, earnest men and women have sought to solve the problem as to how best to deal with the victims of alcohol. Homes have been started again and again which have sought to reclaim the drunkard, and to start the victim in a new and better way; but, although these attempts have met with a measure of success, it has been universally acknowledged that it has been work that has seemed hitherto difficult and wellnigh hopeless.

In studying the methods that have been adopted, it has always seemed to me that they erred either on one side or on the other; either inebriety was looked upon wholly as a physical disease, or else it was treated entirely as a moral failing; but the combination of both these truths seemed to be lacking. Some years ago a book, entitled "A Colony of Mercy," came into my hands. It was an account of the great work carried on by Pastor Von Bodelschwingh among the epileptics of Germany; and, as I read of their village homes, I realized that just such treatment might be applied to other cases of diseased humanity, and that alcoholism could be treated in much the same way. Thus, little by little, the scheme of the Farm Colony was unfolded, until it materialized in the village which I have just described. There were two principles that appeared to me to be the foundations upon which our Colony must be built: one was the village system, and the other was the absolute necessity of out-door occupation. The accepted idea of an institution must be abandoned. We shall awake, I believe, some day fully to the consciousness of the fact that we have adopted hitherto unscientific methods in dealing with the defective and delinquent classes. In the case of women who have given way to alcoholism, the work of restoration must be accomplished physically and morally. We have to keep before us the fact that what they need is a hospital. Each case must be individually diagnosed. The many reasons for drunkenness must be arrived at. Some are rooted in disease; some have acquired the habit through habitually taking insufficient food, or food that does not nourish; others through living in unwholesome localities; and

many, and probably most, because they have been surrounded by temptation and have inherited tendencies. After these cases have passed through the hospital, we have to endeavor to find the best process for re-building self-respect and physical and moral health. It is impossible to contemplate housing such cases together with any sort of hope of a successful cure. The first thing to do is to give them an ideal of home. Now, most of these women have shattered every ideal, broken their homes and alienated their families. Consequently, we decided to divide this Colony into cottages, simply furnished with just such utensils as every respectable home should possess; clean, dainty, and pretty; each cottage presided over by a nurse sister who knows the women individually, understands our patients' requirements, and watches over them with personal care.

Then, as to occupation, the inmates are employed almost entirely out-of-doors. We have in alcoholism to combat an evil which is not only moral, but physical; and the best antidote for the poison which has destroyed their lives is to be found in pure air and bright sunshine. The wholesome work on the lawns, in the flower-beds, in the vegetable-garden, and in the forcing-houses has proved to us the value of the system; and we have seen women who come utter wrecks built up in a manner which it would be difficult to believe possible if we had not ourselves witnessed it. In the early morning groups of women can be seen leaving the cottages for their work in the farm gardens. They wear rough serge aprons and straw hats. They go to their daily task cheerful and happy, some to grow tomatoes in the glass houses, or cucumbers for the early market; and the exquisite regularity of these houses, the cleanliness and care with which the plants are kept, have demonstrated at any rate the fact that gardening is an occupation which has hitherto been overlooked among the professions suitable to women. In the summer-time, our women can be seen, with large baskets, picking fruit for the London market, and in the winter sorting seeds or basket-making. A lady gardener trained at Swanley College undertakes the management of the out-door work, and organizes the labor.

But not only is the occupation of gardening of great physical value; it is also of moral worth. To most of these women, the recollections of the past are full of bitterness and shame, and anything in their occupations that is associated with what has gone

before brings with it only sadness and remorse. Work in the garden, however, has in it no associations; it is all new to them. Some of them have never seen a blade of grass grow, and to watch the labor of their hands blossom into beauty, to see "the kindly fruits of the earth" spring into life under their care, brings with it a sort of new hope and happiness. We believe in work, and hard work; but we believe that it should be varied as much as possible, and always if practicable in the open air. We have found that bee-keeping has also been of interest and profit, and the women manage the dairy and the stock.

Besides such out-door occupations, we have also work-room industries. We have started looms in which the women have woven beautiful linen in white and colors, and the embroidery which quite unskilled workers have been able to produce has astonished many experts who could scarcely believe that such results could be obtained. The secret lies in the fact that the women are really interested in their employment, and eager to produce beautiful results, because not only is a great personal interest taken in their occupations by the staff of the Colony, but they themselves are astonished to find how, in a comparatively short time, they can learn really artistic work.

Now, it may seem that the methods adopted to reclaim the few hundreds of women who come to us have little import, when we regard the great mass of those who need such treatment. I think, however, that we can do nothing of greater value than to produce object lessons to demonstrate what can be carried out on a larger and wider scale. I feel certain that, if we had a more reasonable method of classifying our criminals, we should do a far more effectual work in the reclamation of those who have not gone far down the perilous precipice of crime. We hear a great deal in these days about saving the masses; but none can be saved as masses, only as individuals. If we want to save the criminal class, it is the individual criminals that we need to reach, each having his own special difficulty, his own sin that requires to be forgiven, his own character that must be re-made. In like manner, when we deal with want, we must understand that every individual life requires patient effort, wisely to direct it and lovingly to alleviate its misery, and we must recognize that the keynote of the gospel of Christ is His teaching of the infinite value of the individual. From the hour when He told His fol-

lowers the story of the one lost sheep, and drew the picture of the shepherd who left all the rest and went into the bleak mountain fastness until he had rescued the straying lamb—through all the history of His life and dealings with men—He emphasizes the value of the individual. In the house of the rich man, He individualized the woman whose act of loving penitence was to be told to all the world; in His words to the young man who came with puzzled question, and on whom He looked with the eyes of tenderest compassion, and beholding him loved him, He showed that He loved the individual for his desire, pitied him because He knew that he would not live up to his aspiration. He knew the idiosyncrasies of St. Peter, the difficulties of St. Thomas, the penitence of the Magdalene, the tenderness of His mother; each one stood out before Him, clearly outlined on the horizon of His mind, and it is this knowledge of the methods of Jesus that should make us realize that we have to give ourselves to the men and women one by one, whom we want to rescue. And so, if we are to be of any use in the world; if in our day the world is to be cleansed from the violence done through strong drink, from the iniquity of the sweating system; if the ignorant are to be taught and the degraded raised; if the power of drink is to be trodden under foot; it can only be as we accept the mission to the individual.

But, further than this, I think that we have been able to prove by the way in which we have dealt with the women at the Farm Colony that short terms of imprisonment are a failure, and that Homes, in the real sense of the word, managed on the lines that we have indicated, are successful in dealing with cases which the ordinary prison treatment would only harden and confirm in evil ways. Of the need of such an institution as ours there has been ample proof. Three thousand cases were refused in one year, all probably eligible for admission, simply for want of room.

Since we founded our Colony, an amendment to the Inebriate Act has been passed, by which habitual inebriates who have been convicted three times before a magistrate can be sent by the bench to a reformatory instead of to prison; but the working of the Act is still unsatisfactory. There is no proper classification between the criminal who is incidentally a drunkard, and the drunkard who is incidentally a criminal; and therein lies a whole world of difference. We have had many women who have been con-

victed of crime committed under the influence of drink, who are not in the real sense of the word criminals; and we have had women who are constant drinkers, but whose life is one of habitual crime, in which drunkenness forms but a part; and, until such a classification is properly carried out, the reformatories will be nothing but amateur prisons, and the results wholly unsatisfactory. We have, however, a strong hope and belief that the work which has been begun in the Farm Colony will make its mark upon the penal system of the country.

Our Medical Officer has proved beyond dispute that, up to the present time, sixty-five per cent. of the cases which have been dismissed are standing well, a far larger proportion of cures than has been attained under any other system. The history of individual cases is a source of constant interest, and the study of the characters that have come to us has proved, I think, indisputably that those who are considered often most hopeless under prison regulations can be reclaimed by a discipline of love.

In the early days of the Farm Colony, a woman was sent from Holloway Prison who had earned there the sobriquet of "the Terror of Holloway." She had been imprisoned nearly three hundred times, and she was sent to us as a test, because she was considered by the prison authorities as an almost hopeless case. Ragged, tattered and torn, old beyond her years, she came among us. After the first weeks had passed and the craving for alcohol had subsided, and the wholesome work and plentiful nourishment had in a measure restored her health, like the Prodigal Son she "came to herself"; and during the year she remained with us, we had no more tractable, docile, affectionate patient. She left us at the end of twelve months; but her health had been shattered by constant imprisonment, and by drifting backwards and forwards from the cell of the jail to the streets of the city, to starve or to drink until brought back again to discipline and punishment; and at the end of six months she died. But she remained perfectly true, although in the midst of her old temptations, to the new and blessed life that she had found, and to the principles that she had learned.

I can think of a procession of women who have returned to their homes, whose husbands have gladly taken them back again, whose children are happy, and who have begun life once more with a new ideal of what a home should be, a new conception of

what life means to them. This has been brought about by no startling revivals, by no sudden change, but by the gradual leaven that love has worked in their lives. I am strongly of opinion that, if our younger criminals were dealt with by such methods, we should have a very much larger proportion of reformed prisoners than is produced by any penal system in vogue in England.

But the children—that is another side of the picture. The children are not there because they drink, but they are there because they are the children of the drunkards. It is these children who come to a building which is called "The Birds' Nest," and they come there for two reasons; first, because we know that we can help them, and then, because we can bring nothing into the lives of the women who come to our Colony to be cured of inebriety better than the hope and interest which the children can give to them.

Our great desire in founding the village was to make it as much like an ordinary village as possible, and the children coming and going and playing about have helped to dissipate the idea of institutional or penal life, for it is part of the women's work to help entertain the children when they come. But the Nest has another object. There is something particularly fitting in the fact that such a cottage should form part of an inebriate home, for children are the greatest sufferers from the curse of drink, and we realize more every year that, if we want to help people to live better and purer lives, we must begin to teach them better and purer things very early. Now, these children come to us from the very poorest London slums. They come to us in such dirt and rags that none of their clothing can be brought into any of our houses. The women see the children when they arrive, they help to bathe them (and it would be difficult to write what that means), and then they dress them in the pretty clothes provided, and they watch the children from day to day, the little pale faces that look as though they were wizened with premature age growing younger, till the hard look vanishes from them, and they begin to realize the difference that happiness makes to the life of a child. And then the children will tell them quite simply, as they sit on the door-steps in the summer evening, of the misery of their lives with a drunken father or mother; and, as the tears have rolled down those women's faces, we have known that the children have spoken sermons which we could not preach.

But it would be difficult to say what this country holiday means to the children themselves. The idea of such a holiday is to teach these children that life is not all misery, that the world is not all a slum, that they can come into fairyland for a whole fortnight and be real children, and then go back with a new idea of life, of fields that are green, of a sky that is blue, and they never forget the picture. Two years ago, a child came down to stay with us who had been neglected by her drunken mother. Even the neighbors complained of the condition the child was in. She was made radiantly happy. She used to wander into the fields to hear the "cows growling," and she sang songs all day long. The clothes she had come down in were so dirty that we had been obliged to burn them; and so, when she went back, we gave her a new outfit. When I saw her mother for the first time, she told me that she had gone to the station to meet her child coming back from the Nest, and that, when she had seen her looking so well and so prettily dressed, she felt as though her very heart would break and she cried. Since then the woman has given up drinking, and when I saw the child lately she was quite as clean and as pretty as she had been while she was with us at the Nest. Her mother told me she did nothing but talk of Duxhurst all the year round, and that every day she would tell her some little tale of pleasure they had had at the Nest that she had forgotten to mention before.

And so for women and for children what does all this mean? It means that there comes into their lives, perhaps, a vision that they can never forget; that they see the possibility of another life and an ideal which they may live up to; that they have learned to know they have a friend, a Friend who does not turn from them in misfortune, and who does not leave them in anger when they wander from Him. And I know that to-day there are many who have set their faces homeward, who have been led back from the far country through the sunny fields of our Farm Colony.

ISABEL SOMERSET.

THE PUBLIC DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES.—II.

BY O. P. AUSTIN, CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

DEBT-MAKING DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

The financial difficulties which confronted President Lincoln and his associates on March 4, 1861, were indeed grave. Seven States had already passed ordinances of secession; a vessel bearing supplies to Fort Sumter had been fired upon; civil war was not only threatened but already at hand; the public credit had fallen so low that from the last loan only a small sum could be realized, even at the rate of 12 per cent. interest; and the Treasury funds were so low that on the preceding December there was not sufficient money to pay members of Congress. Salmon P. Chase, Mr. Lincoln's choice for Secretary of the Treasury, at first declined the position, urging that he was not fitted for it by education or habits; but he finally yielded to the desire of the President and others, and was unanimously confirmed by the Senate. When he assumed the duties of his office he found that there were three acts, passed during the closing session of the preceding Congress, under which he could make loans; and on March 22 he advertised for proposals for a loan of $8,000,000. To his surprise and gratification, the offers for the loan amounted to over $27,000,000, at prices ranging from 85 to 100 cents on the dollar, most of the bids being at 92. The heart of the loyal people had responded to the country's needs. There was some question as to whether the loan could be better issued in the form of bonds or Treasury notes, since the latter would serve as currency to take the place of the rapidly disappearing specie. Mr. Chase, after much consideration, decided to divide the loan between the two methods, and accepted bids for about $3,000,000 in bonds and issued the remainder, about $5,000,000, in Treas-

ury notes. These Treasury notes, however, were not a forced currency or to be classed as "flat money." They were not made a legal tender, were made payable to the order of the persons receiving them, drew 6 per cent. interest payable semi-annually, and were convertible into bonds and receivable for public dues. They thus differed from the legal-tender notes subsequently issued in the fact that they promised to pay at a definite date and to a specified person; that they bore interest and were not made by law a legal tender; while the legal-tender notes or "greenbacks" were promises to pay, without name, without date, without interest, and were made by law a legal tender. The small sum realized by the first loan lasted but a few weeks in the preparations for war which were then necessary. On May 11, another loan of $9,000,000 was advertised; but, as the war had actually been begun by the attack on Fort Sumter on April 12, the response was not as satisfactory as that of March, the prices offered ranging from 85 to 93. Bonds were issued under this for $7,310,000, and the remainder in Treasury notes at par. In June, the Secretary advertised for proposals at par for another loan, but failed to receive satisfactory responses, and he issued $12,584,000 in Treasury notes to those who chose to purchase them at par, issuing the remainder in payment of public creditors.

When Congress met on July 4, 1861, the Secretary of the Treasury expressed the opinion that $240,000,000 should be raised by borrowing, and that the public revenues should be increased by additional tariff duties and by internal revenue taxation. Within four days of the receipt of this recommendation, a bill authorizing the Secretary to borrow $250,000,000 passed the House after only one hour of general debate, and three days later it passed the Senate. It authorized several methods of raising the loan: (1) by bonds bearing 7 per cent. interest, redeemable after twenty years at the pleasure of the Government; (2) by the issue of Treasury notes of not less than $50, payable three years after date and bearing 7 per cent. interest and convertible into 6 per cent. twenty-year bonds; (3) small Treasury notes bearing no interest and payable on demand; (4) Treasury notes payable in one year, bearing 3.65 per cent. interest, exchangeable for Treasury notes of $50 and upwards. This was the first act which authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow money, that

authority having formerly been granted to the President and Secretary. A supplemental bill was also passed authorizing the issue of Treasury notes of $5, and requiring that all Treasury notes of less than $50 and payable on demand without interest should be receivable in payment of public dues.

Congress adjourned on August 6, and the Secretary, armed with the authority of these acts, hastened to New York, and on the evening of August 9 met a group of financiers and bankers at the residence of the Assistant-Treasurer. The situation was fully discussed, and on the following day a further consultation was held, when a committee was appointed to devise a plan for the aid of the Government. On the fifteenth of that month the committee reported, and their plan was accepted by the bankers of New York, Philadelphia and Boston. The proposition was that the Government should issue at once $50,000,000 in Treasury notes bearing 7.3 per cent. interest, and running three years; and these the bankers would take, with the privilege of taking $50,000,000 more within two months and another $50,000,000 in another two months, the banks to subscribe in proportion to their capital, no other loan (except demand notes) to be issued by the Government during the period in which the three issues were to be made. The capital of the banks making this agreement was $120,000,000, and their coin assets $63,000,000. In order that the small amount of specie in circulation might be aided as far as possible by other machinery of circulation, the banks recommended that the Secretary make his payments by checks upon the banks instead of making them by specie; but the Secretary doubted his authority to do this and refused. The banks, however, took the bonds as they had agreed and paid the specie for them into the Treasury at the rate of about $1,000,000 per day. For a time the specie paid out by the Treasury Department remained in circulation and flowed back to the banks, but it gradually grew less, and the volume of demand Treasury notes increased. By December 10, the coin reserve of the New York banks had fallen one-half, and on December 28, 1861, they decided to suspend specie payments; and, as the payment of specie by the Government depended largely on the action of the banks, it also suspended specie payments.

Within two days of the suspension of specie payments by the banks and the Government, a bill was introduced in the House

providing for the issue of demand Treasury notes bearing no interest, to be receivable for all debts and demands due to the United States and for all debts and demands due from the United States, to be received in exchange for United States bonds, and to be a legal tender for all debts public or private within the United States. It was a new and startling proposition, and was strongly opposed by many in Congress and elsewhere; but the exigencies of the situation required action, and on February 25, 1862, it became a law in a slightly modified form. It authorized the issue by the Treasury Department of $150,000,000 of the notes, payable on demand, without interest, which were to be received for all payments by the United States, except the interest on its bonds and notes, which was to be paid in coin, and were to be accepted for all dues and payments to the United States, including the purchase of its bonds, except duties on imports, and were to be a legal tender in all transactions between individuals, or between the Government and individuals or corporations. This was the birth of the United States Legal Tender notes, popularly known as "greenbacks." On July 11 of the same year, another issue of $150,000,000 was authorized, and on March 3, 1863, still another issue of $150,000,000 in small denominations was authorized, $100,000,000 of which, however, was to take the place of others of larger denominations, thus making the total authorized issue $450,000,000. This was reduced by subsequent acts to $346,681,016. The gold value of these notes fluctuated greatly, being quickly affected by the conditions in the field, the reverses of the Union army being followed by a reduction in their value, and its successes by advances in value. In 1862 they averaged 88 cents on the dollar; in 1863 they averaged 69 cents; in July, 1864, they fell as low as 38.7 cents on the dollar, and for the year averaged 49.2 cents; by July, 1865, they were 70 cents, and then slowly moved upward and stood at par when specie payments were resumed on January 1, 1879. From the date of their issue in 1862, they became the chief circulating medium, until they were supplemented by the national bank-notes in 1864 and 1865. They were at all times accepted at par for the purchase of the bonds and Treasury notes issued by the Government, and a large proportion of the bonds sold by the Government after 1862 were paid for with them or with other obligations of the Government.

Another form of borrowing which was entered upon at this time was by an act which authorized the deposit of United States notes by individuals or corporations with the Treasury, the sub-Treasuries, or designated depositories, for which certificates of deposit bearing 5 per cent. interest were to be given. The banks found that these certificates were convenient for use in settling clearing-house balances and otherwise; and as they drew interest and the notes did not, they readily took advantage of the opportunity, and deposits of this character were freely made. The amount that the Secretary was at first authorized to accept on deposit was $25,000,000, but this was increased to $100,000,000 in 1862; and as the law only required him to keep $16,000,000 of this sum on hand to redeem the certificates of deposit, it gave a considerable sum for use in the daily transactions of the Treasury. In 1864 the limit of deposits of this character which could be received was extended to $150,000,000 and the rate of interest increased to 6 per cent. The total amount deposited in this manner was over $700,000,000, the largest sum on deposit at any time being $149,500,000, in June, 1866. Still another form of temporary loan was created by an act which authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to issue certificates of indebtedness to creditors of the Government in satisfaction of audited and settled claims of $1,000 or more, these certificates to bear interest at 6 per cent., and to be payable within one year. These certificates circulated until the accumulation of interest was sufficient to justify the holders in retaining them as an investment, and the practice of issuing them to those willing to receive them continued to the end of the war, the total amount so issued being $561,000,000.

The act of February 25, 1862, which authorized the first issue of legal-tender notes, or "greenbacks," also authorized the issue of $500,000,000 in bonds, redeemable at the pleasure of the Government after five years and payable in twenty years, bearing interest at 6 per cent., to be disposed of at their market value for specie or any Treasury notes that had been or might be issued, or for the legal-tender notes to be free from all National, State, municipal or local taxation, the interest to be paid in coin. An effort was made to dispose of the bonds, but currency was scarce, and as the Secretary also held that the term "at their market value" did not authorize him to sell them below par, the issues of that year were but about $13,000,000. In March, 1863, an

act was passed removing the limitation as to the price at which they might be sold. Under this enlarged power the Secretary made a contract with Jay Cooke, of Philadelphia, to sell the bonds, paying him a commission of one-half of one per cent. on the first $10,000,000 sold, and three-eights of one per cent. on the remainder of his sales. Mr. Cooke, who had been active in obtaining subscriptions to the loan of 1861, immediately appointed agents in all parts of the country and advertised the bonds extensively, and by January, 1864, the entire loan of $500,000,000 had been sold at an average premium of one-third of one per cent. The subscriptions were so plentiful that they exceeded the total authorized loan by $11,000,000 before the sales by subscription agents could be stopped.

On July 1, 1864, Mr. Chase retired from the Treasury and was succeeded by Mr. Fessenden, who only occupied the position until the following March, when he entered the Senate and Mr. McCulloch became Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Chase became Secretary of the Treasury March 4, 1861, and retired July 1, 1864. The interest-bearing debt during his service stood as follows: July 1, 1861, $90,380,873; July 1, 1862, $365,304,826; July 1, 1863, $707,531,634; July 1, 1864, $1,359,930,763. In addition to this the "debt bearing no interest" (chiefly legal-tender notes) had grown from nothing to $455,437,271. The success of the Union cause was, however, practically assured at the date of his retirement, although some of the severest battles of the war occurred during the ten months of war which still remained. Mr. Fessenden, during his service, added about $200,000,000 to the interest-bearing debt in various issues of bonds and Treasury notes under the authority of existing acts.

When Mr. McCulloch became Secretary of the Treasury on March 4, 1865, the end of the war was in sight, but he realized that large sums would be required for the pay, bounties, and transportation of the troops and for other expenses of disbanding the army. He immediately issued $70,000,000 of three-year Treasury notes, and then proceeded to offer $530,000,000 of Treasury notes and bonds, under authority of an act passed the day before his accession to the Treasury Department. These securities were offered in the form of Treasury notes of not less than $50, with three years to run, bearing 7.3 per cent. interest in currency, or 6 per cent. in coin; or bonds payable after five years

at the pleasure of the Government, and with the same interest rates as the Treasury notes, the bonds also to be for not less than $50. These notes and bonds were offered in small denominations with the purpose of making the loan a popular one and distributing it among the masses, and this plan was successful. The Treasury Department again utilized the experience of Jay Cooke, and so popular was the loan and so prompt the response of the people to this final call for funds to pay the closing expenses of the war that the entire available sum, amounting to $530,000,000, was taken within a few weeks at a premium of from one to three per cent., short-term Treasury notes forming more than one-half of the total. This was the largest sum of money ever gathered from the people, in the form of a popular loan, up to that time, and it terminated the great loans of the war and brought the national indebtedness to high-water mark, the total on August 1, 1865, being $2,381,530,294 of interest-bearing debt, and $461,616,311 of non-interestbearing debt. The debt, less cash in the Treasury, then stood at $78.25 *per capita,* and the annual interest charge $4.29 *per capita.* To-day the debt is $13.45 *per capita,* and the annual interest charge 38 cents *per capita.*

REFUNDING AND REDUCTION OF THE CIVIL WAR DEBT.

The termination of the war did not, however, terminate the duties and anxieties of the financiers and law-makers of the Government. More than a billion dollars of outstanding obligations of the Government would fall due in 1867 and 1868, and the rate of interest being paid on most of it was 7.3 per cent. It was important not only to provide ways and means to meet these obligations when they should fall due, but, if possible, to reduce the very high and burdensome rate of interest. An act passed March 3, 1865, had authorized the issue of $600,000,000 in bonds with interest at 6 per cent. if paid in coin, and it also authorized the Secretary, in addition to this $600,000,000, to issue others of the same description in exchange for any outstanding obligations of the Government, and this was amended in 1866 so as to authorize the sale of such bonds and the application of the funds received therefrom to the reduction of the outstanding debt. Under these two acts there were issued in 1865, 1866, 1867, and 1868 over $750,000,000 of bonds at 6 per cent., by which the debt outstanding at a higher rate of interest was cancelled or "refunded." In

1867 a series of 6 per cent. bonds redeemable at the pleasure of the Government became available for redemption. Some question having arisen as to the intention of the Government regarding the time of payment of its bonds and the character of the money with which it would redeem them, Congress in 1869 passed an act declaring its intention to pay the obligations of the Government in coin or its equivalent. In 1870 an act was passed authorizing the issue of $250,000,000 of 5 per cent. bonds payable at the pleasure of the United States aften ten years, $300,000,000 at 4½ per cent., payable after fifteen years, and $1,000,000,000 at 4 per cent., payable at the pleasure of the Government after thirty years, principal and interest of all of these to be payable in coin, and by a subsequent act the amount of the 5 per cent. bonds was increased to $500,000,000. These were to be used only in taking up other obligations, but by subsequent act they also became available for obtaining the necessary funds with which to resume specie payments. Under the operations of these acts, the high-interest-rate bonds were gradually exchanged for those of a lower rate of interest, and at the same time the market value of the Government's securities was increased. The 7.3 per cent. bonds were entirely paid and cancelled by the middle of 1868, and by 1876 the amount of the 6 per cent. bonds had been cut down one-half. In 1877 the issue of 4½ per cent. and 4 per cent. bonds began, and by 1879 all of the 6 per cents. and the 5 per cent. ten-forty bonds had been redeemed or exchanged for 5, 4½ and 4 per cent. bonds, authorized by the act of 1870, chiefly the latter. Meantime, the revenues had grown rapidly and exceeded the expenditures, and large sums were applied to the reduction of the debt by purchase of bonds. On July 1, 1882, the total interest-bearing debt had been reduced to $1,463,810,400, against $2,381,530,294 in 1865; the 7.3 per cent., 6 per cent. and 5 per cent. bonds had ceased to exist, and the annual interest charge had fallen from $150,977,697 to $57,300,110, and from $4.29 *per capita* to $1.07 *per capita*. The revenues continued to exceed the expenditures by large sums, the surplus ranging from $145,000,000 in 1882 to $103,000,000 in 1887. During this period, all bonds falling due were cancelled and paid, and in addition to this the Secretary of the Treasury, under authority given him by several acts of Congress, made large purchases of unmatured bonds in the market, paying from 120 to 125, and in some cases 129, for the

long-term 4 per cent. bonds of 1907, and 106 to 109 for the 4½ per cent. bonds which had but a short time to run. Within four years from 1887, the Treasury expended more than $200,000,000 of surplus in the purchase of bonds in excess of the sinking-fund requirements, most of them being bought at a high premium. In 1892, the last 4½ per cents. disappeared, having been paid with the exception of about $25,000,000, which were exchanged for 2 per cent. bonds, the lowest rate securities that had ever been floated at par by any Government. At that date, July 1, 1892, the total interest-bearing debt had fallen to $585,029,330, or less than one-fourth of the debt of 1865, the annual interest charge to $22,893,883, or about one-seventh of that of 1865, and the *per capita* interest charge to 35 cents, or about one-twelfth of that of 1865.

THE BOND ISSUES OF 1894-6.

A check in the reduction of the national indebtedness, however, followed the financial depression which swept over the country in 1893. This depression caused a great falling off in the revenues of the Treasury, and as a consequence the expenditures exceeded the receipts. The resumption act of 1875 had directed the establishment and maintenance of a gold reserve of $100,000,000 in the Treasury with which to redeem the United States legal-tender notes (greenbacks) on presentation, and authorized the Secretary of the Treasury at any time to sell bonds, if necessary, to maintain it at this sum. A shortage of gold in the country and the heavy exports of that article led to the presentation of these notes for gold in exchange, and this, coupled with the deficiency of receipt of revenue, brought the gold reserve down to $69,757,000 by June, 1894, and as the revenues were still unsatisfactory and Congress failed to take steps for their increase, an issue of $50,000,000 of bonds was made under the authority of the resumption act, above mentioned. Much of the gold obtained by this sale of bonds was soon drawn out, however, by the presentation of United States notes, and the revenues were still less than the expenditures, and another issue of $50,000,000 became necessary in the following December. These bonds were issued at 5 per cent. interest, the rate provided by the act under which they were issued, and were sold at about 17 per cent. premium. They were payable, at the pleasure of the Government, in ten

years after date of issue. The depression continued, however, as did also the exportation of gold, of which about $26,000,000 was exported in January, 1895, and $43,000,000 of gold was withdrawn from the Treasury by the presentation of United States notes for redemption. As a result, another bond issue became necessary. The fact that the former bond issues for strengthening the gold reserve had been followed by an immediate withdrawal of the gold by the presentation of United States notes required some action which would prevent a recurrence of this, and Secretary Carlisle made a contract with a New York syndicate, which included the principal firms engaged in gold exportation, by which thirty-year 4 per cent. bonds were to be issued to them at a price equivalent to 104½. which was considerably below their market value, in consideration of which the syndicate agreed that at least one-half of the gold to be paid therefor should be obtained from abroad, and that it would "exert all financial influence and make all legitimate effort to protect the Treasury against the withdrawal of gold." Under this agreement, $62,315,400 of bonds were issued in February, 1895, which brought the gold reserve again above the necessary $100,000,000. Before the close of the year, however, the shortage in the revenue, coupled with large gold withdrawals from the Treasury by those not parties to the agreement, again reduced the balance in the Treasury far below the requisite sum, and the Secretary's report on that year's operations states that "on the sixth day of January, 1896, the reserve having been reduced to $61,251,710, a circular was issued calling for subscriptions for $100,000,000 of United States 4 per cent. bonds of the same date and character as those sold in February, 1895." This loan was offered for popular subscription, to the highest bidders, and was readily subscribed, the subscriptions far exceeding the total amount of bonds offered, the prices for the bonds accepted ranging from 110 to 120. This brought the gold reserve to a satisfactory figure, and the improved financial condition which began toward the close of that year again brought the Treasury receipts to a point above the expenditures.

THE SPANISH WAR LOAN OF 1898.

With the opening of the war with Spain in 1898 another loan became necessary, and an act was passed authorizing the Secre-

tary of the Treasury to issue 3 per cent. bonds redeemable in ten years and payable in twenty years, to the amount of $400,000,000, or such part thereof as he might deem necessary. The act provided that they should be offered at par, as a popular loan, under such regulations as would give to all citizens of the United States an opportunity to participate, the allotments to be first made to individuals, beginning with the smallest amount and proceeding in the order of magnitude. The Secretary advertised a sale of $200,000,000 bonds. Under this, there were received more than 300,000 subscriptions, of which about 12,000 were for less than $100 each, 15,000 for sums between $100 and $200, 25,000 for sums ranging from $200 to $500, 180,000 for $500, 60,000 for sums ranging from $500 to $4,500, and 28,000 for sums ranging above $4,500. The total sum subscribed was more than $1,400,000,000, or seven times the amount of the loan advertised. The small subscriptions were so numerous that the entire $200,000,000 was assigned in sums less than $4,500 each, while more than one-half of the entire loan was actually assigned to persons whose subscriptions ranged from $20 to $500 each.

THE REFUNDING LOAN OF 1900.

The latest, and in some particulars, the most remarkable bond issue made by the Government, is that by which over $400,000,000 of 3 per cent., 4 per cent. and 5 per cent. bonds were exchanged for bonds bearing 2 per cent. interest, a lower rate security than was ever issued by any other Government in the world. The act of March 14, 1900, establishing the gold standard, authorized the issue of thirty-year bonds *payable in gold coin,* bearing 2 per cent. interest, but to be used only in refunding the public debt. Of the bonds then outstanding, 100 millions were at 5 per cent. interest, payable in 1904, 720 millions at 4 per cent. interest, payable in 1907, and about 200 millions at 3 per cent. payable in 1908, and all commanded a high premium in the markets. The Secretary of the Treasury in his circular offering to exchange the new thirty-year 2 per cent. gold bonds for the shorter term, higher interest bonds stated that, upon the acceptance of any bonds in exchange for the new 2 per cent. bonds, "the present worth of the surrendered bonds to yield an income of 2¼ per cent. will be calculated, and the sum representing the difference between their

present worth and their par value will be paid to the owner by check upon the Treasurer of the United States." Under this proposition over 300 millions of the higher rate, short-term bonds were exchanged for the 2 per cents. in the short period between March 14, 1900, and June 30, 1900; and while the premium paid was about $31,000,000, the saving of interest was over $38,000,000, making the net profit to the Government over $7,000,000. The exchanges have continued at a less rapid rate since that time, the total amount of the debt refunded into the gold-bearing 2 per cent. bonds being about $446,000,000. In addition to this, there are still outstanding of 3 per cent. bonds, $97,000,000; of 4 per cent. bonds, $368,000,000, and of 5 per cent. bonds, $19,000,000. Thus, practically one-half of the interest-bearing debt of the United States now stands at 2 per cent., a lower rate than that paid by any other country, and sales of these 2 per cent. bonds are daily quoted in the financial markets of the country at a premium of over 8 per cent.

THE PROPOSED ISTHMIAN CANAL LOAN.

Another bond issue, in prospect, is that authorized by the recent act of Congress providing for the construction of an Isthmian canal. It authorizes the issue of 130 millions of 2 per cent. bonds, which are to be sold at not less than par, and to be offered for popular subscriptions on plans similar to those followed in the Spanish war loan already described.

THE PACIFIC RAILROAD.

The Pacific Railroad debt of the United States, although now happily adjusted, is worthy of mention in this connection. It consisted of about $65,000,000 of United States bonds, issued to aid the Union and Central Pacific Railroad companies in obtaining funds for the construction of the line from Omaha to San Francisco, the agreement being that the companies would pay the interest and principal of the bonds as they fell due. These bonds became a second mortgage upon the roads. The companies, however, defaulted on the interest and it was paid by the Government, which, by an act of Congress in 1878, was authorized to retain the sums due from the Government to the companies for service, to apply on the payment of the interest and a reduction of the principal of the bonds. This,

however, proved insufficient, and in 1897 steps were taken by the Government to enforce its claim by the sale of the roads. This was quickly followed by offers of settlement, and a sum equivalent to the face value of the bonds and practically all of the accrued interest was paid to the Government in cancellation of its entire claims against the Union Pacific road. In 1899, a settlement was made by the Central Pacific Company, by which it gave to the United States twenty notes of $2,940,635 each, payable at intervals of six months each in gold with interest at 3 per cent. secured by a deposit of $57,820,000 of 4 per cent. gold first-mortgage bonds of the company, which were to form part of an issue not to exceed $100,000,000 of first-mortgage bonds, and to be a first lien upon the road and certain of its property. These transactions removed the Pacific Railroad bonds from the list of obligations of the United States, and reimbursed to the Government the entire face value of the bonds and practically all of the interest which it had paid on them during the default of the railroad companies.

CURRENCY USED IN SUBSCRIPTIONS TO AND REDEMPTION OF UNITED STATES SECURITIES.

The question of the kind of currency in which the securities of the United States were to be paid has been a matter of much discussion at various times. Previous to 1860, all payments by the Government were made in specie, and no mention of the kind of currency to be used in such payments was therefore necessary. Specie payments were suspended by the Government on January 1, 1862, and the legal-tender act passed in February of that year; and subsequent to that time, the United States legal-tender notes were accepted by the Government at their face value for all securities sold by it, without reference to their gold value. It soon became necessary, therefore, to indicate by the act authorizing the bond issues the kind of currency in which they would be redeemed. In the $75,000,000 loan of 1863, the bonds were made payable, principal and interest, in "coin." The compound-interest notes of 1863 were payable in "lawful money." The "ten-forties" of 1864 were payable in coin, as were also the "five-twenties" of that year. The three-year 7.3 per cent. Treasury notes issued in 1865 stated on their face that they were payable, principal and interest, in "lawful money," but were exchange-

able for bonds payable after five years in coin. The "five-twenties" of 1865 were payable in coin, as were also the "consols" issued for consolidating and refunding the National Debt in 1865 and 1867. The bonds issued in 1867, to redeem the compound-interest notes, stated on their face that they were "payable in lawful money." In 1869, Congress passed a resolution declaring specifically that "in order to remove any doubt as to the purpose of the Government to discharge all obligations to the public creditors, and to settle conflicting questions and interpretations of law, it is hereby provided that the faith of the United States is solemnly pledged to the payment in coin or its equivalent of the United States notes and all the interest-bearing obligations, except in cases where the law authorizing the issue has expressly provided that the same may be paid in lawful money or in other currency than gold or silver." After that date all securities issued were made payable in "coin," until 1900, when the $445,000,000 of 2 per cent. "consols" issued for the refunding of the debt at a lower rate of interest stated specifically upon their face that they were payable, principal and interest, "in gold coin of the standard value of the United States."

COMPOUND-INTEREST NOTES.

One class of securities issued toward the close of the war was unique in character. A large part of the interest-bearing Treasury notes issued by the Government at various dates provided for the payment of interest semi-annually. While it was not especially intended that they should be used as circulating medium, they soon came to be so utilized to a large extent, and proved unsatisfactory because of the fact that holders were disposed to hoard them when approaching the date for the payment of the semi-annual interest, and immediately thereafter rush them into the market. Secretary Fessenden in 1864 conceived the plan of issuing compound-interest notes to take the place of these, the interest so compounded to be paid only on the maturity of the notes. He believed that this would not only obviate the fluctuating character of those utilized for currency, but have a tendency to gradually prevent their use for that purpose. He was authorized by law to issue notes bearing 7.3 per cent. interest, and he found that a three-years' 6 per cent. note, with interest compounded every six months, would amount to considerably less

at the expiration of the three years' term than would be paid for interest and principal of an ordinary 7.3 per cent. interest note for the same time. He therefore issued over $250,000,000 of these notes, utilizing them chiefly to take up the outstanding interest-bearing Treasury notes which had proved unsatisfactory as circulation, for the reasons already stated. A part of the compound-interest notes so issued entered into circulation, and some were so utilized until the close of the war, proving less unsatisfactory than those for which they had been substituted. On this general question of the form, interest-bearing qualities, and circulation of the Treasury notes issued during the war, it may be said that they differed greatly. Some of them were for one year, or even two years, with interest payable only at maturity; some simply stated on their face that the interest was payable semi-annually; still others bore interest coupons which stated the amount of interest due at certain dates, semi-annually; while in the case of the legal-tender United States notes of 1862, popularly known as "greenbacks," no interest was to be paid and no date was named at which the principal would be paid.

SINKING FUND.

The reduction of the public debt has been chiefly through the machinery of what is known as the "sinking fund." An act was passed in 1790, on the recommendation of Hamilton, establishing a sinking fund from the surplus of the customs and tonnage revenues, to be applied to the purchase of the securities of the United States at their market value, if not exceeding par; and as the country grew prosperous Congress required that certain fixed sums should be annually paid into the sinking fund, and in years of exceptional prosperity it added special sums from the surplus. In years of small receipts, the sinking fund was neglected. With the money so appropriated the commissioners of the sinking fund bought the outstanding securities at market prices, or paid and cancelled them as they became due. In 1862, a sinking fund for the reduction of the debt then being contracted was established. It directed that a sum equal to one per cent. of the public debt should be paid annually into the fund, to be used in the redemption or purchase of the securities of the Government, and that the annual interest on all bonds so purchased should also be paid into the sinking fund each year and be also

applied to the purchase of bonds. It was calculated that a faithful application of this process would wipe out the debt in about fifty years. The proposition was a very attractive one, but it has not worked altogether smoothly in application. The various heads of the Treasury Department have generally assumed that their first duty was to meet the current requirements of the Treasury, and in years of light revenues and heavy expenditures the sinking fund has received only whatever could be applied after meeting the current requirements of the service, and the sum so placed has therefore fluctuated greatly. It was not until 1869 that the Secretary of the Treasury was able to begin applying any of the revenue to the sinking fund, and for a few years this fell far below the one per cent. directed by law. In later years, however, as prosperity returned and the revenues increased, all of the sum representing one per cent. of the principal of the debt was passed to the credit of the sinking fund, and as bonds were purchased with this sum and cancelled, the interest which they would have drawn if continued in existence was also paid into the fund. These bonds are in fact cancelled as soon as purchased, but a record of their face value and rates of interest is kept, and a sum equal to the interest which they would have drawn if still outstanding is also passed to the sinking fund. As a consequence, the interest due to the sinking fund upon these purchased and extinguished bonds now amounts to much more than the required one per cent. of the principal of the debt. The payments into the sinking fund in last fiscal year amounted in round terms to $53,000,000, of which about $10,000,000 was the one per cent. payment on the principal of the outstanding interest-bearing debt, and $43,000,000 was the amount of interest which the cancelled and destroyed bonds would have drawn had they remained in existence and unpaid. In addition to this, however, large sums have been applied from the surplus funds in the Treasury to the direct purchase of bonds or to the meeting the bonds as they fell due. The total reduction of the interest-bearing debt from 1865 to 1892 was nearly $1,800,000,000, and the total amount of bonds purchased for the sinking fund up to that time was but about $820,000,000, the remainder having been accomplished by redemption of the bonds on presentation or the purchase of them in the open markets from surplus funds in the Treasury, under authority given by various acts of Congress.

NATIONAL BANKS.

A discussion of the National Debt of the United States would scarcely be complete without some reference to the National Banking System, which utilizes the bonds of the United States as security for the $325,000,000 of national bank-notes which form an important part of the circulating medium of the country. Secretary Chase recommended to Congress in December, 1861, that a system of national banks be established, with authority to issue bank-notes secured by United States bonds, but his recommendation was not adopted until February, 1863, when an act was passed establishing the National Banking System. It provided that five or more persons might organize banking associations with fully paid up capital stock, that such banks might deposit United States bonds with the Government and receive in exchange therefor national bank-notes to the amount of 90 per cent. of the par value of the bonds, which notes the banks were permitted to issue in their current business. These notes are guaranteed by the Government, which may utilize the bonds deposited for their redemption and has a first lien upon certain assets of the bank in case the proceeds of the bonds deposited do not fully meet the notes. In 1900, the limit to which banks might issue notes was extended to the par value of the bonds deposited. The advantages claimed for this system are that it assures a safe and uniform bank currency, acceptable at all times and places without reference to the financial standing of the bank, since the securities deposited with the Treasury Department by each bank are fully equal to the sum which it is permitted to issue; also, that it creates a constant market for the securities of the Government, and, by distributing them among the financiers of the country assures their support in maintaining the financial standing of the Government. The State banks, which existed prior to the National Banking act, and which had been permitted to issue currency upon such securities as the State authorities might determine, declined in most instances to transform themselves into national banks; but as their currency was unsatisfactory and in many cases occasioned loss to those accepting it, Congress in 1865 passed an act placing a tax of 10 per cent. upon their circulation, which soon terminated their operations as banks of issue, and many were transformed into national banks. The number of national banks in July, 1864, was 467; in July, 1865, 1,294;

in November, 1887, 3,061, and on June 1, 1902, 4,510, with a capital stock of $675,721,695, national bank-notes outstanding $356,747,184, and individual deposits $3,111,690,196. These banks now hold about $450,000,000 of the outstanding Government bonds, or nearly one-half of the entire amount, about $330,000,000 of their holdings being deposited with the Treasury Department to secure their circulation.

OWNERSHIP OF THE NATIONAL SECURITIES.

The question as to the ownership of the national securities of the United States has been often discussed, but can be determined only approximately because of the fact that a large share of the bonds have interest "coupons" attached, which the holder cuts off and presents at any bank, where it is cashed and forwarded to the Treasury Department, with others of like character, for redemption. During the Civil War some of the securities were placed abroad, though not in large numbers, as investors in foreign countries were uncertain as to the result of the struggle. At the termination of the war, however, the demand abroad for securities of the United States greatly increased; and some additions to the number of foreign holders were made. In general terms, however, it may be said that all but a very small share of the securities of the Government are held in the United States. In 1803, the number of holders of United States securities was estimated by Seybert's Statistical Annals at about 15,000, and in 1880 they were estimated at over 80,000. In the Spanish war loan of 1900, the number of subscribers was over 300,000, and the number to whom bonds were issued was in round terms 290,000. Presumably, however, a large share of these bonds soon found their way into the hands of the banks and trust companies, since, as is shown elsewhere, about one-half of the outstanding bonds of the United States are now held by the national banks alone, while the savings banks, trust companies, insurance companies and other organizations of this character are also large holders. The number of holders of registered bonds is now about 58,000, and as about 85 per cent.. of the total interest-bearing indebtedness is in registered bonds, it may be estimated that the total number of holders of all classes of bonds does not at present exceed 75,000. The best estimates that can be obtained put the total of the national debt which is held abroad at $25,000,000.

"STOCKS" *versus* "BONDS."

It is a curious fact that the long-term securities of the Government prior to 1860 were usually designated as "stock" or "stocks," while since that date they have been designated as "bonds." This is true not only of the discussions regarding these securities, but also as to the laws authorizing them, and in some cases the wording of the securities themselves. Many of the securities issued prior to 1860 bore on their face the designation "stock," while many of those issued after that date bore the designation "bond." Inquiries among officers of the Government familiar with the history of the securities, some of whom were in the service of the Government prior to 1860, fail to produce any explanation of the cause of this change in designation.

It is supposed, however, that the early use of the term "stocks" was adopted from the English custom by which the government obligations had been designated as "stocks" ever since the days in which the loans made to that government were recorded by notches cut in a stick called a "tally," the person loaning the money to the government receiving one half of the stick, with his name officially endorsed thereon, his section of the stick being designated as his "stock," and the half retained by the government being designated as the "counter stock." This method of recording certain accounts was retained by the English government until about the close of the eighteenth century, and the term "stocks" is still applied to securities of that government, especially those having no fixed date for their redemption. The change in designation in the United States after 1860 seems to have been in recognition of the custom by which the term "stock" was held to relate to evidences of part ownership in an organization or corporation, and that of "bonds," to the promises of such organization to repay money loaned to it.

THE HISTORY OF THE DEBT AT A GLANCE.

The following table is interesting as showing how the National Debt of the United States rose and fell from year to year and from period to period in response to the exigencies of the national life. The figures include all indebtedness prior to 1856, but after that date they indicate the interest-bearing debt only. It should be noted, also, that the statement is for January 1st of each year prior to 1843, and for July 1st of each subsequent year.

National Indebtedness of the United States, 1791 to 1902.

Jan. 1, 1791	$75,463,476.52	July 1, 1847	$38,826,534.77
1792	77,227,924.66	1848	47,044,862.23
1793	80,358,634.04	1849	63,061,858.69
1794	78,427,404.77	1850	63,452,773.55
1795	80,747,587.39	1851	68,304,796.02
1796	83,762,172.07	1852	66,199,341.71
1797	82,064,479.33	1853	59,803,117.70
1798	79,228,529.12	1854	42,242,222.42
1799	78,408,669.77	1855	31,762,761.77
1800	82,976,294.35	1856	28,460,958.93
1801	83,038,050.80	1857	44,700,838.11
1802	80,712,632.25	1858	58,290,738.11
1803	77,054,686.40	1859	64,640,838.11
1804	86,427,120.88	1860	90,380,873.95
1805	82,312,150.50	1861	365,304,826.92
1806	75,723,270.66	1862	707,531,634.47
1807	69,218,398.64	1863	1,359,930,763.50
1808	65,196,317.97	1864	2,221,311,918.29
1809	57,023,192.09	1865	2,381,530,294.96
1810	53,173,217.52	1866	2,332,331,207.60
1811	48,005,587.76	1867	2,248,067,387.66
1812	45,209,737.90	1868	2,202,088,727.69
1813	55,962,827.57	1869	2,162,060,522.39
1814	81,487,846.24	1870	2,046,455,722.39
1815	99,833,660.15	1871	1,934,696,750.00
1816	127,334,933.74	1872	1,814,794,100.00
1817	123,491,965.16	1873	1,710,483,950.00
1818	103,466,633.83	1874	1,738,930,750.00
1819	95,529,648.28	1875	1,722,676,300.00
1820	91,015,566.15	1876	1,710,685,450.00
1821	89,987,427.66	1877	1,711,888,500.00
1822	93,546,676.98	1878	1,794,735,650.00
1823	90,875,877.28	1879	1,797,643,700.00
1824	90,269,777.77	1880	1,723,993,100.00
1825	83,788,432.71	1881	1,639,567,750.00
1826	81,054,059.99	1882	1,463,810,400.00
1827	73,987,357.20	1883	1,338,229,150.00
1828	67,475,043.87	1884	1,226,563,850.00
1829	58,421,413.67	1885	1,196,150,950.00
1830	48,565,406.50	1886	1,146,014,100.00
1831	39,123,191.68	1887	1,021,692,350.00
1832	24,322,235.18	1888	950,522,500.00
1833	7,001,698.83	1889	829,853,990.00
1834	4,760,082.08	1890	725,313,110.00
1835	33,733.05	1891	610,529,120.00
1836	37,513.05	1892	585,029,330.00
1837	336,957.83	1893	585,037,100.00
1838	3,308,124.07	1894	635,041,890.00
1839	10,434,221.14	1895	716,202,060.00
1840	3,573,343.82	1896	847,363,890.00
1841	5,250,875.54	1897	847,365,130.00
1842	13,594,480.73	1898	847,367,470.00
1843	20,201,226.27	1899	1,046,048,750.00
July 1, 1843	32,742,922.00	1900	1,023,478,860.00
1844	23,461,652.50	1901	987,141,040.00
1845	15,925,303.01	1902	931,070,340.00
1846	15,550,202.97		

O. P. AUSTIN.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

A Progressive Republican

is a thoughtful student of politics who holds a chair in one of the most prominent of American universities, and who is a warm personal admirer of President Roosevelt.

A Jeffersonian Democrat

is a well-known writer who by conviction and tradition is what he describes himself, and from the point of view of erudition and wide political knowledge is probably the ablest Jeffersonian Democrat in the country.

Thomas B. Reed,

who was Speaker of the House of Representatives in the 51st, 54th, and 55th Congresses, was born in Portland, Maine, in 1839, and graduated at Bowdoin College in 1860. In 1865, he was admitted to the bar. He was a member in 1868-69 of the State House of Representatives, and in 1870 of the State Senate. From 1870 to 1872 he was Attorney-General, and from 1874 to 1877 he was City Solicitor of Portland. In 1877 he was elected to Congress, and was one of the most conspicuous figures in the House till 1899, when he resigned his seat. In 1896 Mr. Reed was a prominent candidate for the Presidency.

Cornelius Vanderbilt,

the eldest surviving son of the late Cornelius Vanderbilt, was born in New York in 1873. He was educated at St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire, and at Yale University, from which he graduated as Bachelor of Arts in 1895. For post-graduate work, Sheffield Scientific School afterwards conferred upon him the degrees of Bachelor of Philosophy and Mechanical Engineer. Mr. Vanderbilt was in the service of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad for several years, being at different times in the Motive Power, Engineering and Comptroller's offices. For the past two and a half years, he has been engaged partly in conducting his own financial affairs and partly in the practice of his profession as a mechanical engineer, directing his attention chiefly to railway machinery. Locomotives, cars and various appliances from his designs and patents are in use on many of the most important railways in the country.

David Bispham,

whose name is familiar to lovers of music in the Old World as well as the New, was born in Philadelphia in 1857 and educated at Haverford College. He began his musical career as an amateur, but genius would not be denied the fullest scope, and he was impelled to devote his life to the study and the service of music. At the age of thirty, he sought the advice of the most capable masters and applied himself to the highest aspects of the art which he felt called to follow. By reason of his lofty ideals and his constant endeavors to put them into practice, the man grew into the artist; and his success, when at length he appeared in public, was brilliant and complete. It was soon universally recognized that he was not only unexcelled in the music sung upon the concert platform, but that his powers fitted him to compete successfully with the best exponents of operatic characters as widely divergent as the poles and, histrionically, as directly opposed. Mr. Bispham occupies an undisputed position as the noblest baritone now to be heard on the operatic stage of England or America.

Susan B. Anthony,

the veteran reformer, was born eighty-two years ago in Adams, Massachusetts. She began her public life in 1852, when she aided in organizing the first State woman's temperance society. She took an active part in anti-slavery and woman's rights work, and during the Civil War she was Secretary of the Woman's National Loyal League. Since the war, she has devoted herself to the woman-suffrage movement. Miss Anthony was arrested and tried, in 1872, for voting under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. She has been engaged in eight different State campaigns for a Constitutional Amendment enfranchising women, and has been granted a hearing before committees of every Congress since 1869. With the late Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Mrs. Matilda Joslyn Gage, she is joint author of "The History of Woman Suffrage."

Erving Winslow,

a native of Boston, was educated at the English High School in that city and at the Lawrence Scientific School in Harvard University. He served for some time as aid in the United States Coast Survey, and assistant in the Dudley Observatory, Albany, New York, and since 1868 he has followed mercantile pursuits in his native city. Mr. Winslow has long

taken an active interest in the promotion of the public welfare in connection with municipal, State and national affairs. He is Secretary of the Anti-Imperialist League.

MARRION WILCOX,

after graduating at Yale in 1878, crossed the Atlantic to pursue special studies at Oxford, Heidelberg, Jena and Berlin universities. He originally chose the profession of law, but he has given himself to literary work, in which he has been engaged, as writer and editor, since 1893. Mr. Wilcox has just returned from Cuba where he spent a considerable time on a visit of observation.

CHARLES H. CRAMP

is president of the William Cramp & Sons Ship and Engine Building Co., the largest ship-building enterprise in the United States, which has built many of the finest naval and merchant vessels now afloat.

W. L. PENFIELD

graduated at the University of Michigan in 1870, and in 1873 he began the practice of law in Auburn, Indiana, where he acted as city attorney from 1876-80. At various times he was member of the Republican State Committee, Presidential Elector and delegate to the National Republican Convention. He sat on the bench as judge of the thirty-fifth circuit of Indiana from 1894 to 1897, and in the latter year he was appointed Solicitor to the Department of State.

CAPTAIN J. M. PALMER, U. S. A.,

a grandson of the late General John M. Palmer of Illinois, graduated from the City High School of Springfield, Illinois, in 1887, and from the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1892. In the latter year, he joined the Fifteenth United States Infantry as second lieutenant. In December, 1897, he was detailed as Professor of Military Science and Tactics at the University of Chicago, but he was relieved from that duty at the outbreak of the Spanish-American war. He served with his regiment in Puerto Principe, Cuba, and later in China, with the China Relief Expedition. Since August, 1891, Captain Palmer has been on duty at the United States Military Academy at West Point.

SYDNEY BROOKS

is an English journalist who has already contributed a number of articles on a variety of subjects to the REVIEW.

MARGUERITE MERINGTON

is of English and Irish parentage. Brought to this country

as a child, she has passed most of her life in New York. Success as an amateur actress gave her an opportunity to go on the professional stage, but she turned her attention instead to play-writing. Her best known plays are "Captain Lettarblair," written for Mr. E. H. Sothern, "An Every Day Man" for the late Sol Smith Russell, and "Love Finds the Way," for Mrs. Fiske. She also wrote "Daphne," the libretto which took the prize in the *concours* held by the National Conservatory of Music in America. Miss Merington has contributed a number of stories, essays and poems to the leading magazines.

EDGAR FAWCETT

has been engaged in literature ever since he graduated at Columbia College in 1867. He has travelled extensively both in America and Europe, and he is at present residing in London. Among his works, which are voluminous, may be mentioned "Fantasy and Passion," "Songs of Doubt and Dream," "A Gentleman of Leisure," "An Ambitious Woman," "The Evil that Men Do," and "A New York Family."

JOSEPH S. AUERBACH

was graduated from the Academic and Law Departments of New York University in 1875 and 1877, respectively. He is a member of the law firm of Davies, Stone & Auerbach, who, in court and in private consultation, represent many of the larger corporate and financial interests centering in the city of New York.

HENRY C. ADAMS

comes of Puritan parentage. He graduated in 1874 at the Iowa College, Grinnell, Iowa, and took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Johns Hopkins University in 1878. After studying at Heidelberg, Berlin and Paris, he lectured for a time at Cornell, Johns Hopkins and the University of Michigan, and in 1887 he was appointed Professor of Political Economy in the last-named institution. In 1887, he became Statistician of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, a position he still occupies. In 1890 he had charge of the Statistics of Transportation Division of the Eleventh Census. Among his published works are "Taxation in the United States, 1789-1816," "The State in its Relation to Industrial Action," and "Science of Finance."

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S FIRST YEAR.

BY A PROGRESSIVE REPUBLICAN.

THERE is nothing more foreign to the character of President Roosevelt than periphrasis. He never goes around a difficulty either in phrase or in act. If there is anything or anybody in the way of his obvious duty, he demands to be let by. His mood is the imperative, and the tense of his speech and of his activity is predominantly the present. He has written of the past somewhat voluminously, yet he has ever interpreted it in the living of to-day. He does not transport himself and his readers back to Cromwell's day; he brings Cromwell down into his and their own time. I saw him once with a lot of Cromwell books about him; but he was not shut up in a dimly lighted study from which he could not look out upon the present; he sat upon the great porch of Sagamore, and in his riding breeches. Marston Moor was somewhere within the horizon, and Cromwell was being imagined into the perplexities of a twentieth-century soldier and statesman.

And he does not, with all his idealism, spend much time in the future. This I venture to say, not knowing. Indeed, it has been observed that he is short-sighted. More than one political oculist and some demagogic opticians have recommended the lenses of

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partisan sagacity and foresight. Occasionally, one feels that he has been practising the conjugation of his own personal future, but one cannot entertain such a thought for long. The theory of selfish prevision is untenable, unless one give a new and a broader meaning to the term "politic."

And yet, with all this lack of periphrasis of character and manner, with all his engrossment in the present and enjoyment of the immediate landscape of life, it is after all in the "periphrastic future," as the elder Hadley taught us to denominate the action immediately expected or intended, that the achievement of the first year of President Roosevelt's administration lies. But it is in the indicative mood of imminent achievement or expectation. It is not something that *may* be about to be, but that *is* about to be; it is the intended, and because his own fierce will intends, it is the expected. We of America are accused by British philologists of not knowing the difference between "shall" and "will," between simple futurity and the futurity of agency. It is not that we use "shall" for "will" in the first person, but that we make "will" do all the service. In other words, we are disposed, in our language at least, to lay all the future under personal obligation. I am not certain that this criticism may lie against President Roosevelt's grammar; but it is suggestive of his temperament. He is not disposed to let things come to pass, especially if they are not desirable things; he must be in alliance with the forces that prevent or delay the evil or hasten the good. I once heard ex-President Harrison say of him in his presence that the only occasion of disagreement between them, when Mr. Roosevelt was Civil Service Commissioner, was that he was impatient to reform everything, and between the sunrise and sunset of one day.

To say that "to be about to" is the greatest achievement of the first year's service of such a man is not to excuse or to minimize what has been accomplished in these months; it is rather to give them their potential value. We have often to go back when something has been achieved or a life finished to find the date of its inception or birth and mark it for remembrance because of what it potentially had; and I have no doubt that we shall have occasion in the future to turn back to the first year of Roosevelt for the incipiency of many things, though he has been faithful to the pledge of his succession. His policy has been the policy of his predecessor, but translated into terms of his own temperament.

The duties of his office in peace are twofold: first, to execute the laws that have been made in the past, and, second, to recommend to the consideration of Congress such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient for the future. To these duties he has added a third: to inform public opinion in the present. This last cannot be said to be an entirely new Presidential function, but I doubt if any of his predecessors has so deliberately or extensively or directly exercised it. We shall be best able to appraise his achievement in all its tenses if we consider these functions separately.

And, first, as to his purely executive activities, those which have to do with the enforcement of laws, and with promoting or maintaining the efficiency of the law and order machinery. No one has ever come into the Presidency with a better practical knowledge of the gear of government. He did not know the ways and the personnel of the legislative department as President McKinley did, and I imagine that the judiciary had for his mind, bent on equity and somewhat irreverent of precedent, many mysteries; but he did know the executive in all its complexity and detail. He had expert knowledge of the navy; he had with remarkable acquisitiveness amassed experience in the army; he knew the civil service from top to bottom; he knew, moreover, as State executive, of the correlation of Federal and State functions, and he had had a conspicuous part in working out a difficult municipal problem in New York. This, besides an apprenticeship in the New York legislature and a brief presiding over the United States Senate. All this is well known. I repeat it merely to emphasize his preparedness. I heard a distinguished American historian urge, when Roosevelt was elected Vice-President, that the office should be enlarged to give the government the opportunity to avail of his experience, that he should at least have a seat with the cabinet. The country shuddered a little when it first realized that it was to have this experience, but at the imagined peril of his impulsiveness and impracticalness. The former was indeed obscured in the fear of the latter. But the first year has made manifest the value of the experience and has largely dissipated the fear. He has carried up with him his technical knowledge; but he is as free from the trammels of the usual as a Kipling poem. If the civil service had the loquacity of one of that poem's engines, it could tell some brave

stories of a Commissioner's fearlessness, and the ships that found themselves in Manila harbor could testify of what he is thought by some to lack,—foresight. If there were such a thing as a Presidential fitting school, the courses which President Roosevelt has taken would furnish it with a good curriculum. That he has used the specialized knowledge gained in these courses and used it with an eye single to the good of the service is the first achievement of his first year. Indeed, I think this is the greatest, actually and potentially.

A catalogue of his appointments would not furnish a list of eligibles for Sunday-school superintendencies or college professorships; but, in nearly every case, there has been a patent fitness of the man for the office. There are some seeming exceptions; but they only serve to emphasize the generality of fitness, and to give confidence that there are latent qualifications where the patent are wanting. The Rough Rider without the full quota of features, whom he nominated to a United States marshalship down in the Southwest, was probably as well-fitted technically for the discharge of the perilous duties of his office as some carefully selected Federal judge for the adjudging of guilt. At any rate, here was, at worst, only a mistake of judgment. Such a nomination may have been unwise; it was not immoral. As I remember, the President was unwitting of the homicidal record of this particular appointee, and when apprised of it withdrew the nomination; but I can believe that his confidence in a man, unprejudiced of political motive, will purge even a bad record.

This raises the question which Aristotle raised many centuries ago: Shall a man in illness be treated by a physician or by formulæ? Shall a citizen be governed of formulæ or by a ruler free to use his intelligence and his skill? The patient, he urged, was safer if he followed formulæ, for a physician might be bribed to poison him. And laws, being theoretically the embodiment of God and intelligence, were more serviceable and safe than the ruler who might be swayed by passion or bribed by partisanship. Yet, we should all prefer the services of a physician who both has knowledge of the formulæ and cannot be bribed to poison. And the confidence we have in President Roosevelt is that, while he may transgress the conventional formulæ in which we have been wont to trust for public health, he has an honest and abiding love for the people, which will not let him intentionally do harm. The

success of the great Austrian surgeon who is at present operating in this country is ascribed to the fact that he dares to do what many know should be done, but under the restraint of timid practice do not do. President Roosevelt has done, in like manner, what another President, not from lack of knowledge, but from unwillingness to take the risk, doubtless would not dare. He has, for example, appointed one of the most notorious headsmen of an earlier administration to one of the most conspicuous of the Federal offices, the New York Surveyorship—the rock on which several political fortunes have before now been wrecked. He seemed to the lay citizen to be discrediting all his professions, and to be breaking the unwritten if not the written law of reform. I do not know if the appointee has been wholly regenerated in his civil service views, but I do know that the appointment is in its results regarded as one of the very best which the President has made. The operation was eminently successful, and under the nursing of the very efficient Civil Service Commission, a cure has been accomplished and the office improved.

Except the appointment just mentioned, no appointment has aroused more unfavorable comment than the "promotion" of Commissioner Evans. I once visited the battlefield when the veteran forces were openly attacking the man, and I know how fearlessly, and yet with how little malice, he maintained his position, President McKinley supporting him. One of the most agreeable of my memories of the late President is of a conversation, some months before his death, in which he reminded the Commissioner that we could not, any of us, have clear sailing all the time, and that consciously doing one's duty was better than mere popularity. Yet it is certain that President McKinley later promised the Commissioner release with honor from a struggle in which his service had been all that could be asked of one man. The attacks ceased, but before the exchange of commander could be made, the tragic event occurred at Buffalo. It can thus be appreciated under what pressure of obligation the successor to his promises and policies were placed. As to the result no one who knows or has ever seen the lawyer-poet-commissioner from Kansas will ask whether there has been any surrender to the fraudulent or to the camp-followers; nor will he doubt that every honest case will have sympathetic treatment.

President McKinley is doubtless the last of that great army

upon whom the gray shadows of years have fallen, to hold the great office. His successor is of those strong men born in the days of stress; but he will be no less a friend of the old soldier because he did not fight with him, because he is of the new army that is to take up its march across the façade of the Pension Building. This I say in spite of the fact that he has been unwilling to except the veteran in government employ from all civil service restrictions. And in respect of pensions, he is as fiercely intolerant of fraud as he is generous toward desert. There will be no government funds invested in pensions for partisan purposes if he can help it. There will be no encouragement of parasitism under the plea of rewarding patriotism. Of this we may be certain. If the pension department is administered with somewhat more of the kindliness and appreciation of human nature, as we may well expect, it will not be with less of justice.

There has been a toning up of the whole civil service. Of this I am assured by one who knows better than anybody else. And his judgment has ample confirmation in that of others, if it is needed. Here and there, with and without the publication of new orders or the adoption of new rules, the President has strengthened, purified, raised the service. This was to be expected, and the expectation has not been disappointed. Partisan and selfish attempts to bring men into the classified service, under cover of some new law or order, have been frustrated; the rules have been extended in their operation; the Indian service has been improved and political considerations have been barred in appointments to positions in the dependencies. The army and the navy have been especially responsive to the President's policy of recognizing merit and fitness as recommendations for advancement, beyond influence of friends or mere duration of service.

And as to the rest of the Federal service, the President's law of selection (which so commends itself to one's sense that it should be called "natural selection") is certain to assist in the evolution of a most wholesomely honest type of official—his self-imposed rule to employ no man for the counsel of the country whom he would not employ for his own counsel, his insistence that those recommended for appointment shall come up to his standard. This at first gave discomfiture to some who asked appointments to help them in payment of political debts, or who wished to borrow of Executive patronage for personal investment.

The President has not been disposed to go outside of his party nor has he been disinclined to accept the suggestions of Senators, but he has demanded in every case good security, even of his best friends, that is, assurance of fitness. This is, of course, the only safe policy in politics as in business, as we must come eventually to recognize.

The type that is being evolved is not only an honest type, but a virile, robust type. There is a good deal of the primal man in the President. One can readily in imagination put him into a neolithic environment. Some one has recently likened him to the mythical Prometheus, who, for all he was a god, had such human sympathies and traits that he was willing to endanger his life and his prerogative to give fire to mankind. He has the quality of virtue in its original essence. And the men whom he selects are likely to share, in spirit if not in body, his characteristics. I have only recently heard the eminent, scholarly jurist whom he has nominated to the Supreme Bench, speak at sixty-five of the fierce joy of struggle, and remind his youngers that the line of progress in morality, if not in physics, is the line of greatest resistance. Especially are these valiant qualities to be found in those whom the President insists upon selecting personally, the incumbents of the most important and highest Federal offices. And, naturally, they characterize his cabinet. Those whom he has chosen are men of energy and executive capacity, as likely as their chief to use the causative future. I have seen the sometime Governor of Iowa at his tasks at daybreak, and he has carried these same aggressive industrious habits into the Treasury. There is, if anything, too little repose.

So much for Theodore Roosevelt's purely executive achievement. It is impossible of estimate. It is an influence intangible and pervasive. Every effort is made to keep good efficient men in office, and to keep the other sort out. Nor is the President impulsive in his selections, all impressions of his sudden movements to the contrary. No one is more conscientious. His long experience has been concentrated into instinct, which enables him often to make up his mind more quickly, but he does not act from unintelligent or uninformed impulse or erratically. He has not only strengthened the human side of the service, but he has put the laws to the test of their capacity. Some have thought him lawless; but this is not a just criticism; if it

have color of justification, it is because of his possessing love of justice and his striving ever to keep the statutes from shirking their whole duty. There has been, and there is to be, no evasion of obligation, no temporizing, no pandering.

But he has a still higher and a broader duty, though it is one not peculiar to his office. He not only executes the laws; he contributes to their making. He is both President and Prime Minister—the chosen head of the people and the acting head of the party. Former Presidents have been usually content with their two appointed constitutional functions. President Roosevelt has extended his personality through public speech in direct effort to influence public opinion and, through public opinion, legislation. I have thought of President Cleveland as hanging up the telephone receiver when assured of favorable election returns and of the confidence of the people, and then acting upon his own best judgment for them in a sort of paternal way. It is the popular impression that President McKinley was too attentive to the telephone; but his use of it accorded with his theory of his office, and he was not the less strong for living up to his theory. President Roosevelt has a democratic sub-consciousness. His humanistic instincts are keen, and interpret popular feeling with accuracy. The definite messages that come to him are, like those of wireless telegraphy, only those which the receiver is attuned to register. All else passes by. He accepts counsel of political bosses, but the counsel which he follows is that which his high motive catches. It may be the political bosses' counsel; it may not be. He hails policies before they come into sight. But the messages he repeats at the level of men's ears. His speech is homely; it is void of grace, but it is effective. He does not speak merely in felicitous phrase; he must proselyte. He is like one of those old French pioneer priests in the Northwest who carried his altar upon his back through the forest and across the plains, and whenever he came to a settlement put it down and celebrated mass.

We may question whether this is not an exceeding of constitutional prerogative. But the fact remains that he has made use of it. He has spoken to the people on "the state of the Union," and recommended to them measures "necessary and expedient;" and through them he delivers messages to a Congress not altogether sympathetic. Yet, in doing this he has divided his party; at the

same time he has temporarily strengthened it. The voters have been put in a position of inability to denounce both the President and the party. There has been, however, no deceit, no trick. The President, whatever else he is, is not a prestidigitateur. He has no cabinet mysteries. But the recent elections have left the ready reckoner in some doubt. Has it been a vote for tariff reform, or for a rigid, unyielding maintenance of present schedules? Have the people declared for restraint of trusts or in favor of letting them go their own economic way? And what of reciprocity? I asked a prominent statesman these questions a few days ago, and he replied in the language of some other sage observer that, "while there are many as honest and as able men in the country as Mr. Roosevelt, the people do not think so." It was largely a vote of confidence in the President. The country, approving his honest general intentions, passed to the order of the day.

There can be no question that there has been intended by many an endorsement of his specific proposals: Cuban reciprocity, the putting of the tariff out of politics (on a protectionist basis), and further effort to restrain the trusts of any evil propensities; yet he received indirectly the cordial support of great numbers who have only a platonic interest in these policies. The provisional settlement of the great coal-strike visualized him to the great working classes as their champion, though he entered merely as the representative of the suffering consumer. Moreover, his activities have been constantly dramatized by circumstance; ever since he swung down the mountain in that famous ride a year ago he has followed where his sense of justice has led; and the setting and action have been all that the most imaginative could desire. If the capitalists in the pit have been sometimes uneasy, the gallery has not let pass an occasion for applause. And the occasions have been many; his being hurled near death in New England, his standing through a long address unflinching and going then to an operating table; his forgetting his wound in his efforts as peace-maker between the coal operators and miners,—all these incidents have given the color of romance and knight-errantry to the prosaic office and heightened the appeal of his character. What the effect may be upon the future we cannot now reckon, but he has kept his audience with him so far, and unsympathetic capital will yet know how genuine a friend he is.

This leads to his third achievement. His popularity is valid,

aside from its influence upon personal character, only as it gets his policies incorporate in law. He has enjoyed no such relationship with the legislative body as did his predecessor, who had been graduated from it into executive service, and whose relationship with it was close, even affectionate—one which made both the executive and the legislative insensible to the division line. There can be no question that in the end the late President was most successful in getting his wishes recorded; but there was, nevertheless, a serious encroachment of the legislative upon the executive, and the independence of the Chief Executive was menaced. The coming into the Presidency of one who is a comparative stranger to Congress has necessitated the putting up of the line fences again, and they are not likely to be broken through or moved—at any rate toward the White House. These relations will undoubtedly affect the resultant legislation. Yet it is a mark of the confidence of Congress in the President that even the opponents of the Panama route were willing to vote for the isthmian canal bill in its final shape. The success of the arid-land legislation is also to be credited in good measure to the support of the President. It was his spirit that helped us to keep our pledge in quitting Cuba; it was his spirit that prevented our taking the slightest advantage of our strength there; and it is to be by his effort that reciprocity will finally be granted. His influence is manifest, too, in our Philippine policy. In the immediate future we may expect legislation in further extension of the Sherman Law, along lines suggested in Secretary Knox's recent address, for the President has evidently decided not to wait for a Constitutional Amendment. In the remoter future the tariff will undoubtedly be modified to make it consistent with changed conditions; and in these policies a large majority of the voters will undoubtedly support the President, even to the breaking up of old party lines.

This seems all inadequate to sum up the "achieving" of the first year of the President's activity. The only feeling one can have who contemplates it is that to which George Douglas Brown, the promising English writer who died a few days ago, is said to have expressed: "Lord, how little we writers amount to compared with those who *do* things!"

MR. ROOSEVELT'S FIRST YEAR IN OFFICE.

BY A JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRAT.

BEFORE we undertake to discuss President Roosevelt's first year in office from the viewpoint of a Jeffersonian Democrat, we naturally shall be expected to define what we mean by Jeffersonian Democrat. Perhaps we can best arrive at an acceptable definition by a process of cancellation. We certainly do not mean by the term Jeffersonian Democrat a citizen who, when confronted by the political and economical problems of the twentieth century, declines to make any effort to solve them, unless he can find in the acts and words of Thomas Jefferson, who died some three-quarters of a century ago, solutions propounded for precisely similar problems. The utmost for which the most devoted disciple of Jefferson would contend is that, in our endeavor to solve problems which were never presented to Jefferson himself, we should be guided by the general principles which he enunciated, and his faith in which was attested by his adherence to them in practice.

The question at once arises, What were those general principles, and were they all deemed equally binding by their author? It will be obvious to the student of Jefferson's career that, among the principles which he formulated, some were regarded by him as primary and some as secondary, and that, even among those at first accepted by him as primary, there were some which, under the pressure of momentous exigencies, were superseded by another broad and elastic principle which he recognized as fundamental. Before we go any further, it may be well to pause for a moment and recall the facts which indicate how, beneath Jefferson's seeming inconsistencies, lay the sovereign faculty of statecraft, to wit: the faculty of grading, subordinating and adjusting principles so as to keep always in view the paramount aim of statesmanship, the assurance of the safety, welfare and progress

of the state. That Thomas Jefferson, were he living to-day, would show himself qualified to deal with the problems of the twentieth century, with the evils imputed to the trusts and with the disputes between labor and capital, will be evident, we think, if we call to mind his method of dealing with the questions raised by the projected purchase of the Louisiana territory, and if we also call to mind, what is more generally overlooked, the extraordinary change of attitude toward Great Britain which he underwent during the quarter of a century preceding the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine.

Two questions of extreme importance in the eyes of a constitutional lawyer were involved in the purchase of the Louisiana territory from France. First, under the Federal Constitution, as it stood, had the Federal Government any right to make such a purchase? Secondly, the purchase being made, had Congress the power, under the Constitution, to enact a government for the purchased territory which should withhold from the inhabitants thereof the rights enjoyed by the citizens of States within the Union? The answers returned by Jefferson to these questions were very different from those which might have been expected by persons who considered simply the general principles previously advocated by him, and who lost sight of the fundamental aim for which those principles had been propounded, namely, the safety, the welfare and the development of the United States. Up to 1803, Jefferson had been what was called a strict constructionist; that is to say, he held that the powers asserted by the Federal Government must be distinctly and unmistakably expressed in the text of the Constitution, and not deduced therefrom by lax and subtle interpretation. He had formulated the principle of strict construction, because, during the administrations of Washington and John Adams, the most formidable danger by which, in his opinion, the country was threatened was the dilapidation of State Rights through the intrusions and usurpations of Federal authority, intrusions and usurpations based upon the opposite principle of loose construction. That danger seemed averted when Jefferson became President on March 4th, 1801.

Within two years the ill-cemented confederacy was beset with an even graver peril. The whole right bank of the Mississippi River, including all the mouths of that vast waterway, the use of which was indispensable to the American settlers in Ohio, Ken-

tucky and Tennessee, had passed into the hands of France; that is to say, had become exposed to the attacks of the arch-enemy of France, Great Britain, which, being omnipotent at sea, could never be dislodged were its grasp once laid upon the outlet of the Mississippi Valley. Jefferson knew it to be probable, if not absolutely certain, that, if the British flag was planted at New Orleans, the inhabitants of the region between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi would be driven, by economic motives of irresistible force, to resume allegiance to the British Crown. In a word, it was clear to him that the safety, the welfare and the progress of his country were at stake. What was to be done? He did not believe that the Constitution, as it stood, gave him, or gave Congress, the power to purchase the Louisiana territory, and he knew that there was no time to await the slow and dubious procurement of a Constitutional Amendment. In the face of such an exigency, he did not hesitate to abjure for the moment the principle of strict construction, and this he did on the ground that *cessante ratione cessat et ipsa lex;* or, in other words, the national salvation having ceased to require, or even to permit, the principle of strict construction, that principle should be suspended. In fine, Jefferson, like every other statesman worthy of the name, was no idolater of his own formulæ. He acknowledged that principles of political interpretation and policy are made for men, not men for principles, and that there are crises, like that which loomed upon him in 1803, when *salus reipublicæ suprema lex;* when a nation's salvation is the supreme law.

So Louisiana was bought. Then came the question, How shall it be governed? The white inhabitants of the newly-acquired region, relatively few compared with the Indian element of the population, were of French or Spanish descent. Most of them were bitterly hostile to the cession of Louisiana to the United States, and, even had they regarded favorably the transfer of sovereignty, they would still have been disqualified, through their life-long subjection to an autocratic system, for the immediate exercise of self-government. Some method of administration, however, had to be forthwith adopted if the Hispano-French community was to be rescued from anarchy. In this predicament, Jefferson prepared a plan for the government of the new territory which ignored the condition proclaimed necessary by the Declaration of Independence, to wit, the consent of the governed,

His scheme conceded to the people of Louisiana no voice in the control of their own affairs, but endowed the President and his appointees with the monarchical authority exercised by the Spanish Viceroy. To those critics who insisted that the plan was unconstitutional, Jefferson made no reply in any of his messages to Congress; but his supporters answered that the Constitution was made for the States, and not for the Territories, and that with the Territories Congress could do anything it pleased. Jefferson himself justified the project of territorial government on the ground that, in providing an immediate remedy for an urgent need, he was seeking the good of the American people and executing their will.

Nor was it by pressing exigencies alone that Jefferson was led to reconstruct his own opinions. In the re-adjustment of his views he was influenced at one important conjuncture by a wise forecast of the future. In Washington's second administration, he had been a strenuous opponent of the Jay Treaty, on the score of its concessions to Great Britain; and, throughout the administration of John Adams, he denounced the pro-British sympathies of the Federalist party. Throughout the eight years of his Presidency, he missed no opportunity of exhibiting dislike and distrust of England, for which, it cannot be denied, he had sufficient provocation. Within fifteen years, however, after he took leave of the White House, his feeling with reference to that country underwent a radical change. In a letter to President Monroe, penned in the autumn of 1823, when the expediency of proclaiming the Monroe Doctrine was under consideration at Washington, he not only signified approval of such a declaration, but added some memorable words which attested his freedom from rancor, his openness of mind and the far-reaching scope of his prevision. He recognized that the Canning of 1823 was not the Canning of fifteen years before, and that circumstances were impelling England toward Liberal ideas and sentiments, thus making her a fit associate and an invaluable comrade for the United States. Said Jefferson:

"Great Britain is the nation which can do us the most harm of any one or all on earth, and, with her on our side, we need not fear the whole world. With her, then, we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship, and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more side by side in the same cause."

It seems plain, then, that Jefferson, were he alive to-day, would be pre-eminently qualified to deal with the problems that confront us, by the breadth and penetration of his mind, by his subordination of formulated principles to the aims for which they were devised, and by the tenacity of his adherence to the paramount purpose of all government, to wit, the salvation of the nation. But, while Jefferson would be ready to abjure prejudices and forget injuries, to accept at critical conjunctures a loose instead of a strict construction of our Federal organic law, and, even, under the pressure of irresistible circumstances, to amend or to defy the Constitution, it is equally certain that to extreme and extra-legal measures he would make recourse in no spirit of giddy and blind bravado, but with quivering reluctance and anxiety, and only when, so far as his eye or any human eye could discern, no other and less dangerous method of coping with a pressing exigency seemed attainable. Assuredly, he would never advocate a Constitutional Amendment transferring to the Federal Government rights reserved to the States, until he had exhausted the capacious powers of taxation, Inter-State Commerce regulation and tariff manipulation conferred upon the Federal Government by the Constitution, as construed by the United States Supreme Court; much less would he presume to violate, either openly or by implication, the plain purport of the Constitution, or to initiate by a vicious precedent the growth of a specious Cæsarism warranted by no organic law, formulated in no statutes and reviewable by no tribunal.

I.

We have attempted to define the viewpoint of a Jeffersonian Democrat, by suggesting how Jefferson himself, were he now living, would approach the problems of to-day. Having cleared the ground to this extent, let us look at the salient, and especially the pivotal, incidents in Mr. Roosevelt's first year of office. About the rightfulness of his request that Congress should make such a reduction of the duty levied in our ports on Cuba's principal export staple, sugar, as would assure to the island a measure of prosperity, there ought to be no doubt in any quarter. So far as President McKinley and his Secretary of War were competent to bind their fellow-citizens, they imposed on us a debt of honor when they promised Cuba a material reduction of the duty on her sugar, in consideration of the important concessions to the United States

embodied in the so-called Platt Amendment. When Congress adopted that amendment, it did so with knowledge of the consideration promised, and, therefore, contracted a moral obligation to fulfil the agreement. So much is admitted, even by our native producers of beet-root sugar, who, although they demanded in the last session of Congress that the whole duties fixed by the Dingley Tariff should continue to be levied upon Cuban sugars, suggested that a sum equivalent to the money value of the proposed reduction should be paid from our Treasury to the insular government. That we owe a debt to Cuba is, therefore, undisputed, and the recognition of the justice of the President's determination to discharge it, a recognition attested by the legislatures of the States most interested in the rival beet-root product, renders the ratification by the Senate of a treaty granting a material reduction of the duty on Cuban sugars extremely probable, if not certain. No candid student of Jefferson's career and character can doubt how he would act in such a matter, and we take it for granted that not even indirect opposition will be offered to the treaty from the Democratic side. So far, then, as his treatment of Cuba is concerned, Mr. Roosevelt deserves to be honored by his countrymen, irrespectively of party distinctions.

The same thing may be said of the position taken by the State Department under Mr. Roosevelt's administration with reference to China. Toward that country our Federal Government has continued to pursue a policy of forbearance and magnanimity. Our State Department from the outset has contended that the aggregate indemnity imposed on China for the Boxer outrages was inordinate, and it has listened to China's plea that to pay the debt in gold instead of silver would out-tax her fiscal resources. It is understood that we have signified a willingness to accept our share of the indemnity in silver, and, influenced by our example, Germany has consented to refer the question raised by China to the Court of Arbitration at The Hague. As Germany had hitherto shown herself disposed to insist upon the payment of the indemnity in gold, we may presume that all the Powers concerned will now acquiesce in the submission of the question to an impartial tribunal. This may seem to some persons a minor incident, but it reflects high credit on the Roosevelt administration, and it is certain to augment the moral authority possessed by our diplomatic representatives at Peking.

There are two other particulars in which the attitude maintained by Mr. Roosevelt during his first year of office should command the hearty approval of all clear-sighted lovers of their country. He has followed both of the counsels earnestly offered by Jefferson in the above-mentioned letter to Monroe. He has made plain his purpose inflexibly to uphold the Monroe Doctrine, so far as that doctrine binds us to prohibit European States from acquiring any new foothold on the American Continent; and, at the same time, he has missed no opportunity of evincing appreciation of the exceptional value of England's good-will to the United States. This he has done without provoking any distrust or jealousy on the part of other European Powers. To have commanded the respect and retained the friendship of all the great maritime nations while knitting with peculiar closeness the ties of amity with England, is an achievement that deserves more notice than it has generally received; and, however skilful and effective may have been the assistance given by his chosen Secretary of State, the credit of it belongs, primarily and mainly, to the President himself.

II.

We pass to the great economic questions that occupy the public mind throughout the United States: the tariff, the trusts and the disputes between capital and labor. These are the most momentous questions by which our country has been confronted since the problem of negro slavery was solved by the Civil War. How has Mr. Roosevelt dealt, or proposed to deal, with them? The President is not an advocate of a tariff for revenue only; much less is he a free-trader. He may fairly be described as a moderate or reasonable protectionist. That is to say, we understand him to favor the protection of so-called infant industries against foreign competition in our home market, until such industries have grown strong enough to be self-protecting. We do not understand him to assert that protection in the home market should be given to giant industries, which have proved themselves able to undersell European competitors in foreign markets. It is, on the face of things, unjust that the American consumer should be forced to pay for a given article more than the American manufacturer thereof requires a foreign customer to pay for a like commodity. In every such case Mr. Roosevelt, unless we have misread him, thinks that the tariff should undergo revision. We do

not underrate the value of such a readjustment, neither do we question the sincerity of the President's desire to bring it about. So far as we can judge, however, from the references to the subject in the speeches made by him during the last year, his efforts in that direction will be confined to the recommendation of a Tariff Commission, to be appointed for the purpose of inquiring what duties may be reduced without exposing American manufactures to competition in the home market. It is manifest that no immediate relief can be expected from such a commission. No report could be looked for before the beginning of the first regular session of the Fifty-eighth Congress in December, 1903; and, even if most of the proposed reductions of duties should ultimately prove acceptable to a majority in both Houses, they are certain to encounter opposition so violent that definite legislation seems improbable during the session of Congress that precedes the next Presidential election. If such a miscarriage of the President's revisionist programme could be charged to the obstruction offered by a Democratic majority in the House of Representatives, the people would give the President full credit for excellent intentions. As things are, the President's party, having secured a majority in both branches of the next Congress, the mass of the voters will be apt to hold him personally accountable for the failure of his plans. They cannot be expected to appreciate the extent to which Mr. Roosevelt may be thwarted by certain Republican leaders, whose unfriendliness to him will continue to be studiously concealed, so long as he retains his present popularity. With his chances of success, however, in the next Republican National Convention, or at the ballot-box—chances which may be sensibly affected by the measure of fulfilment which his revisionist promises shall have received—we are not for the moment concerned, for we are here discussing only his first year in office and its immediate significance. So far as he recognizes the duty of pruning the excrescences of the Dingley Tariff, he indubitably represents the progressive element of his own party, and must be acknowledged by candid Democrats to have taken a step in the right direction.

III.

When we come to the President's treatment of the economic and political questions raised within recent years by the vast conglomerations of capital in many fields of industry and trade, we

find it impossible to speak without reprobation of one of the remedies proposed for the evils imputed to the trusts. In the speeches which he made during the summer in New England, he expressed the opinion that the dangers to which the American community is exposed through abuses of the power pertaining to colossal corporations could be efficiently and lastingly averted only by a Constitutional Amendment, giving the Federal Government the right to supervise and control the within-State business of corporations, a right which has come to constitute one of the most precious assets reserved by the Constitution to the States. We by no means concur with those who assert or insinuate that, in putting forward this proposal, the President was guilty of deliberate duplicity, or, in other words, of a desire simply to amuse his auditors with the suggestion of an expedient known by him to be impracticable. That no such Amendment of the Constitution could be procured, we believe, indeed, to be true. Since the changes in our Federal organic law, which were required for the solution of our negro problem, were brought about in the years following the Civil War, we can recall out of the multitude of Constitutional Amendments submitted to Congress only one—that relating, namely, to the election of United States Senators by the people instead of by the Legislature of a State—that has succeeded in passing the House of Representatives. The Committee of the Senate to which the Amendment was referred has never yet reported, and nobody imagines that the Amendment, if favorably reported, would be sanctioned by the requisite number of Senators. Even if thus sanctioned, the adoption of such an Amendment by the requisite number of States can hardly be looked upon as within the bounds of possibility. If this be true, even of an Amendment whose relation to the fabric of State Rights is by no means clear to the ordinary voter, how utterly visionary is the notion that the States would ever consent to surrender a power so plainly interwoven with their most vital interests as the right to control and regulate the within-State business of corporations. In the eyes of a Jeffersonian Democrat, the mere mooting of such a surrender would be abhorrent, were it not perceived to be entirely chimerical. Not until the States are ready to renounce their separate existence, to dismiss State Legislatures and judiciaries, and to accept Governors at the hands of the National Executive, as prefects are appointed in France,

will they take a step so subversive of rights hitherto held sacred, so fatal to the autonomy needed for the habit of self-government as would be the Constitutional Amendment which Mr. Roosevelt said in New England he was inclined to think indispensable. That the President could ever have deemed such an Amendment indispensable indicates that he is essentially a Hamiltonian Federalist, and that he would see nothing alarming in such a centralization and unification of the American Union as we behold in the French Republic. That he also could for a moment have deemed such an Amendment practicable merely proves that he earnestly desired it: men are apt to believe in the feasibility of what they strongly wish for.

If, in his search for a means of curbing the trusts, Mr. Roosevelt had confined himself to his proposed Constitutional Amendment, we should not have disputed his sincerity, but we might have questioned his sanity. Fortunately for his reputation as a sound and clear-headed man, he fell back eventually on the idea mooted or supported by his Attorney-General, that in the Constitution as it stands might be found instruments quite adequate to such repression of the trusts as would debar them from becoming a source of serious danger to the interests of the community at large. The Constitutional provisions which Mr. Knox has in mind are, of course, those which give the Federal Government the power to impose a tariff on imports, to regulate Inter-State commerce and to raise money by internal taxation. We need not point out that the admission of foreign commodities duty-free would prevent the native manufacturer of similar articles from extorting inordinate prices from the American consumer. The scope of the other Constitutional powers mentioned was demonstrated by the drastic effect of the Federal legislation regarding oleomargarine, legislation which, while not professing to interfere, with the production of that commodity within a given State, rendered its production relatively unprofitable by the conditions imposed on its transit from one State to another. Attorney-General Knox contends that, if Congress, under its power to regulate Inter-State commerce, may utterly destroy a combination and forfeit its property in Inter-State transit, as the Sherman act provides, because the combination restrains such commerce, Congress can, in the exercise of the same power, deny to a combination, whose life, emanating from a State, it cannot directly reach, the

privilege of engaging in Inter-State commerce except upon such terms as Congress may prescribe to protect that commerce from restraint.

It is, of course, for the United States Supreme Court to determine what Federal legislation would be covered by the Constitutional powers of Congress to regulate commerce and to raise money by internal taxation. Whatever may have been the case a century or three-quarters of a century ago, no Jeffersonian Democrat would now think of disputing any interpretation of the Constitution which should have received the sanction of that august tribunal. If it be true in the judgment of the court of last resort that the Federal organic law confers upon Congress all the powers needed to avert the evils imputed to the trusts, by all means let those powers be used, provided the existence of the evils can be conclusively proved. For a discreet and far-sighted use of those powers the Federal Government will be held to a strict accountability, intelligent men being thoroughly alive to the fact that the tendency of capital to concentration is one of the economical characteristics of the age, and that the nation which, in the process of abating its incidental mischiefs, sacrifices the benefits of that tendency, will disqualify itself for coping with its rivals in the markets of the world. It is, in truth, a formidable weapon which Attorney-General Knox would put in the hands of the Federal Government, and he who uses it must needs be careful, lest, in lopping off branches ostensibly decayed, he strike at the very life of the tree.

IV.

Among those who believe in a strict construction of the Federal Constitution and in the anxious safeguarding of all the rights reserved to the States by that instrument, even Mr. Roosevelt's proposal of the Constitutional Amendment to which we have just referred excited less surprise and dismay than his appointment of the Anthracite Commission. Here was a dispute as to rate of wages and hours of labor between an organized body of miners on the one hand and their employers on the other in the State of Pennsylvania. It is universally acknowledged that, so long as public order was undisturbed and no Federal or State law was broken by either of the parties to the dispute, neither the Federal Government nor the State Executive of Pennsylvania had any right to interpose for the purpose of compelling or promoting an

agreement. It is probably true, indeed, that the State of Pennsylvania, in the interest of the consumers of anthracite coal, might, in the exercise of the right of eminent domain—which belongs, not to the Federal Government, as ex-Governor Hill of New York has asserted, but to the State—have taken possession of the mines and worked them; for the exercise of that power, however, an act of the State Legislature would have been required. In that dispute between employers and employed within the boundaries of a State, the Federal Chief Magistrate had no power to interfere, unless an outcome of it should be a disturbance of public order which the State Executive proved incompetent to quell, and for the quelling of which he requested the assistance of the Federal Government. In that case, and that only, Mr. Roosevelt would have had the right, and it would have been his duty, to send Federal troops into Pennsylvania, for the exclusive purpose of enforcing tranquillity and obedience to law. Even then, he would have transcended his powers had he presumed to take any part in the settlement of the controversy between the miners and their employers. In the case supposed, the President's function in the State of Pennsylvania would have been, not that of a judge or arbitrator, but solely that of a police officer.

So much is incontrovertible, not only from the viewpoint of a Jeffersonian Democrat, but also from that of every Republican who recalls the text of the Constitution. Now, let us see what happened. Although Governor Stone of Pennsylvania made a tardy and inadequate attempt to repress disorder in the anthracite region, the non-union miners who were exercising their constitutional right to work, continued to be subjected to intimidation and violence—nay, even to wounds and death. Inasmuch, however, as Governor Stone forebore to ask for Federal assistance, the President of the United States had not the shadow of a lawful pretext for interposition. It is conceivable, indeed, that, under such circumstances, had Thomas Jefferson been the Federal Chief Magistrate, and had his friend and disciple, Monroe, been the Governor of Pennsylvania, the former, in a private and strictly unofficial capacity, might have pointed out to the latter that the non-union miners were suffering a grievous and intolerable wrong, and that, if the forces of the State were too weak to redress it, it was the right and the duty of the Governor to ask the

President for aid. If Mr. Roosevelt had confined himself to making such a private suggestion to a fellow-Republican, Governor Stone, he would simply have expressed the conviction, shared by every right-minded citizen, that public order ought to be maintained. Mr. Roosevelt did nothing of the kind, however. He has at no time indicated the slightest sympathy for the wrongs of the non-union workers. He has not put forward the necessity of shielding them from persecution as a pretext for the appointment of the Anthracite Commission. He has not recognized the existence of the non-union workers as constituting a third party to the anthracite controversy. The sole pretext assigned for his interposition is that the habitual consumers of anthracite were in need of an immediate supply of that combustible. To that end he has himself recognized the United Mine-Workers as one of the parties to the anthracite controversy, and he has virtually coerced the mine-owners into a recognition of the same organization, with which, in a corporate capacity, they had hitherto refused to deal. He has, further, coerced the mine-owners, who, previously, had declined to allow third persons to say what prices they should pay for labor, into acquiescence in the proposal made by the United Mine-Workers, that the questions relating to wages and the hours of labor should be referred to a Commission appointed by the President. On that commission the mine-owners, the United Mine-Workers and the consumers of anthracite are all represented; but the non-union workers, who bore the brunt of the struggle, and who deserved protection at the hands of the Federal Government, if the State could not afford it, have no representative at all.

As Mr. Roosevelt's appointment of the Anthracite Commission was followed by a cessation of the strike, and a speedy delivery of hard coal to consumers, it has been received with a great deal of applause on the part of many light-headed persons. It was not, indeed, to be expected that men who have failed to read or to remember the Constitution, and who have not reflected on the specific aim and the carefully defined limitations of the Federal Government, would appreciate the novelty and the danger of the precedent established by our Chief Magistrate. Mr. Roosevelt, it is true, is careful to say that the Commission is extra-legal, unauthorized by the Constitution, and, therefore, destitute of any power to enforce its decisions; that, moreover, the Com-

missioners have been appointed by him in his private capacity, and, consequently, had not needed the consent of the Senate. It is, nevertheless, notorious that Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, in his capacity of private citizen, would have had no more power to settle the strike than any other man in the street, and that it was exclusively to him, in his official capacity as tenant of the office of Chief Magistrate, that deference was paid, alike by the mine-owners and by the United Mine-Workers, a deference followed by an agreement to abide by the decision of Commissioners appointed, not by citizen Roosevelt, but by the President of the United States. Here, then, is a power voluntarily ceded to the President, because he is President, and for no other reason, legal or extra-legal—a power in the exercise of which he is controlled by no Constitutional restraint, and the misuse of which can be punished neither by Congress nor by any other tribunal. Is it not obvious to every student of history that it was by the initiation and accumulation of just such precedents, each plausible and popular in itself, that the extra-legal fabric of Cæsarism was gradually erected in the Roman Republic, and that the non-statutory power of a Prime Minister has silently grown up under the shadow of the British Constitution?

We did not have long to wait before the danger of this precedent was brought home to law-abiding people throughout the United States. It was soon made evident that, if popular favor is to be gained by innovations for which there is no warrant in the Constitutions of the Union or of the several States, Mr. Roosevelt would not be suffered to retain a monopoly of such expedients. That both political parties would bid against each other for the support of ignorant voters by extra-legal proposals was demonstrated at the Democratic State Convention of New York, which inserted in its platform a demand that the Federal Government should invade the State of Pennsylvania and seize and operate the anthracite coal mines by virtue of an alleged right of eminent domain, which was expressly withheld by the framers of the Federal Constitution in 1787. Scarcely, moreover, had the President practically coerced mine-owners into an agreement to abide by the judgment of arbitrators appointed by himself, than the Connecticut Federation of Labor went further, and declared that the strikers ought to be supported during their strike by the State.

What view, then, is likely to be taken of Mr. Roosevelt's first year in office by old-fashioned Jeffersonian Democrats? His treatment of the Cuban reciprocity question, his forbearance toward China, his firm adherence to the Monroe Doctrine, and his cordial attitude toward England will be applauded. His apparent desire to revise the tariff will be commended. His ultimate exhibition of a wish to curb the trusts through the exercise of powers conferred by the Constitution, rather than through a Constitutional Amendment will also be regarded with approval. On the other hand, his appointment of the Anthracite Commission should be looked upon by all lovers of our Federal institutions, not only with profound regret, but with severe disapprobation. It is a first step in the perilous pathway that leads to the assertion of autocratic authority, an act that seems destined to give the Roosevelt Administration a bad eminence in American history.

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE TARIFF?

BY THOMAS B. REED, FORMERLY SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THE elections for this year have taken place, and we have escaped the one great danger of a democracy, which is the decision of great questions without discussion. But we have by no means got rid of the questions. We have now upon us the duty of discussing them with such care as will tend to decide them correctly. We have had a season of prosperity which has no parallel, even in our own remarkable history. There has been a movement of concentration; and business has been carried on on so great a scale that we are ourselves frightened by the tremendous shadow which we cast. We are not only exhibiting remarkable growth, but we are doing it in such fashion as to influence the Old World. In that surprising address which Mr. Carnegie has just delivered at St. Andrews, we can see depicted what the influence of forty nations united in one will be, and that it will force the countries of Europe, after due years and perhaps centuries, to such a union as will banish armies and wars. We may well hope for this, for the story of the world's march from feudalism and distraction to nationality and internal peace amply justifies his prophecies to those who can see that God works unceasingly and has all eternity under His command.

But our problem in this nation is of to-day, and if we do our duty of to-day the nation will find those who can take our places to-morrow. All that is now happening is in accord with the nature of things. Displacing the old with the new is never without its complications and minor evils, which correct themselves in due time. All good progress, even that which is undoubted, has its temporary sorrows. One example, which takes innumerable forms, of this temporary sorrow which may be em-

ployed to illustrate the idea, is the invention and use of labor-saving machinery. Upon such invention and use depends the whole material progress of the world. Nothing else could give us the abundance which characterizes our age. Yet, when any new labor-saving invention comes into use the first thing it does is to deserve its name by lessening the number of men who can work. Labor saved is, temporarily, labor lost. Men are discharged; the machine does what they used to do. Do you wonder, then, that men should resent this intrusion upon their sustenance and support? Some are too old to learn new trades, and for them there is no consolation. Yet, in the long-run, new occasions spring up which employ this discharged labor, and the world has all it used to have and much besides.

Conservatism, or the unwillingness to welcome new things, has its uses. Most new things are not good and die an early death; but those which push themselves forward and by slow degrees force themselves upon the attention of mankind are the unconscious productions of human wisdom, and must have honest consideration, and must not be made the subject of unreasoning prejudice. Toward such a movement no one has a right to look askance. Above all, no one has a right to presume such a movement wrong. It may be wrong; but when business men all over a great nation pursue the same course, the presumption ought to be that they are right. Nevertheless, the first idea is to make them stop.

The history of corporations can be put into a few words. Men of sense are unwilling to risk their all in one enterprise or business. If they can limit their risks, and if by union with others whose risks can be in like manner limited they can make a strong company, much idle money can be utilized and both capital and labor employed. On this basis, and the basis of easier management, corporations were formed and have gradually grown in full proportion to the growth of the world. In our day this growth has taken a new form. That form has been forced upon business men by competition with one another. If a number of concerns united to save expense and the duplication of management, others had to do likewise. These unions of capital have been forced upon the capitalist. This element of force we must all bear in mind if we wish to understand this question. Perhaps you think that men were glad to get into these unions and went cheerfully

into combinations. Such was not the fact. Men hated to give up their independence. They and their fathers had built up their business. They were proud of their success, and meant to leave their establishments to their children. In the new combination only one could be the head. The others must go out or take rear seats. Then came the task of valuing, which encountered the natural unwillingness to have others do better than we do, until the task of consolidation grew almost impossible. Why was it not absolutely impossible? Simply because of the murderous competition. It was union or bankruptcy. Of course, after there had been a few examples, it became easier. The rising tide of prosperity helped also, because it raised not prices only, but values, and men were reconciled by getting more than they had hoped for, though they got no more than belonged to them. It would be natural here to say, why not let competition go on? What we want is the results of competition—low prices, so that we can buy all we want. The answer to this can be made, and it is worth attention. With small factories scattered around and a country store in every village, competition did insure us low prices, but did not escape the evils we will hereafter speak of. So long as competition could be carried on on the basis of living and letting live, all went well; but, as capital grew in amount and mills in size, competition became more violent and property ceased to make returns. Now, the doctrine of competition, most invaluable in its way, has its limitations. Being human, it is not an unmixed good. Destructive competition is an evil. The world cannot afford to have a trade which does not pay a fair profit. Hence, when a trade ceases to offer a fair profit, there has to be a remedy, and the remedy chosen here was in reality not a new one. It is impressive upon us at this time on account of its size. In a small way it has gone on ever since business became business.

But are we to be exposed to the mercy of those people who pile up millions, and have we no remedy by law or Constitutional Amendment? Yes, we have many remedies on the stump and in the newspapers. But the experience of mankind is universal, that Providence has not left us to the stump-orator or the newspapers, or even to the statesman. Somehow—after much blundering, perhaps, but somehow—every new movement has in itself the element of protection of the race. For instance, we are all afraid of monopolies; we fear that somebody by some new scheme will

squeeze us permanently, and yet that has never happened. But, you will say, what can prevent these great aggregations of capital from charging what they like? The answer is, that what prevents them from charging an unfair price is the well-founded fear that they will thereby risk and lose the vast sums already piled up. In other words, the same state of the world, the same general wealth, which enabled one big pile of capital to get together, will enable a larger pile to get together and, by means of more modern machinery, to destroy the attempted monopoly. When one set of capitalists of great renown a year or two ago attempted to take control of Pacific business, the undertaking was not so vast as to prevent men whose names were, up to that time, but little known from meeting them and making, at least, a drawn battle. The fact is that every business man now knows that the only monopoly anybody can get, except the temporary one of patents, to which no one objects, is by producing some article cheaper and selling it cheaper than any other maker. Whether such a monopoly is obnoxious and to be stamped out I leave to the wise declamation of the friends of the people.

It would be a good plan if somebody who believes in the efficacy of legislation would sit down and draw his statute and put into words his Constitutional Amendment, and see where he would arrive. "Error," says the wise Latin, "lurks in generalities." To talk of doing something by means of something, if you do not specify the something to be done or the way to do it, is a waste of time.

After all the language which has been used about the great corporations, one is a little surprised at the lack of specification. Almost everybody announces that what we need is "publicity." Even this is vague. Do you expect the public to be intrusted with the cost sheets? If you do not, then what will your publicity amount to? If you mean by "publicity" such a statement as will enable the outsider to buy wisely, or the stockholder to sell at the true value, I fear we may be going beyond the province of free government, which certainly thus far has left the task of keeping his fingers out of the fire to the citizen whose fingers they were.

But cannot we stop this stock-watering? Must we not do it? Well, the value of stock is very much a matter of opinion. It will be noticed that the stock of one of our greatest companies

can be bought for less than forty dollars. The par value is one hundred. In the judgment of the world there is sixty per cent. water, and in the market the water is squeezed out. Could a Legislature do it more effectually? As that same stock sold at fifty-five, there was a time when there was only forty-five per cent. of water. Is it proposed in the new Constitutional Amendment to specify how often the test for water is to be applied? Are the stockholders to be assessed daily for the variations of each day, or are the directors to be indicted daily? Shall officers of the Government determine the value, or the public in open market?

There is a piece of wisdom as old as the world, which is worthy of all consideration. Let us not be in haste about great matters. When you don't know what to do, don't do it. If the proposition is to press an oak back into an acorn, it had better be carefully considered.

The proposed treatment of corporations, even if something ought to be done, is a fine example of how easily men mistake their wishes for their reasons. It is proposed to repeal such portions of the Tariff Act as have made these corporations prosperous. Of course, this is not intended to attack the Tariff. All we are trying to do is to sap the prosperity of institutions which have grown so large as to frighten us. Why do they frighten us? Because they are great and strong and wealthy. Of course, then, their greatness and strength and wealth are fundamental facts beyond dispute. No tariff law, of course, can be made which does not apply to all. Hence, if the Tariff is so reformed that the big, strong, and wealthy corporations go to destruction, how are the small ones to be saved? Really, to the calm and judicious mind this seems like Free Trade for its own sweet sake.

Protection in some lands may be the subject of discussion and debate. How it can be that in this country, and at this time, passes all understanding. In the United States the policy of protection has had a century and a quarter of alternate triumph and defeat. The triumph has always been followed by prosperity, the defeat by hard times. The last decade has been of striking example. We saw fit to try tariff reform in an act called the "Wilson Act." So prompt were the evidences of failure to meet the hopes of its framers that the country rose as one man, repealed the Act, and substituted therefor the Dingley Act, which was the result of care and skill; and immediately there followed

a demonstration of the advantages of protection, the like of which was never seen, even in this country. Owing to a combination of circumstances, we found other countries ready to take our surplus; and owing to the fact that we had not fairly started our demands on our own workshops, we had a surplus to send abroad. This large export trade was misunderstood. It only indicated that, with strong prices abroad, with England paralyzed by a strike, and with our own demand only just awakening, we could send many things abroad. It did not mean that we could always do this. It meant that the primacy was in sight but not yet gained. When our own demand reached its proper increase we found we could not supply it. On the contrary, we used up not only what we made, but in the article of iron and steel alone we have imported in the last year a million tons. Unfortunately, our exports came at a time when we were expanding, and everybody's mind was filled with the idea that we could supply the world. The Free Traders seized upon this state of the public mind, and declared that we needed protection no longer and that the Tariff must be abandoned. This idea that protection is in the nature of medicine, to be dropped as soon as possible, is an idea we had better examine. What if it is food? The medicine notion comes from the early arguments for the selection of infant industries to be fostered and cherished. Time and experience have enlarged that notion of protection. They have shown that protection is not a privilege, but a system. A privilege might be robbery. A system must justify itself by results. The principle which underlies protection is the securing at all times to the American people the markets of America. It means that the work of this nation shall be done by the people of this nation. All wealth comes from the marrying of labor to the raw material. In a country like ours, extending over such vast regions, there can be no lack of materials. Any system which enables our people to do our own work is the system which can give, and has given, the best results. The enemy have all along sneered at the idea that taxes can make us rich. But this is simply to beguile by words. Would it be any less absurd to say that taxes gave us good currency? And yet they did. We tax State currency. We do not raise one cent by the tax; it simply bars out the State currency. We used the tax as a way of accomplishing a result,—as means to an end. In like manner, we used the taxing power

to create a barrier behind which we could do our own work. All the theorists, the men who thought there was nothing in the world they could not think of, declared that we would be ruined. We have not been ruined, but we are to-day a very lively example of a people who do their own work. What would you say was the ideal industrial condition of a nation? Everybody at work. Just now we have everybody at work. And yet we think we want something else. If we keep on fussing we shall get it. With all the world, except England, including her own colonies, of our opinion, with success embroidered on all our banners, we are invited to surrender our views and give place to a beaten world.

Why? Simply because of that human unrest which is part of the history of the race. We, being also of limited knowledge, are much given to be beguiled by generalities. Here is one line of generalities. Is the Dingley Tariff Bill the end of wisdom? If not, then it can be improved. A tariff bill could be framed, we think, which would be free from all the errors of that celebrated bill and retain its virtues. Where would you enact such a bill? Why, in your own mind, of course. Unfortunately, a bill enacted in the mind has no extra-territorial force. A bill enacted by Congress, like the progress of the world, is the result of a fierce conflict of opposing human interests, and must be so. When men talk carelessly of tariff revision, they talk of a tariff never yet established, and one that never can be. They dream of a tariff which exactly suits them individually, while a real tariff bill is one which measurably satisfies the country as a whole.

But can we not have, sitting in perpetual session, a body of men non-partisan, judicious, wise, and incorruptible? Yes, in your mind. You can have anything in your mind. Imagination is unlimited, and it is very delightful to wander round among possible impossibilities. Just think of a non-partisan Free Trader sitting on a tariff tax! Of course, he would be above any prejudice except his own. I saw one Tariff Commission sit in 1882, and its report was not enacted into law. All its mistakes were, and the result was satisfactory to nobody.

What we had better do is to remember where we are and what our dangers are. Enterprises of business are not entered upon by helter-skelter. They are the result of calculation. One of the first inquiries of the promoter or maker is, how many of our present conditions are to remain? If there are to be uncertain-

ties in the future he will not dare to act. What can you imagine that would dampen a business man's ardor more than to be called on to guess what a new tariff bill would be! The prophetic instinct in the human creature is there beyond its limit.

We ought to let the Tariff alone; we ought to defend it against all comers for the good of the nation. We are doing more than well and need not hunt for disaster. That will come in due time.

Meanwhile, let us see what people are trying to do. Nobody dares to attack the tariff directly. Every effort against it is a flank attack. The tariff is to be changed, not because it has not produced prosperity, but because it has produced large corporations. We so hate and fear large corporations that we will destroy prosperity rather than not destroy them. To argue such a proposition would be a discredit to the American people. The most plausible attack has come from the demand for reciprocity. In my judgment, it will be found that, when the glittering generalities of reciprocity are refined down to actual statement of what is proposed, the American people will never have it. The history of reciprocity the world over has been that any treaty thus far devised has been one-sided, and the country losing has put an end to it. We tried it with Canada. Our export trade increased thirteen per cent., and theirs increased in eleven years five hundred per cent. That treaty no longer exists. We had one with the Sandwich Islands, and on the average we gave them $5,000,000 remitted sugar duties a year, and sold them $4,000,000 worth of goods. In other words, we gave them all our exports and a million dollars besides. This is what the friends of Free Trade were trying to do for Cuba when we were so apprehensive that that Island would be ruined if we did not give in charity what had no foundation in justice.

Protection, I repeat, is a system, and is justifiable because it is of general application. The whole nation gets the benefit of it. If you will examine reciprocity in detail you will find that, in nearly every case, the national revenue is sacrificed for the benefit of individuals. Hawaii alone cost us one hundred and one millions of unrequited dollars. Perhaps it may be a consolation to know that our own citizens, temporarily expatriated, were thereby greatly enriched. This example has led our citizens in Cuba to hope for like results, and they too are eager for remitted duties. But the scheme has been exposed, and Republicans must be blind

indeed if they surrender any jot or tittle of protection of the beet industry in order to bestow largess upon citizens who expatriate themselves, while we refuse it to farmers who till our own soil. The low price of sugar in Cuba is the same low price which pervades all the West Indies, and is caused by the substitution of the beet, a better sugar-producer than the cane. In a word, a great output of sugar lowers the price. Suppose a great grain crop sent prices down. Would we make it up to our farmers out of our Treasury? Of course not. If we cannot do this thing to our farmers who stay at home, why should we do so to those who go abroad to develop other lands? When we recall the way in which Congress was made to believe that there was a great popular uprising in behalf of Cuba, and contrast it with the disclosures since made, we are amazed. Cuba had promises. By whom they were made, what they were, and when, nobody could ever tell. Mayors of towns just ready to starve sent us messages, and ruin or immediate action were the only alternatives. The whole year has gone and no ruin has come. This was simply a flank attack on protection, and many men were beguiled who had been its stanch champions. For the Republicans to desert the beet-sugar interest is to desert the farmer in the one conspicuous and clear case where his industry is fostered. Under the tariff as it now is all the sugar needed for this country can be made by the people of this country. That is in accord with our system. It is a part of our system, and should not be abandoned until the rest of it is abandoned. When we throw our markets open to the world in all things, then it will be time to do it for sugar.

Let us put this into a few words of a practical character.

We have a tariff carefully drawn, which has served us well. That tariff is only five years old. It has brought us away up on the hill-side of success. It has no connection with great corporations, except what it has with small corporations and individuals. No attack by repealing the Dingley Act can hurt one without hurting all. Any disturbance of that kind would disturb trade in ways with which we are all too familiar.

A tariff bill at any time is not and cannot be the creature of one mind. It means the result of a contest by all interests and all minds. Hence, whenever any man thinks of a tariff he would make, he always thinks of a tariff bill which will never be enacted.

There was once a President of the United States, of great power and influence. For four years he had no Congress behind him, and he dreamed of such a tariff-reform law as would suit him. By-and-by, he had a Congress of his own party, and he started in to make such a law as would please both gods and men. There are those who remember the dismal looks of the members of the House when they yielded to the Senate, and the averted looks of the President as he let the Bill pass by, unsigned and friendless. To those men it became apparent, as it should be to the whole world, that the tariff enacted is always different from the Act in your mind. Is the Republican party ready to open the box, knowing that, once it is opened, only hope is left behind?

THOMAS B. REED.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

BY MARK TWAIN.

I.

LET us consider that we are all partially insane. It will explain us to each other; it will unriddle many riddles; it will make clear and simple many things which are involved in haunting and harassing difficulties and obscurities now.

Those of us who are not in the asylum, and not demonstrably due there, are nevertheless, no doubt, insane in one or two particulars. I think we must admit this; but I think that we are otherwise healthy-minded. I think that when we all see one thing alike, it is evidence that, as regards that one thing, our minds are perfectly sound. Now there are really several things which we do all see alike; things which we all accept, and about which we do not dispute. For instance, we who are outside of the asylum all agree that water seeks its level; that the sun gives light and heat; that fire consumes; that fog is damp; that 6 times 6 are thirty-six; that 2 from 10 leaves eight; that 8 and 7 are fifteen. These are, perhaps, the only things we are agreed about; but, although they are so few, they are of inestimable value, because they make an infallible standard of sanity. Whosoever accepts them him we know to be substantially sane; sufficiently sane; in the working essentials, sane. Whoever disputes a single one of them him we know to be wholly insane, and qualified for the asylum.

Very well, the man who disputes none of them we concede to be entitled to go at large. But that is concession enough. We cannot go any further than that; for we know that in all matters of mere *opinion* that same man is insane—just as insane as we are; just as insane as Shakspere was. We know exactly where to put our finger upon his insanity: *it is where his opinion differs from ours.*

That is a simple rule, and easy to remember. When I, a thoughtful and unbiassed Presbyterian, examine the Koran, I know that beyond any question every Mohammedan is insane; not in all things, but in religious matters. When a thoughtful and unbiassed Mohammedan examines the Westminster Catechism, he knows that beyond any question I am spiritually insane. I cannot prove to him that he is insane, because you never can prove anything to a lunatic—for that is a part of his insanity and the evidence of it. He cannot prove to me that I am insane, for my mind has the same defect that afflicts his. All Democrats are insane, but not one of them knows it; none but the Republicans and Mugwumps know it. All the Republicans are insane, but only the Democrats and Mugwumps can perceive it. The rule is perfect: *in all matters of opinion our adversaries are insane.* When I look around me, I am often troubled to see how many people are mad. To mention only a few:

The Atheist,
The Infidel,
The Agnostic,
The Baptist,
The Methodist,
The Christian Scientist,
The Catholic, and the 115 Christian sects, the Presbyterian excepted,
The 72 Mohammedan sects,
The Buddhist,
The Blavatsky-Buddhist,
The Nationalist,
The Confucian,
The Spiritualist,
The 2,000 East Indian sects,
The Peculiar People,
The Theosophists,
The Swedenborgians,
The Shakers,
The Millerites,
The Mormons,
The Laurence Oliphant Harrisites,
The Grand Lama's people,
The Monarchists,
The Imperialists,
The Democrats,
The Republicans (but not the Mugwumps),
The Mind-Curists,
The Faith-Curists,
The Mental Scientists,
The Allopaths,
The Homœopaths,
The Electropaths,
The ——

But there's no end to the list; there are millions of them! And all insane; each in his own way; insane as to his pet fad or opinion, but otherwise sane and rational.

This should move us to be charitable toward one another's lunacies. I recognize that in his special belief the Christian Scientist is insane, because he does not believe as I do; but I hail him as my mate and fellow, because I am as insane as he—insane from his point of view, and his point of view is as authoritative as mine and worth as much. That is to say, worth a brass farthing. Upon a great religious or political question, the opinion of the dullest head in the world is worth the same as the opinion of the brightest head in the world—a brass farthing. How do we arrive at this? It is simple. The affirmative opinion of a stupid man is neutralized by the negative opinion of his stupid neighbor—no decision is reached; the affirmative opinion of the intellectual giant Gladstone is neutralized by the negative opinion of the intellectual giant Cardinal Newman—no decision is reached. Opinions that prove nothing are, of course, without value—any but a dead person knows that much. This obliges us to admit the truth of the unpalatable proposition just mentioned above—that, in disputed matters political and religious, one man's opinion is worth no more than his peer's, and hence it follows that no man's opinion possesses any real value. It is a humbling thought, but there is no way to get around it: *all* opinions upon these great subjects are brass-farthing opinions.

It is a mere plain, simple fact—as clear and as certain as that 8 and 7 make fifteen. And by it we recognize that we are all insane, as concerns those matters. If we were sane, we should all see a political or religious doctrine alike; there would be no dispute: it would be a case of 8 and 7—just as it is in heaven, where all are sane and none insane. There, there is but one religion, one belief; the harmony is perfect; there is never a discordant note.

Under protection of these preliminaries, I suppose I may now repeat without offence that the Christian Scientist is insane. I mean him no discourtesy, and I am not charging—nor even imagining—that he is insaner than the rest of the human race. I think he is more picturesquely insane than some of us. At the same time, I am quite sure that in one important and splendid particular he is much saner than is the vast bulk of the race.

Why is he insane? I told you before: it is because his opinions are not ours. I know of no other reason, and I do not need any other; it is the only way we *have* of discovering insanity when

it is not violent. It is merely the picturesqueness of his insanity that makes it more interesting than my kind or yours. For instance, consider his "little book;" the "little book" exposed in the sky eighteen centuries ago by the flaming angel of the Apocalypse, and handed down in our day to Mrs. Mary Baker G. Eddy of New Hampshire, and translated by her, word for word, into English (with help of a polisher), and now published and distributed in hundreds of editions by her at a clear profit per volume, above cost, of 700 per cent.!—a profit which distinctly belongs to the angel of the Apocalypse, and let him collect it if he can; a "little book" which the C. S. very frequently calls by just that name, and always enclosed in quotation-marks to keep its high origin exultantly in mind; a "little book" which "explains" and reconstructs and new-paints and decorates the Bible, and puts a mansard roof on it and a lightning-rod and all the other modern improvements; a "little book" which for the present affects to travel in yoke with the Bible and be friendly to it, and within half a century will hitch the Bible in the rear and thenceforth travel tandem, itself in the lead, in the coming great march of Christian Scientism through the Protestant dominions of the planet.

Perhaps I am putting the tandem arrangement too far away; perhaps five years might be nearer the mark than fifty; for a lady told me last night that in the Christian Science Mosque in Boston she noticed some things which seem to me to promise a shortening of the interval. On one side there was a display of texts from the New Testament, signed with the Saviour's initials, "J. C."; and on the opposite side a display of texts from the "little book," signed—with the author's mere initials? No—signed with Mrs. Mary Baker G. Eddy's name *in full*. Perhaps the angel of the Apocalypse likes this kind of piracy. I made this remark lightly to a Christian Scientist this morning, but he did not receive it lightly; he said it was jesting upon holy things; he said there was no piracy, for the angel did not compose the book, he only brought it—"God composed it." I could have retorted that it was a case of piracy just the same; that the displayed texts should be signed with the Author's initials, and that to sign them with the translator's train of names was another case of "jesting upon holy things." However, I did not say these things, for this Scientist is a large person, and although by

his own doctrine we have no substance, but are fictions and unrealities, I knew he could hit me an imaginary blow which would furnish me an imaginary pain that could last me a week. The lady said that in that Mosque there were two pulpits; in one of them was a man with the Former Bible, in the other a woman with Mrs. Eddy's apocalyptic Annex; and from these books the man and the woman were reading verse and verse about.

"Hungry ones throng to hear the Bible read in connection with the text-book of Christian Science, 'Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures,' by Mary Baker G. Eddy. *These* are our only preachers. *They* are the word of God."—*Christian Science Journal*, October, 1898.

Are these things picturesque? My lady informant told me that in a chapel of the Mosque there was a picture or image of Mrs. Eddy, and that before it burns a never-extinguished light. Is that picturesque? How long do you think it will be before the Christian Scientist will be worshipping that picture or image and praying to it? How long do you think it will be before it is claimed that Mrs. Eddy is a Redeemer, a Christ, and Christ's equal? Already her army of disciples speak of her reverently as "Our Mother." How long will it be before they place her on the steps of the Throne beside the Virgin—and, later, a step higher? First, Mary the Virgin and Mary the Matron; later, with a change of precedence, Mary the Matron and Mary the Virgin. Let the artist get ready with his canvas and his brushes; the new Renaissance is on its way, and there will be money in altar-canvases—a thousand times as much as the Popes and their Church ever spent on the Old Masters; for their riches were poverty as compared with what is going to pour into the treasure-chest of the Christian-Scientist Papacy by-and-by, let us not doubt it. We will examine the financial outlook presently and see what it promises. A favorite subject of the new Old Master will be the first verse of the twelfth chapter of Revelation—a verse which Mrs. Eddy says (in her Annex to the Scriptures) has "one distinctive feature which has special reference to the present age"—and to *her*, as is rather pointedly indicated:

"And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a *woman* clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet," etc.

The woman clothed with the sun will be a portrait of Mrs. Eddy.

Is it insanity to believe that Christian Scientism is destined to make the most formidable show that any new religion has made in the world since the birth and spread of Mohammedanism, and that within a century from now it may stand second to Rome only, in numbers and power in Christendom?

If this is a wild dream it will not be easy to prove it so just yet, I think. There seems argument that it may come true. The Christian-Science "boom" is not yet five years old; yet already it has 500 churches and 1,000,000 members in America.

It has its start, you see, and it is a phenomenally good one. Moreover, it is latterly spreading with a constantly accelerating swiftness. It has a better chance to grow and prosper and achieve permanency than any other existing "ism"; for it has *more to offer* than any other. The past teaches us that in order to succeed a movement like this must not be a mere philosophy, it must be a religion; also, that it must not claim entire originality, but content itself with passing for an improvement on an *existing* religion, and show its hand later, when strong and prosperous—like Mohammedanism.

Next, there must be money—and plenty of it.

Next, the power and authority and capital must be concentrated in the grip of a small and irresponsible clique, with nobody outside privileged to ask questions or find fault.

Next, as before remarked, it must bait its hook with some new and attractive advantages over the baits offered by the other religions.

A new movement equipped with some of these endowments—like spiritualism, for instance—may count upon a considerable success; a new movement equipped with the bulk of them—like Mohammedanism, for instance—may count upon a widely extended conquest. Mormonism had all the requisites but one—it had nothing new and nothing valuable to bait with; and, besides, it appealed to the stupid and the ignorant only. Spiritualism lacked the important detail of concentration of money and authority in the hands of an irresponsible clique.

The above equipment is excellent, admirable, powerful, but not perfect. There is yet another detail which is worth the whole of it put together—and more; a detail which has never been joined (in the *beginning* of a religious movement) to a supremely good working equipment since the world began, until now: *a new per-*

sonage to worship. Christianity had the Saviour, but at first and for generations it lacked money and concentrated power. In Mrs. Eddy, Christian Science possesses the new personage for worship, and in addition—here in the very beginning—a working equipment that has not a flaw in it. In the beginning, Mohammedanism had no money; and it has never had anything to offer its client but heaven—nothing here below that was valuable. In addition to heaven hereafter, Christian Science has *present health and a cheerful spirit* to offer—for cash; and in comparison with this bribe all other this-world bribes are poor and cheap. You recognize that this estimate is admissible, do you not?

To whom does Bellamy's "Nationalism" appeal? Necessarily to the few: people who read and dream, and are compassionate, and troubled for the poor and the hard-driven. To whom does Spiritualism appeal? Necessarily to the few; its "boom" has lasted for half a century and I believe it claims short of four millions of adherents in America. Who are attracted by Swedenborgianism and some of the other fine and delicate "isms"? The few again: educated people, sensitively organized, with superior mental endowments, who seek lofty planes of thought and find their contentment there. And who are attracted by Christian Science? There is no limit; its field is horizonless; its appeal is as universal as is the appeal of Christianity itself. It appeals to the rich, the poor, the high, the low, the cultured, the ignorant, the gifted, the stupid, the modest, the vain, the wise, the silly, the soldier, the civilian, the hero, the coward, the idler, the worker, the godly, the godless, the freeman, the slave, the adult, the child; *they who are ailing in body or mind, they who have friends that are ailing in body or mind.* To mass it in a phrase, its clientage is the Human Race. Will it march? I think so.

Remember its principal great offer: to *rid the Race of pain and disease.* Can it do so? In large measure, yes. How much of the pain and disease in the world is created by the imaginations of the sufferers, and then kept alive by those same imaginations? Four-fifths? Not anything short of that, I should think. Can Christian Science banish that four-fifths? I think so. Can any other (organized) force do it? None that I know of. Would this be a new world when that was accomplished? And a pleasanter one—for us well people, as well as for those fussy and fret-

ting sick ones? Would it seem as if there was not as much gloomy weather as there used to be? I think so.

In the mean time, would the Scientist kill off a good many patients? I think so. More than get killed off now by the legalized methods? I will take up that question presently.

At present, I wish to ask you to examine some of the Scientist's performances, as registered in his magazine, "*The Christian Science Journal*"—October number, 1898. First, a Baptist clergyman gives us this true picture of "the average orthodox Christian"—and he could have added that it is a true picture of the average (civilized) human being:

"He is a worried and fretted and fearful man; afraid of himself and his propensities, afraid of colds and fevers, afraid of treading on serpents or drinking deadly things."

Then he gives us this contrast:

"The average Christian Scientist has put all anxiety and fretting under his feet. He does have a victory over fear and care that is not achieved by the average orthodox Christian."

He has put all anxiety and fretting under his feet. What proportion of your earnings or income would you be willing to pay for that frame of mind, year in, year out? It really outvalues any price that can be put upon it. Where can you purchase it, at any outlay of any sort, in any Church or out of it, except the Scientist's?

Well, it is the anxiety and fretting about colds, and fevers, and draughts, and getting our feet wet, and about forbidden food eaten in terror of indigestion, that brings on the cold and the fever and the indigestion and the most of our other ailments; and so, if the Science can banish that anxiety from the world I think it can reduce the world's disease and pain about four-fifths.

In this October number many of the redeemed testify and give thanks; and not coldly, but with passionate gratitude. As a rule they seem drunk with health, and with the surprise of it, the wonder of it, the unspeakable glory and splendor of it, after a long sober spell spent in inventing imaginary diseases and concreting them with doctor-stuff. The first witness testifies that when "this most beautiful Truth first dawned on him" he had "nearly all the ills that flesh is heir to"; that those he did not

have he thought he had—and this made the tale about complete. What was the natural result? Why, he was a dump-pit "for all the doctors, druggists, and patent medicines of the country." Christian Science came to his help, and "the old sick conditions passed away," and along with them the "dismal forebodings" which he had been accustomed to employ in conjuring up ailments. And so he was a healthy and cheerful man, now, and astonished.

But I am not astonished, for from other sources I know what must have been his method of applying Christian Science. If I am in the right, he watchfully and diligently *diverted his mind from unhealthy channels and compelled it to travel in healthy ones.* Nothing contrivable by human invention could be more formidably effective than that, in banishing imaginary ailments and in closing the entrances against subsequent applicants of their breed. I think his method was to keep saying, "I am well! I am sound!—sound and well! well and sound! Perfectly sound, perfectly well! I have no pain; there's no such thing as pain! I have no disease; there's no such thing as disease! Nothing is real but Mind; all is Mind, All-Good, Good-Good, Life, Soul, Liver, Bones, one of a series, ante and pass the buck!"

I do not mean that that was exactly the formula used, but that it doubtless contains the spirit of it. The Scientist would attach value to the *exact* formula, no doubt, and to the religious spirit in which it was used. I should think that *any* formula that would divert the mind from unwholesome channels and force it into healthy ones would answer every purpose with some people, though not with all. I think it most likely that a very religious man would find the addition of the religious spirit a powerful re-enforcement in his case.

The second witness testifies that the Science banished "an old organic trouble," which the doctor and the surgeon had been nursing with drugs and the knife for seven years.

He calls it his "claim." A surface-miner would think it was not *his* claim at all, but the property of the doctor and his pal the surgeon—for he would be misled by that word, which is Christian-Science slang for "ailment." The Christian Scientist *has* no ailment; to him there is no such thing, and he will not use the lying word. All that happens to him is, that upon his attention an imaginary disturbance sometimes obtrudes itself which *claims* to be an ailment, but isn't.

This witness offers testimony for a clergyman seventy years old who had preached forty years in a Christian church, and has now gone over to the new sect. He was "almost blind and deaf." He was treated by the C. S. method, and "when he heard the voice of Truth he saw spiritually." Saw spiritually? It is a little indefinite; they had better treat him again. Indefinite testimonies might properly be waste-basketed, since there is evidently no lack of definite ones procurable, but this C. S. magazine is poorly edited, and so mistakes of this kind must be expected.

The next witness is a soldier of the Civil War. When Christian Science found him, he had in stock the following claims:

Indigestion,
Rheumatism,
Catarrh,
Chalky deposits in
Shoulder joints,
Arm joints,
Hand joints,
Atrophy of the mucles of
Arms,
Shoulders,
Stiffness of all those joints,
Insomnia,
Excruciating pains most of the time.

These claims have a very substantial sound. They came of exposure in the campaigns. The doctors did all they could, but it was little. Prayers were tried, but "I never realized any physical relief from that source." After thirty years of torture, he went to a Christian Scientist and took an hour's treatment and went home painless. Two days later, he "began to eat like a well man." Then "the claims vanished—some at once, others more gradually"; finally, "they have almost entirely disappeared." And—a thing which is of still greater value—he is now "*contented and happy.*" That is a detail which, as earlier remarked, is a Scientist-Church specialty. And, indeed, one may go farther and assert with little or no exaggeration that it is a Christian Science monopoly. With thirty-one years' effort, the Methodist Church had not succeeded in furnishing it to this harassed soldier.

And so the tale goes on. Witness after witness bulletins his claims, declares their prompt abolishment, and gives Mrs. Eddy's Discovery the praise. Milk-leg is cured; nervous prostration is cured; consumption is cured; and St. Vitus's dance is made a pastime. And now and then an interesting new addition to the Science slang appears on the page. We have "demonstrations

over" chilblains and such things. It seems to be a curtailed way of saying "demonstrations of the power of Christian-Science Truth over the fiction which masquerades under the name of Chilblains." The children, as well as the adults, share in the blessings of the Science. "Through the study of the 'little book' they are learning how to be healthful, peaceful, and wise." Sometimes they are cured of their little claims by the professional healer, and sometimes more advanced children say over the formula and cure themselves.

A little Far-Western girl of nine, equipped with an adult vocabulary, states her age and says, "I thought I would write a demonstration to you." She had a claim, derived from getting flung over a pony's head and landed on a rock-pile. She saved herself from disaster by remembering to say "God is All" while she was in the air. I couldn't have done it. I shouldn't even have thought of it. I should have been too excited. Nothing but Christian Science could have enabled that child to do that calm and thoughtful and judicious thing in those circumstances. She came down on her head, and by all the rules she should have broken it; but the intervention of the formula prevented that, so the only claim resulting was a blackened eye. Monday morning it was still swollen and shut. At school "it hurt pretty badly—that is, it *seemed* to." So "I was excused, and went down in the basement and said, 'Now I am depending on mamma instead of God, and I *will* depend on God instead of mamma.'" No doubt this would have answered; but, to make sure, she added Mrs. Eddy to the team and recited "the Scientific Statement of Being," which is one of the principal incantations, I judge. Then "I felt my eye opening." Why, it would have opened an oyster. I think it is one of the touchingest things in child-history, that pious little rat down cellar pumping away at the Scientific Statement of Being.

There is a page about another good child—little Gordon. Little Gordon "came into the world without the assistance of surgery or anæsthetics." He was a "demonstration." A painless one; therefore, his coming evoked "joy and thankfulness to God and the Discoverer of Christian Science." It is a noticeable feature of this literature—the so frequent linking together of the Two Beings in an equal bond; also of Their Two Bibles. When little Gordon was two years old, "he was playing horse on the

bed, where I had left my 'little book.' I noticed him stop in his play, take the book carefully in his little hands, kiss it softly, then look about for the highest place of safety his arms could reach, and put it there." This pious act filled the mother "with such a train of thought as I had never experienced before. I thought of the sweet mother of long ago who kept things in her heart," etc. It is a bold comparison; however, unconscious profanations are about as common in the mouths of the lay membership of the new Church as are frank and open ones in the mouths of its consecrated chiefs.

Some days later, the family library—Christian-Science books—was lying in a deep-seated window. This was another chance for the holy child to show off. He left his play and went there and pushed all the books to one side, except the Annex. "*It* he took in both hands, slowly raised it to his lips, then removed it carefully, and seated himself in the window." It had seemed to the mother too wonderful to be true, that first time; but now she was convinced that "neither imagination nor accident had anything to do with it." Later, little Gordon let the author of his being see him do it. After that he did it frequently; probably every time anybody was looking. I would rather have that child than a chromo. If this tale has any object, it is to intimate that the inspired book was supernaturally able to convey a sense of its sacred and awful character to this innocent little creature, without the intervention of outside aids. The magazine is not edited with high-priced discretion. The editor has a "claim," and he ought to get it treated.

Among other witnesses there is one who had a "jumping toothache," which several times tempted her to "believe that there was sensation in matter, but each time it was overcome by the power of Truth." She would not allow the dentist to use cocaine, but sat there and let him punch and drill and split and crush the tooth, and tear and slash its ulcerations, and pull out the nerve, and dig out fragments of bone; and she wouldn't once confess that it hurt. And to this day she thinks it didn't, and I have not a doubt that she is nine-tenths right, and that her Christian-Science faith did her better service than she could have gotten out of cocaine.

There is an account of a boy who got broken all up into small bits by an accident, but said over the Scientific Statement of

Being, or some of the other incantations, and got well and sound without having suffered any real pain and without the intrusion of a surgeon.

Also there is an account of the restoration to perfect health, in a single night, of a fatally injured *horse,* by the application of Christian Science. I can stand a good deal, but I recognize that the ice is getting thin, here. That horse had as many as fifty claims; how could *he* demonstrate over them? Could he do the All-Good, Good-Good, Good-Gracious, Liver, Bones, Truth, All down but Nine, Set them up on the Other Alley? Could he intone the Scientific Statement of Being? Now, could he? Wouldn't it give him a relapse? Let us draw the line at horses. Horses and furniture.

There is a plenty of other testimonies in the magazine, but these quoted samples will answer. They show the kind of trade the Science is driving. Now we come back to the question, Does the Science kill a patient here and there and now and then? We must concede it. Does it compensate for this? I am persuaded that it can make a plausible showing in that direction. For instance: when it lays its hand upon a soldier who has suffered thirty years of helpless torture and makes him whole in body and mind, what is the actual sum of that achievement? This, I think: that it has restored to life a subject who had essentially died ten deaths a year for thirty years, and each of them a long and painful one. But for its interference that man would have essentially died thirty times more, in the three years which have since elapsed. There are thousands of young people in the land who are now ready to enter upon a life-long death similar to that man's. Every time the Science captures one of these and secures to him life-long immunity from imagination-manufactured disease, it may plausibly claim that in his person it has saved 300 lives. Meantime, it will kill a man every now and then. But no matter; it will still be ahead on the credit side.

MARK TWAIN.

(To be Continued.)

FRANK NORRIS.

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

THE projection which death gives the work of a man against the history of his time, is the doubtful gain we have to set against the recent loss of such authors as George Douglas, the Scotchman, who wrote "The House with the Green Shutters," and Frank Norris, the American, who wrote "McTeague" and "The Octopus," and other novels, antedating and postdating the first of these, and less clearly prophesying his future than the last. The gain is doubtful, because, though their work is now freed from the cloud of question which always involves the work of a living man in the mind of the general, if his work is good (if it is bad they give it no faltering welcome), its value was already apparent to those who judge from the certainty within themselves, and not from the uncertainty without. Every one in a way knows a thing to be good, but the most have not the courage to acknowledge it, in their sophistication with canons and criterions. The many, who in the tale of the criticism are not worth minding, are immensely unworthy of the test which death alone seems to put into their power. The few, who had the test before, were ready to own that Douglas's study of Scottish temperaments offered a hope of Scottish fiction freed the Scottish sentimentality which had kept it provincial; and that Norris's two mature novels, one personal and one social, imparted the assurance of an American fiction so largely commensurate with American circumstance as to liberate it from the casual and the occasional, in which it seemed lastingly trammelled. But the parallel between the two does not hold much farther. What Norris did, not merely what he dreamed of doing, was of vaster frame, and inclusive of imaginative intentions far beyond those of the only immediate contemporary to be

matched with him, while it was of as fine and firm an intellectual quality, and of as intense and fusing an emotionality.

I.

In several times and places, it has been my rare pleasure to bear witness to the excellence of what Norris had done, and the richness of his promise. The vitality of his work was so abundant, the pulse of health was so full and strong in it, that it is incredible it should not be persistent still. The grief with which we accept such a death as his is without the consolation that we feel when we can say of some one that his life was a struggle, and that he is well out of the unequal strife, as we might say when Stephen Crane died. The physical slightness, if I may so suggest one characteristic of Crane's vibrant achievement, reflected the delicacy of energies that could be put forth only in nervous spurts, in impulses vivid and keen, but wanting in breadth and bulk of effect. Curiously enough, on the other hand, this very lyrical spirit, whose freedom was its life, was the absolute slave of reality. It was interesting to hear him defend what he had written, in obedience to his experience of things, against any change in the interest of convention. "No," he would contend, in behalf of the profanities of his people, "that is the way they *talk*. I have thought of that, and whether I ought to leave such things out, but if I do I am not giving the thing as I *know* it." He felt the constraint of those semi-savage natures, such as he depicted in "Maggie," and "George's Mother," and was forced through the fealty of his own nature to report them as they spoke no less than as they looked. When it came to "The Red Badge of Courage," where he took leave of these simple æsthetics, and lost himself in a whirl of wild guesses at the fact from the ground of insufficient witness, he made the failure which formed the break between his first and his second manner, though it was what the public counted a success, with every reason to do so from the report of the sales.

The true Stephen Crane was the Stephen Crane of the earlier books, the earliest book; for "Maggie" remains the best thing he did. All he did was lyrical, but this was the aspect and accent as well as the spirit of the tragically squalid life he sang, while "The Red Badge of Courage," and the other things that followed it, were the throes of an art failing with material to which it could

not render an absolute devotion from an absolute knowledge. He sang, but his voice erred up and down the scale, with occasional flashes of brilliant melody, which could not redeem the errors. New York was essentially his inspiration, the New York of suffering and baffled and beaten life, of inarticulate or blasphemous life; and away from it he was not at home, with any theme, or any sort of character. It was the pity of his fate that he must quit New York, first as a theme, and then as a habitat; for he rested nowhere else, and wrought with nothing else as with the lurid depths which he gave proof of knowing better than any one else. Every one is limited, and perhaps no one is more limited than another; only, the direction of the limitation is different in each. Perhaps George Douglas, if he had lived, would still have done nothing greater than "The House with the Green Shutters," and might have failed in the proportion of a larger range as Stephen Crane did. I am not going to say that either of these extraordinary talents was of narrower bound than Frank Norris; such measures are not of the map. But I am still less going to say that they were of finer quality because their achievement seems more poignant, through the sort of physical concentration which it has. Just as a whole unhappy world agonizes in the little space their stories circumscribe, so what is sharpest and subtlest in that anguish finds its like in the epical breadths of Norris's fiction.

II.

At the other times when I so gladly owned the importance of this fiction, I frankly recognized what seemed to me the author's debt to an older master; and now, in trying to sum up my sense of it in an estimate to which his loss gives a sort of finality for me, I must own again that he seemed to derive his ideal of the novel from the novels of Zola. I cannot say that, if the novels of Zola had not been cast in the epic mould, the novels of Frank Norris would not have been epical. This is by no means certain; while it is, I think, certain that they owe nothing beyond the form to the master from whom he may have imagined it. Or they owe no more to him, essentially, than to the other masters of the time in which Norris lived out his life all too soon. It is not for nothing that any novelist is born in one age, and not another, unless we are to except that aoristic freak, the historical novelist; and by what Frank Norris wrote one might easily know what he had

read. He had read, and had profited, with as much originality as any man may keep for himself, by his study of the great realists whose fiction has illustrated the latter part of the nineteenth century beyond any other time in the history of fiction; and if he seemed to have served his apprenticeship rather more to one of them than to another, this may be the effect of an inspiration not finally derived from that one. An Italian poet says that in Columbus "the instinct of the unknown continent burned;" and it may be that this young novelist, who had his instincts mostly so well intellectualized, was moved quite from within when he imagined treating American things in an epical relation as something most expressive of their actual relation. I am not so sure that this is so, but I am sure that he believed it so, and that neither in material nor in treatment are his novels Zolaesque, though their form is Zolaesque, in the fashion which Zola did not invent, though he stamped it so deeply with his nature and his name.

I may allow also that he was like Zola in his occasional indulgence of a helpless fondness for the romantic, but he quite transcended Zola in the rich strain of poetry coloring his thought, and the mysticism in which he now and then steeped his story. I do not care enough, however, for what is called originality in any writer to fatigue myself greatly in the effort to establish that of a writer who will avouch his fresh and vigorous powers to any one capable of feeling them. I prefer, in the presence of a large design left unfulfilled, to note the generous ideal, the ample purpose, forecast in the novel forming the first of the trilogy he imagined.

In one of those few meetings which seem, too late, as if they might have been so many, but which the New York conditions of overwork for all who work at all begrudge, I remember how he himself outlined his plan. The story of the Wheat was for him the allegory of the industrial and financial America which is the real America, and he had begun already to tell the first part of this story in the tragedy of the railroad-ridden farms of California, since published as "The Octopus." The second part, as he then designed, was to carry the tale to Chicago, where the distribution of the Wheat was to be the theme, as its production had already been the theme in the first. The last part was to find its scene in Europe, among the representative cities where the consumption of the Wheat was to form the motive. Norris believed himself peculiarly qualified for the work by the accidents

of his life; for he was born in Chicago and had lived there till he was fifteen years old; then he had gone to California, and had grown up into the knowledge of the scene and action which he has portrayed so powerfully; later, he had acquainted himself with Europe, by long sojourn; and so he argued, with an enthusiasm tempered by a fine sense of his moral and artistic responsibility, that he had within himself the means of realizing the whole fact to the reader's imagination. He was aware that such a plan could be carried out only by years of ardent and patient study, and he expected to dedicate the best part of his strong young life to it.

III.

Those who know "The Octopus" know how his work justified his faith in himself; but those who had known "McTeague" could not have doubted but he would do what he had undertaken, in the spirit of the undertaking. Norris did give the time and toil to the right documentation of his history. He went to California and renewed his vital knowledge of his scene; he was in California again, studying the course of the fact which was to bring him to Chicago, when death overtook him and ended his high emprise. But in the meantime he had given us "The Octopus," and before that he had given us "McTeague," books not all so unlike in their nature as their surfaces might suggest. Both are epical, though the one is pivoted on the common ambition of a coarse human animal, destined to prevail in a half-quackish triumph, and the other revolves about one of the largest interests of modern civilization. The author thought at first of calling "McTeague," as he told me, "The Golden Tooth," which would have been more significant of the irregular dentist's supremacy in the story, and the ideal which inspired him; but perhaps he felt a final impossibility in the name. Yet, the name is a mere mask; and when one opens the book, the mask falls, and the drama confronts us with as living a physiognomy as I have seen in fiction. There is a bad moment when the author is overcome by his lingering passion for the romantic, and indulges himself in a passage of rank melodrama; but even there he does nothing that denies the reality of his characters, and they are always of a reality so intense that one lives with them in the grotesquely shabby San Francisco street where, but for the final episode, the action passes.

What is good is good, it matters not what other things are better or worse; and I could ask nothing for Norris, in my sense of his admirable achievement, but a mind freed to criticism absolute and not relative. He is of his time, and, as I have said, his school is evident; and yet I think he has a right to make his appeal in "The Octopus" irrespective of the other great canvases beside which that picture must be put. One should dissociate it as far as possible from the work of his masters—we all have masters; the masters themselves had them—not because it is an imitation, and would suffer from the comparison, but because it is so essentially different, so boldly and frankly native, that one is in danger of blaming it for a want of conformity to models, rather than for too close a following. Yet this, again, does not say quite the right thing, and what I feel, and wish others to feel, in regard to it, is the strong security of its most conscientious and instructed art. Here is nothing of experiment, of protest, of rebellion; the author does not break away from form in any sprawling endeavor for something newly or incomparably American, Californian, Western, but finds scope enough for his powers within the limits where the greatest fiction of our period "orbs about." The time, if there ever was one, for a prose Walt Whitman was past; and he perceived that the indigenous quality was to be imparted to his work by the use of fresh material, freshly felt, but used in the fashion and the form which a world-old art had evolved in its long endeavor.

"McTeague" was a personal epic, the Odyssey of a simple, semi-savage nature adventuring and experiencing along the low social levels which the story kept, and almost never rose or fell from. As I review it in the light of the first strong impressions, I must own it greater than I have ever yet acknowledged it, and I do this now with the regret which I hope the critic is apt to feel for not praising enough when praise could have helped most. I do not think my strictures of it were mistaken, for they related to the limits which certain facts of it would give it with the public, rather than to the ethical or æsthetic qualities which would establish it with the connoisseur. Yet, lest any reader of mine should be left without due sense of these, I wish now to affirm my strong sense of them, and to testify to the value which this extraordinary book has from its perfectly simple fidelity: from the truthfulness in which there is no self-doubt and no self-excuse.

IV.

But, with all its power, "McTeague" is no such book as "The Octopus," which is the Iliad to its Odyssey.

It will not be suggesting too much for the story to say, that there is a kind of Homeric largeness in the play of the passions moving it. They are not autochthons, these Californians of the great Wheat farms, choking in the folds of the railroad, but Americans of more than one transplantation; yet there is something rankly earthy and elemental in them, which gives them the pathos of tormented Titans. It is hard to choose any of them as the type, as it is hard to chose any scene as the representative moment. If we choose Annixeter, growing out of an absolute, yet not gross, materiality, through the fire of a purifying love, into a kind of final spirituality, we think, with misgiving for our decision, of Magnus Derrick, the high, pure leader of the rebellion against the railroad, falling into ruin, moral and mental, through the use of the enemy's bad means for his good cause. Half a score of other figures, from either camp, crowd upon the fancy to contest the supreme interest, men figures, women figures; and, when it comes to choosing this episode or that as the supreme event, the confusion of the critic is even greater. If one were to instance the fight between the farmers and the sheriff's deputies, with the accompanying evictions, one must recall the tremendous passages of the train-robbery by the crazy victim of the railroad's treachery, taking his revenge in his hopeless extremity. Again, a half score of other scenes, other episodes rise from the remembered pages, and defy selection.

The story is not less but more epical, in being a strongly interwrought group of episodes. The play of an imagination fed by a rich consciousness of the mystical relations of nature and human nature, the body and the soul of earthly life, steeps the whole theme in an odor of common growth. It is as if the Wheat sprang out of the hearts of men, in the conception of the young poet who writes its Iliad, and who shows how it overwhelms their lives, and germinates anew from their deaths. His poem, of which the terms are naked prose, is a picture of the civilization, the society, the culture which is the efflorescence of the wheaten prosperity; and the social California, rank, crude, lusty, which he depicts is as convincing as the agricultural California, which is the ground of his work. It will be easily believed that in the handling

nothing essential to the strong impression is blinked; but nothing, on the other hand, is forced in. The episode of Venamee and Angèle, with its hideous tragedy, and the long mystical epilogue ending almost in anti-climax, is the only passage which can be accused of irrelevance, and it is easier to bring than to prove this accusation.

As I write, and scarcely touch the living allegory here and there, it rises before me in its large inclusion, and makes me feel once more how little any analysis of a work of art can represent it. After all the critic must ask the reader to take his word for it that the thing is great, and entreat him to go see for himself: see, in this instance, the breadth and the fineness, the beauty and the dread, the baseness and the grandeur, the sensuality and the spirituality, working together for the effect of a novel unequalled for scope and for grasp in our fiction.

V.

Fine work we have enough of and to spare in our fiction. No one can say it is wanting in subtlety of motive and delicate grace of form. But something still was lacking, something that was not merely the word but the deed of commensurateness. Perhaps, after all, those who have demanded Continentality of American literature had some reason in their folly. One thinks so, when one considers work like Norris's, and finds it so vast in scope while so fine and beautiful in detail. Hugeness was probably what those poor fellows were wanting when they asked for Continentality; and from any fit response that has come from them one might well fancy them dismayed and puzzled to have been given greatness instead. But Continentality he also gave them.

His last book is a fragment, a part of a greater work, but it is a mighty fragment, and it has its completeness. In any time but this, when the air is filled with the fizz and sputter of a thousand pin-wheels, the descent of such a massive aërolite as "The Octopus" would have stirred all men's wonder, but its light to most eyes appears to have seemed of one quality with those cheap explosives which all the publishing houses are setting off, and advertising as meteoric. If the time will still come for acknowledgment of its greatness, it will not be the time for him who put his heart and soul into it. That is the pity, but that in the human conditions is what cannot be helped. We are here to do something, we

do not know why; we think it is for ourselves, but it is for almost anyone but ourselves. If it is great, some one else shall get the good of it, and the doer shall get the glory too late; if it is mean, the doer shall have the glory, but who shall have the good? This would not be so bad if there were life long enough for the processes of art; if the artist could outlive the doubt and the delay into which every great work of art seems necessarily to plunge the world anew, after all its experience of great work.

I am not saying, I hope, that Frank Norris had not his success, but only that he had not success enough, the success which he would have had if he had lived, and which will still be his too late. The two novels he has left behind him are sufficient for his fame, but though they have their completeness and their adequacy, one cannot help thinking of the series of their like that is now lost to us. It is Aladdin's palace, and yet,

> "The unfinished window in Aladdin's palace
> Unfinished must remain,"

and we never can look upon it without an ache of longing and regret.

Personally, the young novelist gave one the impression of strength and courage that would hold out to all lengths. Health was in him always as it never was in that other rare talent of ours with whom I associate him in my sense of the irretrievable, the irreparable. I never met him but he made me feel that he could do it, the thing he meant to do, and do it robustly and quietly, without the tremor of "those electrical nerves" which imparted itself from the presence of Stephen Crane. With him my last talk of the right way and the true way of doing things was saddened by the confession of his belief that we were soon to be overwhelmed by the rising tide of romanticism, whose crazy rote he heard afar, and expected with the resignation which the sick experience with all things. But Norris heard nothing, or seemed to hear nothing, but the full music of his own aspiration, the rich diapason of purposes securely shaping themselves in performance.

Who shall inherit these, and carry forward work so instinct with the Continent as his? Probably, no one; and yet good work shall not fail us, manly work, great work. One need not be overhopeful to be certain of this. Bad work, false, silly, ludicrous

work, we shall always have, for the most of those who read are so, as well as the most of those who write; and yet there shall be here and there one to see the varying sides of our manifold life truly and to say what he sees. When I think of Mr. Brand Whitlock and his novel of "The Thirteenth District," which has embodied the very spirit of American politics as American politicians know them in all the Congressional districts; when I think of the author of "The Spenders," so wholly good in one half that one forgets the other half is only half good; when I think of such work as Mr. William Allen White's, Mr. Robert Herrick's, Mr. Will Payne's—all these among the younger men—it is certainly not to despair because we shall have no such work as Frank Norris's from them. They, and the like of them, will do their good work as he did his.

W. D. HOWELLS.

ELECTRICITY AS A MOTIVE POWER ON TRUNK LINES.

BY CORNELIUS VANDERBILT.

It would be interesting, though not instructive, to know how many people have prophesied, during the past ten years, that the day of the steam locomotive was at an end, and that the era of electricity as the motive power for railways was at hand, for one seldom takes a journey without hearing this view expressed by some fellow-passenger. When one considers the enormous growth of the trolley systems in this country, it seems to the layman—using this term in contra-distinction to that of engineer—quite natural to suppose that a slight extension will result in equipping the present steam roads with electric locomotives or motor cars run in trains. It is the object of this short paper to consider, in a very general way, the reasons for the extension or non-extension of the trolley system, and to draw certain conclusions from an examination of the principles which underlie the question. The conditions to be met in the different parts of the country, caused by the differences in the communities served by the various roads, as well as numerous minor matters, require a different analysis to be made of each line, but certain general principles are the same for all, and we will therefore attempt to examine these, excluding as far as possible any specific railway or group of roads.

From the stand-point of those in charge of the railways in this country, there is only one object in view when a change is made in methods of operation, whether the change be great or small, from the consolidation of a number of roads down to the minutest improvement in rolling-stock. That object is the production of an increased net revenue; and it may be brought about either by a reduction in the cost of transporting freight and passengers, or

by providing such additional facilities that the volume of traffic will be increased, or that higher rates may be charged.

It may be accomplished in the last-mentioned manner if the change insures a measure of comfort and convenience to shippers and passengers which more than counterbalances the question of cost or price of the service rendered. It is evident, therefore, that, under certain conditions, an increased cost of transportation may be, in the end, economical and advantageous to the railway if it is accompanied by a great increase in facilities or convenience to those using the road. Some thought on this latter point discloses the fact that this will be the case almost exclusively in passenger traffic, and may be omitted in considering the transportation of freight. There might be some hesitancy in making this last assertion, had not the experience of many American roads during the past decade shown that a decrease in the cost per ton-mile was accompanied by a greater benefit to the road than was obtained by any increase in convenience to shippers of freight. The results obtained by the methods in use on the roads in the Northwest clearly show the truth of this statement.

It is apparent from the above that, before any change from the present system of motive power is made, the result must promise either a more economical method of transportation, or such an increase in the volume of traffic as will insure an increased net revenue. In any case, the first point to be considered is the actual cost to a road of transporting a given weight a given distance. The unit generally used in considering this question in freight traffic, is the cost per ton-mile, or the cost of hauling one ton one mile; but there is no corresponding unit for passenger traffic, unless we should take the cost of transporting one passenger one mile, assume an average weight per passenger, and multiply it by the number of passengers weighing one ton. It is, however, not necessary to do this, for, taking the subject as a whole, a simple method for purposes of comparison is to take, first, the cost of a unit amount of fuel; second, the amount of useful work realized from this fuel at the driving wheels; third, the cost of operation or handling trains; fourth, the cost of repairs to the machinery; and, fifth, the cost of repairs to the road-bed.

In comparing the present motive-power system with the proposed system of electric traction, we should, therefore, make separate comparisons of each of these points and thus arrive at

our conclusion. We must, then, compare the cost of equipping a road with either system, and determine which will bring in the greatest return on the capital invested. The cost of the fuel naturally varies greatly in different parts of the country; but, with one exception, we may take it as being equal on any given road for both systems, omitting certain cases where coal of different quality may be used in power-houses and on locomotives, since, with coal or oil, the only other difference in cost would be found in the cost of its transportation from the point of delivery to the point of consumption. This would, in all probability, be equal in both plans, if we assume the distance between power-houses to be approximately the same as the distance between coaling stations of locomotives. The only exception to this is the case in which water power could provide the initial "fuel"; but, as falls capable of generating sufficient power are not generally found in the proper or convenient positions, and as their "head" or pressure varies greatly with the seasons, we might omit this case from the discussion, though it should not be entirely passed over without considering its possibilities. It is impossible to compare the cost of such power as a fuel to the cost of the actual coal or oil, but its cost after conversion to electricity could be compared to the cost of electricity produced by means of coal or oil, boilers, engines and dynamos. And it thus leads us to the second point to be considered—that is, the amount of useful work realized at the driving or motor wheels from the initial fuel.

To compare the systems under consideration from this point of view, we should determine what proportion the amount of work realized bears to the initial amount of work put into the "machine," or what is termed in engineering the efficiency. This brings us to the vital point of the discussion. The steam locomotive system is a direct-acting "machine"—that is to say, it obtains the power at the drivers by means of a single conversion of energy; while the electric system must necessarily use a double or multiple conversion of energy before the power is obtained at the motor wheels. It is an axiom in physics that in any conversion of energy a loss must take place, and, therefore, if the first conversion—that from coal or oil to steam—is equal in both cases, there will be a lower total efficiency in the case of the double than in that of the single conversion.

But it so happens that, in the first conversion, the efficiencies

of the systems under comparison are not equal, for the locomotive efficiency is, as a rule, lower than the efficiency obtained from boilers and engines in a power-house. The higher efficiency of the latter is due to the fact that it is possible to use larger units; that they are stationary; that the engines are condensing; that it is not necessary to force the boilers to the same extent as the boilers of locomotives; and that there is a smaller loss in the mechanism of the engine itself. The efficiency of the former system is its total efficiency, since the steam is applied to useful work at the drivers without any further changes, while, for the electric system, we must convert the power obtained from the steam into electricity, transport it along the rail and use it in the motors on the train. We must, therefore, consider the losses due to this process in order to determine its total efficiency.

These losses, depend, primarily, on the distance between power-houses if continuous current be used, and on the location of sub-stations as well as power-houses if alternating current be employed. The greater portion of this second loss is due, in long-distance transmission, not to the actual loss in the electrical machines,—for the present efficiency of dynamo, motor, convertor and alternator leaves so small a margin for improvement that, even should they be still further perfected, the result would have little effect on the total,—but to the transmission or line loss. Therefore, up to a certain point, we may say that the further apart the power-houses and sub-stations are placed, the smaller will be this efficiency. It is possible under certain conditions so to space the fixed electrical plant that a total efficiency from the fuel to the power at the wheels will be obtained equal to that obtained in a steam locomotive, and it is also possible, by a still closer spacing, to obtain an efficiency slightly in excess of this.

The location of the fixed electrical plant thus determines the total efficiency of the system, and materially affects both first cost and cost of operation. It also affects the possibility of using water power; for, unless the falls are situated at frequent intervals along the line of a railway—an impossibility except in mountainous districts—the line loss precludes its general adoption.

We now come to the third point for comparison—that of the relative cost of operation, and while it is impossible to determine this and the remaining two points with accuracy, yet we may discover approximately what the results in substituting electricity

for steam would be. Taking the items properly chargeable to operation or conducting transportation, we find that there should be no difference, under either plan, in the expense of superintendence, station service, telegraph or signal operation, men employed as switchmen and flagmen or men at present employed in the roundhouses. It is also fair to assume that the cost of general supplies, such as oil, waste, etc., would be equal in both cases. The remaining item is the train service, which may be divided into wages of engine and train crews, and general train supplies. The latter should be equal for both systems, so we need only consider the former. It is impossible to run a freight train with safety with a smaller number of men than the number in an ordinary crew; while in the engine crew, should the third rail be used, it would be possible to dispense with the services of a fireman, though it would be so unsafe to have only one man in the cab that an assistant motorman should be employed. This is not done on some of the electric passenger lines now in operation, such as the elevated roads in New York, but on a trunk line the chances of accident to an engineman are far greater, owing to the volume of traffic and to the speeds run, than on any suburban road, and it is, therefore, possible that, should a road equipped with the third rail attempt to operate with only one man in the cab, either the resulting accidents or the Inter-State Commerce Commission would force the employment of a second. The above statements apply with equal force both to passenger and freight trains, and, as the wages of train and engine crews should not differ whether electricity or steam be used, we come to the conclusion that the relative cost of conducting transportation, exclusive of the force at work in the power-houses and sub-stations along the line, should be equal in both cases.

The cost of maintenance of a locomotive on a railway of the first class should be about five cents per mile run. This cost naturally varies in different parts of the country, depending on the life, amount of service, quality of coal and water used, type of boiler and engine, and the general attention or care given; but five cents is a fair maximum figure.

There is, unfortunately, no figure for cost of repairs to electric motors and equipment with which this can be directly compared, but, judging from results obtained on such lines as the elevated roads of Chicago and New York, this figure is, if anything, slight-

ly higher for the latter, comparing the maintenance charges of the total number of motors on a train, and the proportionate power-house repairs, with the maintenance of a single steam locomotive. The cost of maintenance of the cars employed should not differ in either plan, unless motor cars be used, and this could at present only be done in passenger service, for an attempt to equip freight cars with motors, and so take advantage of the weight of load for adhesion, would be entirely impracticable, unless the road adopting this arrangement refused to allow the cars so equipped to leave its own line. It is difficult to compare the relative cost of repairs to road-bed; but, despite the much talked of ill effects of the "hammer blow," it seems probable that electric traction would increase this charge, by reason of the additional cost of maintaining the third rail, and the complication at switching points and in yards.

It is now proper for us to consider the comparative first costs. There will be a greater first cost for any electric traction system, due principally to the cost of power houses, sub-stations and third rail, for the cost of rolling-stock equipment would be approximately the same as in steam-locomotive traction. If we anticipate an equal net return to the road in both cases, we should so place the power-houses and sub-stations for electric traction that we would decrease the fuel cost to the point where this saving will pay the interest (and power-house operating charges), on the amount of capital required for this system over that required for steam power. The possibility of doing this depends primarily on the density of the traffic on the road. In most cases, it is an impossibility, and the further we extend the principle, and so place our plant as to decrease the fuel cost, the more difficult is it to find a railroad with the required traffic density.

As has been previously stated, it is not the object of this paper to take up the consideration of individual roads; but it may be said that there are at present no roads in the United States deriving two-thirds of their total revenue from the transportation of freight—which is a fair proportion for a trunk line—on which this condition is found.

If we consider passenger traffic irrespective of transportation of freight, or if we view it from the stand-point of increasing traffic by increasing convenience, it assumes a different aspect.

We know from experience that, in this class of service, increased

convenience and facilities in many cases more than compensate for increased cost of transportation. This convenience, as we may term it for want of a better word, includes general convenience to passengers, speed, number and frequency of trains, and is the all-important point in passenger traffic. Combining this with the fact that, after a certain density of traffic is realized, the fuel cost may be reduced, we have the reason for the success of the trolley system and for the adoption of electricity as motive power on certain metropolitan and suburban roads. In passenger traffic, the position of the road should determine, in the main, whether electricity is to be adopted, due consideration being given to the possibility of increasing the density of traffic by increasing the convenience, and a final judgment being rendered in its favor when it is seen that the density induced by this convenience will warrant the greater first cost and produce a larger net return (after deducting interest and cost of operation of the additional machinery) than will be produced if steam power is used. This net return may be procured either by a decreased fuel cost, if the density of traffic is sufficient, or by increased rates should the convenience be so increased that the passengers are willing to pay for it.

Many of the minor matters which would require discussion before the third-rail system was adopted on any road have been omitted in this paper—such as the protection of the live rails in yards, at switching points, and at grade crossings. Nor have questions of speeds, weights of trains, fluctuations in load requiring power-house apparatus out of all proportion to average power consumption, been considered. They are points too technical for discussion here.

That it is possible to use electricity as the motive power on trunk lines is not questioned. It is entirely possible from the engineering point of view; but, from the financial point of view, it is an impossibility except under the conditions mentioned above. How long it will remain so it is naturally out of the province of this paper to predict; but the possibility of certain improvements which would decrease the fuel cost in electric traction can be imagined, such as the successful working of oil engines in large units, or inventions that would reduce the line loss, etc.; while, on the other hand, improvements that would produce equal efficiency may be imagined for steam locomotives.

CORNELIUS VANDERBILT.

MUSIC AS A FACTOR IN NATIONAL LIFE.

BY DAVID BISPHAM.

NOTWITHSTANDING Shakespeare's famous dictum, the absence of the musical faculty in individuals is no more an indication of vice than its possession is a *sine qua non* of personal virtue. "The man who hath no music in himself is not, of hard necessity, "fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils." On the contrary, quite as likely is he, as though he were never so musically endowed, to be the most benign of his sex, abhorring the traitor and the despoiler with all the might of his untuneful soul, yet never missing, because he never knew, the effect of "a concourse of sweet sounds." The veriest scoundrel may be an admirable musician, or the noblest philanthropist tone-deaf. Yet, in some other direction, the efforts of the latter toward the amelioration of the lot of down-trodden humanity—if such a term be not wellnigh out of date nowadays in this country—are surely none the less useful for that music comes neither within his scope nor his ken. Carlyle's estimate of it as "a disagreeable noise" is well known; that most versatile writer and delightful man, Grant Allen, though keenly appreciating the inflections of the speaking voice, was quite oblivious to song, and could distinguish between the best-known airs only through obvious differences of rhythm; while the late Ulysses S. Grant once said in the hearing of the writer, "My dear sir, sing whatever pleases you best; I don't know one tune from another." Such cases, however, are fortunately not so numerous among us as to occasion any fear for the future of music in America. Though there must exist a diversity of taste in regard to mental relaxation, the love if not the practice of music may, among the broad ranks of the indifferent, be very greatly cultivated to the ennobling of character, not only of individuals but of whole communities. But, taking no further

account of those congenitally incapable of receiving pleasurable sensations from music, what would the world become were it suddenly bereft of this saving grace from a sphere of life but dimly comprehended as yet, even by the elect? And how may not the world be benefited by the scientific application of those subtle laws and influences which so strangely, yet so profoundly and universally, affect mankind?

The power of ordered sounds is as inexplicable as that of intense thought, and none the less real; for in it only is there found a means of expression for the ideas of those who are unable to give vent to their emotions in any of the languages of nature save in music alone; while, through its careful administration, the highest benefits are to be obtained, not only for the pleasure and enlightenment of the many and the education of the enthusiastic, but for the actual alleviation of some of the most dreadful sufferings of mankind, nervous and mental illness being now, and often successfully, treated by music.

The common question among young people, "If you had to be blind or deaf, which would you choose?" clearly indicates the estimation in which this pair of our five senses, sight and hearing, is held; and, while the loss of the former is more universally dreaded and pitied, the influence of beautiful sound on the mind and body, through the microscopic caverns of the ear, is so marvellous that attention is being drawn by scientists to the effects to be produced by music, and to the service it may be made to render, not only to the body personal, but to the body politic. For it is, indeed, in its loftiest manifestation, not only a medicine, but a language as universal as truth, of which even mathematically it is a supreme manifestation, and is to be understood by men of every nation under heaven, who well may be amazed and marvel when they know its potency. Commentators have differed in their ideas of what "the gift of tongues" was; but it is a significant thought that the Apostles, on that early morning of the Day of Pentecost, may have been moved to pour forth their ecstasy of love in sacred concord, as the Spirit gave them utterance, and to express the theme of their Master in harmonies so simple yet so grand, so old yet so new, that by the very beauty of their thought, by the rapt expression of their countenances and by the concentrated uplifting of their voices in prophetic strain, their auditors, who at the sound came together in

multitudes, must have felt, each one, that his innermost soul had been appealed to and touched in an indelible manner by that mysterious psalm which expressed the essence of the higher life, and that he had heard, "every man in his own tongue wherein he was born," the holy strain of the song of beauty which had already come to help the world. He that hath ears to hear, let him heed it; for it is one of the mightiest agencies for good that ever came the way of indifferent humanity.

Nowhere in the world, since the inception of Christendom, when civilization in its ceaseless swing about the globe was at one of its flood tides, has such a gathering of possibilities taken place as upon the shores of this land,—so astounding in its achievements, so bewildering in its probabilities. Each emigrant has had—or he never would have reached us—courage if not wealth, Pluck with Poverty, and the precious Perhaps in the pocket; and in the joy of a wider life he sang—even the slave in his chains sang louder than the rest—in the natural recreative outpouring that simple music can give the simple mind in the sound body. When we consider upon how many Old World nations, the height of whose culture is an earnest of their musical advancement, we have drawn for our population, and, further, when we reflect that the character even of the peasants of nearly every one of these lands is, from some remote source, beyond a doubt more prolific of tune than that of the average Anglo-Saxon, what wonder that the sowing of a few of Fafner's dragon-teeth should bring up bands of ready-equipped musicians and armies of listeners who would dance to their piping or march to their trumpeting, to the death if need be, but more readily, and more likely as time goes on, to the peaceful and infinitely ampler state of existence to which, to a degree as yet unimagined, the world shall attain, largely through the direct influence of music.

The most cursory glance at the materials used, up to the present, in the erection of our edifice will show that, like the bricks of some colonial house, most of them have been imported from across the sea, and that until very recently but little of note has been of native growth and that nothing was indigenous to the soil save a few Indian chants, war-songs and lullabies, which are at last being transcribed and rescued from total extinction.

The first sounds of the music of civilization to greet the savage ear were no doubt the hymns of Mother Church; but saturated

as this country has since been by her powerful influence through the influx of millions from Catholic countries,—Spain, Italy, France, Ireland,—it has been the individual who sang because he was a man first and foremost, and gave expression to his natural tendencies in the familiar strains of his own land, heedless of religious beliefs, who was the moving spirit in our musical growth. Art has nothing to do with Creed, and the Church of Rome, at least, has done nothing to foster music in our midst in an intelligent manner. Her ministrations to the present time have been of as little value in this respect as was the great canvas of Titian, buried in a forgotten church in the heart of Mexico, to the development of painting in America. Her ability to assist is, however, so enormous that—to wipe out the remembrance of the usual performance of the Drinking Song from "Traviata," or some equally inappropriate selection, at the Elevation of the Host—would that some enthusiast were moved to confer a lasting benefit upon his church and the public, by devoting a large fund to the collection and publication in America of the greatest masses and of other sacred music that has been used by the Catholic Church from the times of Palestrina, paying particular attention, as is now being done in England, to the resuscitation of the superb works of Tallis, Byrd and others of that school. The same should be done for the Greek and Russian Churches. That the Jews have let any beauty slip from their ritual is not to be believed; and the influence of that marvellous race is one of the most powerful in our musical life to-day.

It may with reason be urged that, for a long time, Protestantism was of but small musical value to the growing land. The Puritan with his mournful psalms, and the Quaker with none, were, verily, of no assistance at all; and if subsequently the Church of England set us a high standard, and the music of our own Episcopal Church is of artistic value, it is to the animus of the people rather than to any sect that we must look for the ultimate development of our possibilities.

The voice of the guitar, and the languor and lilt of the "Paloma" and "Habanera," say about all that is to be said as yet for Spain, but who can divine what may in time be the result of the closer mingling of our races? In her blood is the old Latin power; and the effects of the same sun that shines on Italy and on our own Southern shores will surely be felt. To Italy we

owe an enormous debt of gratitude for having sent her choicest minstrels to rejoice our hearts with their song; while the operas they interpreted were for a long time, and still are by many, accepted as the ultimate expression of dramatic music. Certain it is that a distinct school at its height was handed over to us, ready made. This was not altogether so in the case of England, which, as we shall presently learn from Mr. Dolmetsch and his old instruments, was, three centuries ago, the most musical country of Europe; for when we began to receive what she had to give, her former art was all but forgotten and her ablest men were foreigners. To revive the masterpieces of the old English School and transplant them here is a noble task for the efforts of an enthusiast, who may render a like service to the sadly neglected gems of the Madrigal Schools of Holland and Italy. France, though possessing an individuality as great as that of any other country, has, with the exception of Gounod and Bizet, not yet produced composers of sufficient force or form to go to the ends of the earth with especial effect. Yet we, of all people, receive with eagerness that of greatest worth in the works of her composers, which are not only rendered here to the best advantage but assimilated to the fullest extent. The Hibernian Celt across the bit of sea has, in the airs of his Emerald Isle, much of the national spirit of the Gaul. No troubadour ever sang melodies of as great beauty as those of his ancient race, relics of a time when the highest art and poetry flourished in Ireland; may it be that the spirit of those days shall at length alight upon us, through the innumerable progeny of their descendants that fill our country! As the music of Russia, Norway and Hungary is finding willing ears among us, it cannot be but that the people of these extraordinary and diverse races within our gates shall ultimately and with great power give expression to the harmonious elemental forces yet lying dormant within them. Account, too, must be taken erelong of the effect that Japan may have upon us; for, while we may think her music barbarous and strange, there must be great beauty in it, from the very fact that it is so assiduously cultivated by the most artistic nation upon earth. The negro is ever with us, and by virtue of his wonderful natural ability is certain to be a powerful factor in the life of music in the United States.

To the master minds of Germany, however, the world is in-

debted for the highest and best in musical art; and we owe unbounded gratitude to her people for their zeal in making it known and beloved by us, and for educating us in the best direction. Bach, Mozart, Handel, Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Brahms, Wagner, and scores of others—what a stupendous galaxy! Let it not be forgotten that they, with all the best of whatsoever nation, belong to us and are part of our inheritance, and withal the part most potent in the development of the best that is in each section of the heterogeneous mass, as each recognizes and takes pride in the great names of its race. We are made up of many, it is true, and their distinctive qualities cannot soon become obliterated; but we speak a uniform language; and, though Music has dialects, yet she is one of the great family of Arts, as races are of the human family, and from out the unfathomed spaces of nature she speaks to man in the miraculous universal tongue, through an intimate acquaintance with which he may be raised from the ranks of materialism and made acquainted with the higher spheres of life. Though all may not attain, to all it is permitted to make an honest endeavor, and whoever does so has at least done that much for a noble cause, which at no distant time will be fraught with universal meaning.

The Anglo-Saxon has a good pair of lungs, which he enjoys using when, in company with others employed in a like manner, his self-consciousness is overcome; and, though the early settler of New England knew, perhaps, but little of the wealth of folk-songs that were his heritage, and naught of the store of Chamber Music that was still the joy of his more festive brethren at home, yet, obeying a natural impulse, he lifted up his voice in the austere congregation and, later, in the pious orgies of the revival meeting, until, by-and-by, the works of the great composers of Oratorio giving scope for glorified psalm-singing, he readily seized the opportunity, and in 1815 the famous Handel and Hadyn Society of Boston sprang into existence, a model for many another similar organization throughout the country. All that seems to be needed in music is example, and women in goodly numbers, and men after them, as they are aroused to the call and find leisure, will follow it. The membership of these bodies is recruited largely from the vast numbers of singers in the choirs of churches scattered all over the land; while choruses of male voices, especially among the German element of the popula-

tion, and Glee and Madrigal Clubs abound in every city. From the humble beginnings of the village brass band have grown, more by accretion than by education, it is true, the great orchestras of to-day, and these splendid bodies of instrumentalists, mainly foreign by birth or immediate origin, are, under the guidance of able conductors, doing glorious work in educating the public taste to a point undreamed of by such heroic pioneers as Theodore Thomas, happily still with us and in possession of all his old-time enthusiasm, and the late Dr. Leopold Damrosch. While laboring among and upon a mixed population whose first object was to live before it spent anything on more than mere idle amusement of the most obvious kind, these men must at first have been sadly discouraged by the actual indifference of the public of a generation ago, but immensely gratified, on the other hand, at the evidence of an awakening sense, apparent here and there, which has ultimately borne fruit beyond their fondest dreams.

Through perseverance, however, and the assistance of the individual artist whose drawing powers were undoubted, has the public been at last induced to come in and partake of the feast awaiting it. Music in the abstract appeals as yet to but a few, and the soloist is still, as he has ever been, and probably will continue to be, an absolute necessity to the greater public, under other than the more intimate conditions prescribed by the enjoyment of certain kinds of musical fare which clearly forbids the introduction of any element of an inappropriate character.

With the advent of Jenny Lind, of whose phenomenal success and exquisite voice the world has not yet ceased to talk, began a long procession of artists of all sorts, vocal and instrumental; indeed, some had come before her who did much to foster a love for grand opera, which without them could not have existed; and, although Italy was then considered the only "land of song," its prestige has of late been shared by other nations, Germany in particular having done more to send us models of earnestness and high dramatic power than any other. That the true musician works hard is no credit to him; he cannot help it; his enthusiasm and love impel him, why, he knows not, to rush into the element which he feels to be his own; and if his labors have resulted in a bettering of public taste, they are worth tenfold what has been expended out of the general purse. The willingness of the people to make sacrifices in order to hear what it knows to be good, is an

undoubted indication of its desire to be raised beyond its present level; the general impatience of what is mediocre in art clearly shows how extraordinary has been the growth of the sense of the beautiful, and the demand for the best only is already imperative, even though it be a diet of nightingales' tongues.

If an interest in music of the instrumental order has been longer in being aroused, it is partly because that class of music is less personal; and again, because—as Tennyson says, "things seen are mightier than things heard"—the average listener will, by reason of the varied background of light and color, scenery and costume, consider opera to be more attractive than the orchestral concert. To another class of listener, in the words of one who should know, "Oratorio is only opera spoilt;" and while a symphony, as compared to the less complex music for solo instruments, is to many such a mass of moving melodies as to be unintelligible and bewildering, yet it is to others, equally ignorant, so enthralling that the heights of celestial beauty seem to have been reached in the polyphonies of the modern orchestra. Surely such an one, in his inmost heart, must have been the unsophisticated Scot, who alleged that his ecstatic expression of countenance was the result of a vision of Heaven the night before. "Eh, mon, I dreemit that there was seeven and thirty pipers, a' playin' deeferent tunes at the same time; eh, it was just Heeven!"

Come to us, Sandy, we will gladly give you a home; for your enthusiasm is the best thing a growing and artistic nation can have. We want all of your kind we can import.

And so the mass has been worked over and over, the native American educated, the result added to, and its value enhanced, by the influx of highly trained arrivals from foreign lands. Individual powers have been brought out and improved, the taste for choral and instrumental works fostered, the number of bodies performing them increasing rapidly and extending their influence by producing, more frequently than ever before, not only the great works of the past, but all that is best in contemporaneous musical literature, while to the desire to improve individual talent there seems to be no end. Young men and maidens, old men and children, all study music of some sort; even in the public schools it is obligatory in the elementary grades—to learn to sing being the chief object, and upon the line of least resist-

ance. Surely it will be a long time until "the voice of the turtle" is no longer heard in the land, and yet it is apparent that there is still an infinity to be done in the way of educating the masses to enjoy music rationally, and encouraging them to become familiar with those masterpieces of former times that have been neglected among us, but which are familiar to the music lover of Europe. This is bound to come, but how to bring it about has been something of a puzzle to those most willing and yet unable to do so, for a concert without an audience is practically useless, and the people prefer their favorites and are with difficulty induced to listen to the words of an unknown stranger. The latter must be introduced in the company of his compeers or betters, and properly set forth among them, or he may fail to be given the meed of praise which is his due. To succeed as a fine art, music must succeed as a financial undertaking; and to this notable end it were well if one or more of the increasing number of wealthy men in every community should maintain orchestras containing the best available talent.

Music is being made to render its priceless services to man—or, rather, should not the opposite be said, man induced to lend his serious attention to its voice, compelled, if need be, to come in and partake of the feast? Nature is ever ready to yield of her best ungrudgingly to those who seek her, and rich mines of information are standing all but open, obscured only by the dust of ages, and awaiting the explorer's unsealing hand, as does some Egyptian tomb, to give forth its store of beauty fresh as when it was laid away with the dead of a forgotten era. The enthusiast is the explorer; and in this land, although we have as yet nothing approaching an American School, such a school will surely come into existence, partly through knowledge of what exists, and partly on account of the extraordinary freshness and spirit which seem to characterize all that is accomplished in this country. Indeed Dvorák, in his American Symphony, spread the dusky melodies of Africa thick upon his pages, in the evident belief that the trend of our national music lay in that direction.

Whatever may be the ultimate nature of the Genius of American Music, the rhythms of nature will last as long as the foot of man treads the earth in march or dance, yet the instruments of his past are being superseded by others ampler far to convey the fuller meaning of his thoughts. The tom-tom and the banjo will

disappear; the war-dance and the rag-time tune will be merged into the sounds of the orchestra, as have the march and the jig, and will appear to us wrapped in the garb of civilization. No section in so broad a land is likely alone to dominate the whole fabric. True, some individual of prominent native force may set the seal of his personality upon the music of his time, and do his distinguished share in building the edifice of sound, as has the young British subject, Mr. Coleridge Taylor, whose case is so remarkable that mention must be made of it, with the declaration that, had it happened here, the insight of Dvorák would have been taken as a notable prophecy; and who shall say that the dream of the creative artist is not that? Nature bestows her gifts upon all sorts and conditions of men, and it will ever remain a mystery where her hand will fall. Some thirty years ago, a young negro was sent by a missionary from the heart of Africa to study medicine in London. While there he begat a son of one of the daughters of the North, and returned to the bosom of his people, carrying with him for the benefit of his race the healing art he had acquired, but leaving behind, in his offspring, a genius to rejoice thousands with the outpourings of his nature. When the boy was but a small child he was found playing the piano in so remarkable a manner that his education was undertaken by a rich bachelor, who now has the satisfaction of seeing his protégé a shining light. His works are being performed throughout the Continent, while his future is being watched with the greatest interest. But let it be noted and insisted upon that, had not the intelligent man of sufficient means been forth-coming, the whole of the young negro's latent possibilities might have remained forever undiscovered, and his distinctive personality as evinced in his works lost to the world. For, though the musician, like the poet, is "born, not made," he must possess even greater skill, and he must have larger special training in order to deliver his message in a manner that will be approved. He is the apostle of the beauty of sound, and his creations are rendered by others who come after him and disseminate the seed which will grow up to feed multitudes yet unborn.

Music has no country, but as this land is the home of all who choose to come and be merged into the latest development of civilization, so do we welcome all the Muses, led by Song, and cordially invite them to educate and uplift us. Born composers

are but few in number, but thousands take up their works and teach them, sing them and play them. Not to all is it given to be able to comprehend the higher flights of music; but the number is rapidly increasing with education, until it may fairly be said that America stands at the head of the nations in its appreciation of the Art to-day. Whatever may be the reason for this, true it is that we want only the best in science, architecture, literature, the decorative arts and music; and in music we are rapidly reaching a point when it will cease to be considered among amusements, or treated as such by the majority. A sense of what is right and fitting forbids frivolity; educated people in their serious moments have no time to spare for anything but the best of the different varieties put before their notice. Each to his taste; one may enjoy opera, another chamber music; one may care for oratorio, another for symphonies; one may delight in vocal, and another in instrumental music; but, grave or gay, lively or severe, we have no place for anything but the highest, we are impatient of the mediocre. A musical conscience is being developed that cannot endure a falsehood; the true music lover cannot lie about it; it is too sacred, too intimate a part of himself. Some are born with this sense highly developed, but in most it must be educated; and though our schools of music may not be yet as large, thorough or well known as those abroad, they are advancing by leaps and bounds and doing admirable service in enlarging the horizon of the amateur.

It is to the individual effort of the enthusiast that the public owes much of its enjoyment. What admirable work is being done by Frank Damrosch in The People's Choral Union, which teaches masterpieces of choral art to thousands of wage-earners, who are thus not only made to know and love their beauty, but are kept out of mischief and induced instead to associate themselves with thoughts infinitely above the cares of their none too interesting existence. The same pioneer, through the medium of The Symphony Concerts for Young People, is placing before children, young and old, the great works that all should know, while in the Oratorio Society he is keeping up the study and knowledge of the recognized works of that special répertoire, besides introducing the best among modern compositions; and in The Musical Art Society he is laboring with a body of picked and paid singers in the field of madrigals and the less known and

more intimate compositions intended to be rendered by a smaller body of voices for a class of amateurs whose interests and tastes are highly cultivated.

The name of Walter Damrosch is too well known to need more than passing mention, but as the Director of the Philharmonic Society, and through the other orchestral bodies which have come under his direction since his father bequeathed his baton to his keeping, he has been an educator of public taste; while to his zeal for Wagner, we owe a large part of our acquaintance with the works of that master, and the introduction of many of the most noted foreign singers of the day. To these two enthusiasts, who desire to do nothing else and could perform no greater service, the profound thanks of the community are due, for their influence has always been of the best and their work of the highest.

The Boston Symphony Orchestra, founded and sustained by Henry L. Higginson, is probably the finest body of instrumentalists in existence. Directed by one of the most celebrated conductors of the time, it is a splendid example of what good may be done by the philanthropists in Music. Andrew Carnegie is doing the same in Pittsburg; and in other cities individuals, or a number of interested people of means combining together, are performing a like service. That the names of Gericke, Herbert, Van der Stücken, Mollenhauer, Scheel, and others, are constantly before the public is a guarantee that the best work is being performed by the bodies of players who obey their magic wands; but of all living men, Theodore Thomas it is to whose labor of love we owe most, for to him we have looked, more than to any other, for our induction into the mysteries and beauties of the enormous mass of instrumental literature, and for our education in the symphonic works of the great masters.

It cannot be said that America is yet a country of composers, but that she is rich in executive ability is undoubted, while the growth of societies for the study and cultivation of music among amateurs is too remarkable to be passed over without comment. These organizations number about one thousand, three-fourths of them having sprung into existence since 1890, their active membership aggregating a total of about 70,000—exclusive of the vast number of the choirs of churches of all denominations, of which there are in the Episcopal body alone over five hundred "vested" and choral bodies.

The existence of Ladies' Clubs in smaller cities throughout the country is a feature of musical life entirely new to the world; they have been called into existence for the purpose of bringing well-known artists, under agreeable conditions, to perform their best work in towns in which there may not be a profitable general public, but where, through this means of calling together and concentrating attention, a large concourse of truly interested music lovers is invariably gathered together with the best results to both auditors and performers. The influence of these societies for good in the dissemination of the highest forms of musical achievement is undoubted.

The example of the oldest musical festival association,— that held annually, since 1858, in Worcester, Massachusetts—has been followed by Cincinnati and other cities throughout the country, while much is being done to foster the knowledge of orchestral music in the open air in some such way as that so largely in vogue in Germany.

Since music must be known to be appreciated, and since its worth is so widely recognized and so generally embraced, the duty of all who have to do with it is manifest. Only the best must be taught. No person who professes to be one of its disciples, or to expound it, should hold any place in the public eye unless he be not only eminently fitted for his task, but willing and able to uphold the highest standard. Everything should be done to cultivate real ability wherever found, and discouragement should be unsparingly meted out to the majority of would-be professionals; for a public career is much too responsible and difficult an undertaking to be lightly or inconsiderately adopted. This warning is to be heeded particularly by aspirants for vocal honors; and that their training should be as long and careful as that required by instrumentalists cannot be too earnestly insisted upon.

There never was a time when the interest in everything pertaining to the art was so general; and the amount of high-class criticism is an index and an undoubted reflex of the public mind. A valuable contribution to literature of this sort, by the *doyen* of critics, is Mr. Henry E. Krehbiel's book "How to Listen to Music," which should be read by all who desire to derive really intelligent enjoyment from the art.

Nowhere more than in America is the disappearance of old-fashioned prejudices so distinctly marked, and the necessities and

freedom of modern life have so widened the boundaries of what has been hitherto considered right for young men and women of birth and education, that the result of the adoption of music as one of the learned professions by thousands of these is having upon the public an effect which it is impossible to estimate. Still, there is an untrodden field for some benefactor yet to come, in founding what might be called The University of Music, which, having affiliations with all schools previously existing among us, could extend its influence throughout the country, by discovering, fostering and importing the best talent, and publishing and supplying the best music of all schools to the public; by opening circulating libraries where all the compositions of noted composers of all times might be obtained; and by superintending, if not actually carrying on, the general instruction, not only of individuals, but of the masses. Such an institution, in order to make its work known and universally felt, would maintain a staff of singers and instrumentalists who might tour the country, or whose services could be obtained to perform at concerts and recitals the music of various kinds and countries, making it known historically before the countless audiences which would be only too glad to receive such enlightenment. From the Gregorian chant to the compositions of Palestrina, and the masses of Beethoven; from the lays of Troubadours and Minnesingers to the art songs of Germany; from the operas of Handel to those of Wagner, every phase of vocal art would be traversed. From the lyre to the harpsichord and the piano, from the viol to the string quartette, from "the instrument of ten strings" to the modern orchestra, the growth of music would be clearly demonstrated, its permanence as one of the most lofty, though most evanescent, of the liberal arts would be assured, the influence of the charlatan would be kept within bounds, and even the least attentive class of the population, unconsciously to themselves, attracted, cultivated, raised from the sordid affairs of the moment, soothed, cheered, ennobled, and inspired with fresh courage to face the problem of life.

To the mind awake to music in a land like ours its permanent value as a profound factor in Social Science cannot long remain hidden; for it is a civilizing influence of the most potent character.

DAVID BISPHAM.

WOMAN'S HALF-CENTURY OF EVOLUTION.

BY SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

THE status of woman in the United States fifty years ago, the progressive steps by which it has been improved, present conditions, future probabilities—in fact, a résumé of the great movement in which Elizabeth Cady Stanton has been the central figure through two generations—this is the subject assigned me to consider in the brief space of one magazine article!

The title I claim for Mrs. Stanton is that of leader of women. Women do not enjoy one privilege to-day beyond those possessed by their foremothers, which was not demanded by her before the present generation was born. Her published speeches will verify this statement. In the light of the present, it seems natural that she should have made those first demands for women; but at the time it was done the act was far more revolutionary than was the Declaration of Independence by the colonial leaders. There had been other rebellions against the rule of kings and nobles; men from time immemorial had been accustomed to protest against injustice; but for women to take such action was without a precedent and the most daring innovation in all history. Men of old could emphasize their demands by the sword, and in the present century they have been able to do so by the ballot. While they might, indeed, put their lives in peril, they were always supported by a certain amount of sympathy from the public. Women could neither fight nor vote; they were not sustained even by those of their own sex; and, while they incurred no physical risk, they imperilled their reputation and subjected themselves to mental and spiritual crucifixion. Therefore I hold that the calling of that first Woman's Rights Convention in 1848 by Mrs. Stanton, Lucretia Mott and two or three other brave Quaker women, was one of the most courageous acts on record.

It must be remembered that at this time a woman's convention never had been heard of, with the exception of the few which had been called, early in the anti-slavery movement, by the women who had been driven out of the men's meetings and had formed their own society; but even these were almost wholly managed by men. A few individual women had publicly advocated equality of rights—the number could be more than counted on one's fingers—but a convention for this purpose and an organized demand had been till then undreamed of. The vigor and scope of the Declaration of Sentiments which was presented and adopted at this memorable meeting, held at Mrs. Stanton's home, in Seneca Falls, New York, are in nowise diminished by comparison with the Declaration of the forefathers proclaimed exactly seventy-two years before. It began, indeed, with the preamble of the Declaration of Independence, substituting "women" for "men" and "colonies"; and it continued:

"The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

"He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

"He has compelled her to submit to laws in the formation of which she had no voice.

"He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.

"Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

"He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

"He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

"He has made her morally an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty and to administer chastisement.

"He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of woman—the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

"After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single and

the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

"He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration.

"He has closed against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. In theology, medicine, and law she is not known.

"He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education—all colleges being closed against her.

"He allows her in Church, as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the Church.

"He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society are not only tolerated but deemed of little account in man.

"He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

"He has endeavored, in every way that he could to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

"Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation—in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

"In entering upon the great work before us we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and national Legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf. We hope this Convention will be followed by a series of Conventions, embracing every part of the country."

"Firmly relying upon the final triumph of the Right and the True, we do this day affix our signatures to this Declaration."

To emphasize these most radical sentiments the following resolutions also were adopted:

"The great precept of nature is conceded to be, 'that man shall pursue his own true and substantial happiness.' Blackstone, in his Commentaries, remarks, that this law of Nature being coeval with mankind and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times; no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this, and such of them

as are valid derive all their force and all their validity and all their authority, mediately and immediately, from this original; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That such laws as conflict, in any way, with the true and substantial happiness of woman, are contrary to the great precept of nature and of no validity; for this is 'superior in obligation to any other.'

"*Resolved*, That all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature and therefore of no force or authority.

"*Resolved*, That woman is man's equal—was intended to be so by the Creator—and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.

"*Resolved*, That the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live, that they may no longer publish their degradation by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance by asserting that they have all the rights they want.

"*Resolved*, That inasmuch as man, while claiming for himself intellectual superiority, does accord to woman moral superiority, it is pre-eminently his duty to encourage her to speak and teach, as she has an opportunity, in all religious assemblies.

"*Resolved*, That the same amount of virtue, delicacy and refinement of behavior that is required of woman in the social state should also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

"*Resolved*, That the objection of indelicacy and impropriety, which is so often brought against woman when she addresses a public audience, comes with a very ill-grace from those who encourage by their attendance her appearance on the stage, in the concert or in feats of the circus.

"*Resolved*, That woman has too long rested satisfied in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and a perverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her, and that it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great Creator has assigned her.

"*Resolved*, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

"*Resolved*, That the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities.

"*Resolved*, therefore, That, being invested by the Creator with the same capabilities and the same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman, equally with man, to promote every righteous cause by every righteous means; and especially in regard to the great subjects of morals and religion, it is self-evidently her right to participate with her brother in teaching them, both in private and in public, by writing and by speaking, by any instrumentalities proper to be used and in any assemblies proper to be held; and this being a self-evident truth, growing out of the divinely implanted principles of human nature, any custom or authority adverse

to it, whether modern or wearing the hoary sanction of antiquity, is to be regarded as a self-evident falsehood and at war with the interests of mankind."

In all the conventions which have been held during the past fifty-four years, the impassioned addresses made, the resolutions presented, the hearings before legislative bodies, there has been nothing to add to these declarations made by a woman only thirty-three years old, born and bred in the midst of the most rigid social, civil and religious conservatism. They illustrate vividly the conditions which existed in that day, when the simplest rudiments of education were deemed sufficient for women; when only a half-dozen unremunerative employments were open to them and any work outside the home placed a stigma on the worker; when a woman's right to speak in public was more bitterly contested than her right to the suffrage is to-day. The storm of ridicule and denunciation which broke over the heads of the women who took part in this convention never has been exceeded in the coarsest and most vituperative political campaign ever conducted. The attacks were led by the pulpit, whose influence fifty years ago was far greater than at present and whose power over women was supreme. The press of the country did not suffer itself to be outdone; but, taking its cue from the metropolitan papers of New York, contributed its full quota of caricature and misrepresentation.

At the beginning of 1848, the English Common Law was in force practically everywhere in the United States. Its treatment of women was a blot on civilization only equalled in blackness by the slavery of the negro. The latter, technically at least, has now disappeared. The former dies slowly, because it cannot be eradicated by fire and sword. Lord Coke called this Common Law "the perfection of reason." Under its provisions the position of the wife was thus stated by Blackstone:

"The very being or existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband, under whose wing, protection and covert she performs everything. She is, therefore, called in our Law-French a *femme-covert*, is said to be *covert-baron*, or under the protection and influence of her husband, her baron or lord.

"The husband also, by the old law, might give his wife moderate correction. For, as he is to answer for her misbehavior, the law thought it reasonable to intrust him with this power of restraining her by domestic

chastisement in the same moderation that a man is allowed to correct his apprentices or children. But this power of correction was confined within reasonable bounds, and the husband was prohibited from using any violence to his wife, except as lawfully and reasonably belongs to a husband for the sake of governing and disciplining his wife. The Civil Law gave the husband the same or a larger authority over his wife, allowing him for some misdemeanors to beat his wife severely with whips and cudgels; for others only to administer moderate chastisement.*"

Other provisions of this law were as follows:

"By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law; that is, the legal existence of the woman is merged in that of her husband. He is her baron or lord, bound to supply her with shelter, food, clothing and medicine, and is entitled to her earnings and the use and custody of her person, which he may seize wherever he may find it."†

"The husband, being bound to provide for his wife the necessaries of life, and being responsible for her morals and the good order of the household, may choose and govern the domicile, select her associates, separate her from her relatives, restrain her religious and personal freedom, compel her to cohabit with him, correct her faults by mild means, and, if necessary, chastise her with moderation, as though she was his apprentice or child. This is in respect to the terms of the marriage contract and the infirmity of the sex."‡

It does not seem necessary to add further particulars as to the condition of women in the middle of the century just closed and at the time Elizabeth Cady Stanton began the almost superhuman task of setting them free from the bondage of centuries. The first cleft in the infamy of the Common Law was made almost simultaneously by the Legislatures of New York, and Pennsylvania, in the spring of 1848, by special statutes giving a married woman the right to hold property. This was the first glimmer of freedom from legal slavery which ever had appeared to women; and it is not surprising that it scarcely penetrated the darkness in which they had been enveloped for untold ages, or that they rejected with scorn those who came to deliver them.

The beginning of my friendship and work with Mrs. Stanton dates from the summer of 1851. I was at that time thirty-one years old and had been teaching since I was eighteen. My father was deeply interested in the anti-slavery cause; and Garrison, Phillips, Pillsbury, Channing, Frederick Douglass and other noted reformers were often guests in our home. The school-room

* Blackstone's Commentaries, I., 356, 366.
† Id., 442.
‡ Id., 444.

had grown insupportably narrow. I had no personal grievances, as my own family, in common with all the Friends, or Quakers, recognized the equality of woman in all the relations of life; but I was stirred by the terrible injustice which I saw meted out to women on every hand, and I realized the especial need of their voice and influence in the two great causes of temperance and anti-slavery. The necessity for the ballot had not appealed to me, as, in those days, Quaker men were not in the habit of voting. But in October, 1850, my consciousness was awakened by reading in the *New York Tribune* a full and favorable account of a Woman's Rights Convention held in Worcester, Massachusetts. The next year I became acquainted with Mrs. Stanton, and she soon fired my soul with all her own zeal for the right of the suffrage. Among my old papers is the following appeal, which, as Secretary of the New York State Temperance Society, I sent out in the spring of 1852, accompanying petitions for what was then known as the Maine Law:

"Women, and mothers in particular, should feel it their right and duty to extend their influence beyond the circumference of the home circle, and to say what circumstances shall surround children when they go forth from under the watchful guardianship of the mother's love; for certain it is that if the customs and laws of society remain corrupt as they now are, the best and wisest of the mother's teachings will soon be counteracted. . . . Woman has so long been accustomed to non-intervention with law making, so long considered it man's business to regulate the liquor traffic, that it is with much cautiousness she receives the new doctrine which we preach—the doctrine that it is her right and duty to speak out against the traffic and all men and institutions that in any way sanction, sustain or countenance it; and, since she can not vote, to duly instruct her husband, son, father or brother how she would have him vote, and, if he longer continue to misrepresent her, take the right to march to the ballot-box and deposit a vote indicative of her highest ideas of practical temperance."

This was my first declaration for woman suffrage, which I have since repeated in season and out of season at every possible opportunity for fifty years. In a short time the conviction became so dominant that the franchise was the lever with which women could lift all other reform movements, that I abandoned everything else and devoted the whole force of my being to securing this fundamental power for women. The only departure from this rule was made during the Civil War, when every issue but one was held in abeyance. Mrs. Stanton and I sent out a call

for a mass meeting in Dr. Cheever's church, New York, where the Woman's Loyal League was formed, on May 14th, 1863. Nearly 400,000 signatures to petitions for emancipation were secured, and Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson wrote us repeatedly that these petitions formed the bulwark of their demand for Congressional action to abolish slavery.

The moment the war was over—in 1865, when the Fourteenth Amendment was under discussion and it was proposed to introduce the word "male" in the National Constitution for the first time—I resumed my efforts for woman suffrage and have never deviated from the straight and narrow path which leads to this goal. During late years Mrs. Stanton has held that, as the suffrage movement is steadily going forward by its own momentum, women should take up other public questions which so evidently need the combined wisdom of men and women in their solution. I have maintained my original attitude, believing that for the leaders of the work for woman suffrage to identify themselves with the other issues of the day is to create animosities and alienate supporters of a cause which can achieve victory only through the assistance of all religious bodies and political parties. I have sympathized thoroughly, however, with Mrs. Stanton's rebelliousness against that condition of dependence which compels women to remain mute and inactive in the great movements of the time, as the only means of achieving freedom to speak and act effectively in the future.

To follow in detail the steps by which women have reached their present position of comparative social, educational, financial and legal independence, would be to write a chapter for each of the fifty years which have intervened since the first few brave souls dared lift up their voices in a cry for liberty. The organized movement for the emancipation of women began in earnest soon after the close of the Civil War. Every one of the past thirty-five years has witnessed the breaking of a link in the chain. The going forth of hundreds of thousands of men from the farm, the work-shop, the factory, the store—from every field of employment —to swell the ranks of the army, made it absolutely necessary for women to step into their places in order that the countless wheels of the world's work should not stop. The vacancies left by those who never returned, and the rapidly-growing tendency to remove domestic products from the home to the factory, practically set-

tled the question of woman's entering the wage-earning occupations.

The period immediately after the War was marked by the speedy increase and enlargement of State Universities and the admission of women. Their example was followed by many of the other colleges and universities of the country, and in 1890 by the founding of the two great endowed institutions, Stanford and Chicago, with the admission of women to every department. Although the latter has just made the egregious blunder of modifying its original plan, this action represents only the individual scheme of one man and not a reactionary tendency. The question of the higher education of woman may be regarded as decided in her favor.

The right of women to organize for public work is now universally recognized and approved. They have at present in the United States over one hundred national organizations, with thousands of local clubs and societies comprising millions of members, and their influence over the general conditions of the various communities is beyond computation. The right of women to speak in public is not only everywhere conceded but, given a man and a woman with equal abilities, the average audience would prefer to hear the latter.

The legal features of the revolution have been quite as marked as its other phases. An examination, doubtless, would show that in not one State does the Common Law now prevail in its entirety. In many of them it has been largely obliterated by special statutes. There has been no retrogressive legislation with respect to the status of women before the law. In the majority of the States, a married woman may now own and control property, carry on business and possess her earnings, make a will and a contract, bring suit in her own name, act as administrator and testify in the courts. In one-fifth of the States, she has equal guardianship with the father over the minor children. Where formerly there was but one cause for divorce, the wife may now obtain a divorce in almost every State for habitual drunkenness, cruelty, failure to provide and desertion on the part of the husband; and he can no longer, as of old even though the guilty party, retain sole possession of the children and the property. The general tendency of legislation for women is progressive, and there is not a doubt that this will continue to be the case.

I do not wish to be understood for a moment, however, as maintaining that woman stands on a perfect equality with man in any of the above-mentioned departments—in the industries, education, organization, public speaking or the laws. She simply has made immense gains in all, and her standing has been completely revolutionized since Mrs. Stanton announced the beginning of a new Reformation. Woman never will have equality of rights anywhere, she never will hold those she now has by an absolute tenure, until she possesses the fundamental right of self-representation. This fact is so obvious as to need no argument. Had this right been conceded at the start, the others would have speedily followed; and the leaders among women, instead of spending the last half-century in a constant struggle to obtain their civil and political rights, might have contributed their splendid services to the general upbuilding and strengthening of the Government. The effort for this most important of rights has had to contend not only, like the rest, with the obstinate prejudices and customs of the ages, but also with the still more stubborn condition of its hard and fast intrenchment in constitutional law. It is not merely a board of trustees or a body of legislators who must be converted to the justice of extending this right to women, but also the great masses of men, including the ignorant, the foreign-born, the small-minded and the vicious. A majority of the men in every State must give their consent at the ballot box for women to come into possession of this paramount right. Such has not been the case with any other step in the progress of women.

It is not necessary to consider the minor reasons why the enfranchisement of women has been so long deferred; but, in spite of the almost insuperable obstacles, there has been considerable progress in this direction. In some States, the Legislatures themselves can confer a fragmentary suffrage without the ratification of the voters. This has been done in about half of them, Kansas granting the municipal franchise, Louisiana, Montana and New York a taxpayer's franchise, and twenty-two States a vote on matters connected with the public schools. Within the last twelve years, four States have conferred the full suffrage on women—Wyoming and Utah by placing it in the constitutions under which they entered Statehood; Colorado and Idaho through a submission of the question to the voters. There is a strong basis

for believing that within a few years several other States will take similar action.

The effect upon women themselves of these enlarged opportunities in every direction has been a development which is almost a regeneration. The capability they have shown in the realm of higher education, their achievements in the business world, their capacity for organization, their executive power, have been a revelation. To set women back into the limited sphere of fifty years ago would be to arrest the progress of the whole race. Their evolution has been accompanied by a corresponding development in the moral nature of man, his ideas of temperance and chastity, his sense of justice, his relations to society. In no department of the world's activities are the higher qualities so painfully lacking as in politics, and this is the only one from which women are wholly excluded. Is it not perfectly logical to assume that their influence would be as beneficial here as it has been everywhere else? Does not logic also justify the opinion that, as they have been admitted into every other channel, the political gateways must inevitably be opened?

There cannot be a doubt in the reasoning and unbiased mind that woman suffrage ultimately will prevail in every State in the Union. It will be the legitimate outcome of the spirit of our institutions, which is the direct expression of individual opinion. A deep feeling of regret always will prevail that the Liberator of Woman, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, could not live to see the complete triumph of her cause, as did those other great emancipators, Lincoln, Garrison and Phillips; but she died in the full knowledge that the day of its victory is clearly marked on the calendar of the near future.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FAITH.

BY ERVING WINSLOW, SECRETARY OF THE NEW ENGLAND ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE.

MISGIVINGS are expressed in some quarters, more or less ingenuously, in regard to the attitude of the Anti-Imperialists. Those who desire to perpetuate the colonial policy which has apparently been forced upon the people of the United States by the events of the last four years, are solicitous to represent that opposition to this policy has ceased. They probably believe that a condition of apathy may be expected to follow an acquiescence in the inevitable, and that the work which we are doing in the outlying "possessions" may be carried on according to the will of the departments created to control them, and that the people of America will care as little about what is being done, in the East especially, as the Dutch care for what has been going on in Java for centuries.

It is an unquestionable fact that many of the chief newspapers of this country are allied with its great capitalists and aggregations of capital. Of course, it is in their interest chiefly that the exploitation of new territories is valuable. When there is no longer any demand for news from these regions, what wonder is it that these organs of "public opinion" should decline to give expression to mere sentiments intended to keep alive the principles of constitutional liberty, and to bring about the reversal of conditions which are deemed antagonistic to them? It is certainly fortunate, then, to have the opportunity of using these pages for the statement of the position of our movement and its organizations, whose activity may be expected to continue until right is done, or until the sparks of liberty are entirely extinguished among the descendants of the founders of the Republic.

The Anti-Imperialist movement had its first expression at a

meeting at Faneuil Hall, Boston, on June 15th, 1898. In fact, those who promoted it were opposed to the war with Spain, believing that war to have been unnecessary (as has since been distinctly proved by the published correspondence of Minister Woodford) and believing that the immediate aggravation of the popular mind due to the alleged destruction of the "Maine" by an enemy was founded upon a delusion. The evidence is now pretty clear that the disaster to the "Maine" was caused by an internal explosion,—confirming the circumstantial proof gathered at the time and corroborated by the refusal of the United States authorities to allow an impartial investigation of the incidents. Had the President of the United States been actuated by the same convictions and by the same desire with which the Hon. Henry U. Johnson pleaded upon the floor of the House of Representatives, the hostilities need never have been entered upon which have led to such a train of tremendous evils, and which are threatening the very existence of the Republic.

The next stand of Anti-Imperialist opposition to the course of the government was in the effort to defeat the ratification of the treaty with Spain. The idea of the colonial policy had evidently well formed itself in the mind of the President, but those who were doubtful of voting to confirm the treaty were assured by the Administration, and by its friends in Congress, that ratification of the treaty was necessary before discussing the question of future relations with the "possessions" which Mr. McKinley had demanded from Spain.

Another stand was made when the Filipinos asked to be permitted to negotiate for peace; but negotiations were then, according to the Administration, not to be entertained.

The war went on and the Anti-Imperialist opposition to the cruel and unnecessary conflict was met with accusations of treason and renewed assurances that, when the war was over, the claims of the Filipinos might be considered.

Next, the war being at an end, a demand was made that the civil authority should have an opportunity to establish its influence before any final action was taken.

Then the decisions of the Supreme Court were to determine the relations which these outlying "possessions" should assume toward the American Constitution; but the decisions were so divided and so baffling that the country was again set adrift as to the

permanent conditions under which these territories could be maintained constitutionally.

At last, the bill for the civil government of the Islands is passed by Congress, and those who oppose it are told that, on the taking of the census and the calling together of the Philippine Assembly, the people of the Philippines will have all the self-government for which they are fit, and that they may be educated in the course of generations to "self-government after the fashion of the really free nations;" though the President has lately told us, without limitation or qualification, that we ought "to govern the Philippines—well if possible—but to govern them." These words finally contradict the generous interpretation which some sanguine persons might have been inclined to read into a vague phrase in the President's message, and indicate that it was at the best but a feeler. By this gloss upon his original utterance, at all events, he has alienated the support of Anti-Imperialists. Mr. McCall, on June 26th last, in the House of Representatives, offered an amendment to the bill then pending, "Temporarily to provide for the affairs of civil government in the Philippine Islands and for other purposes," as follows:

"Insert the following as section 83:

"'In this first organic act, creating a civil government for the Philippine Islands, it is hereby solemnly declared to be the settled purpose of the Congress to extend to the inhabitants of those islands every aid in enabling them to develop the capacity for self-government, and, when such capacity shall have been developed, we pledge the faith of the Republic to confer upon them the right of self-government after the fashion of the really free nations.'"

This amendment was rejected, ayes 89, noes 128. Meanwhile, this bill is so contrived that the islands will not be brought, until 1904, into such relations to the United States that the Supreme Court can finally pass upon those important questions of tariff and constitutional law upon which its decisions for the temporary situation were made in certain cases last year.

It is well known to those who advocate the colonial policy that the international obligations supposed to be assumed by the United States in its new departure, which are not yet serious, will grow stronger month by month and year by year; and the investment of American capital and the establishment of American interests will tend to render the condition of things

permanent, in a rapidly increasing ratio, with the progress of time.

It was, doubtless, a great surprise to the Republican Party, and in some degree to the country, that the whole subject should have been revived by the active discussion of it in Congress at the last session. There were undoubtedly elements in the Democratic Party willing to accept the *status quo,* and to remain a party in opposition merely to criticize or to purify, if possible, the colonial administration of the government; but the younger leaders of the Democratic Party in the Senate and the House, joining Mr. Hoar and Mr. McCall, again raised the standard which had been elevated by those who led on the Democratic ranks in 1900.

The Anti-Imperialists have done what they could to support and maintain this spirit. Through committees of conference and correspondence, they have received assurances that the Democratic Party would maintain, as its platform, the principles involved in the bill introduced into the Senate by the joint action of the Democrats of both the Senate and the House, as a substitute for the measure passed by the majority for the government of the Philippine Islands. That Democratic bill provided for the immediate promise of independence to the Filipinos, the carrying out of that promise, and the withdrawal of the United States troops as soon as the Filipinos, uninfluenced and uncontrolled, shall set up a government suitable to themselves and capable of performing such international obligations as have already been incurred by the United States, the government so set up being "neutralized" by consent of the Great Powers. There is a disingenuousness in the attitude which has been taken by some Republican leaders, but it ought to deceive no one. Vague promises for futurity, recommendations to the people of the Philippine Islands to go to work and not to take any concern in politics, with the establishment of a network of enormously expensive commissions, bureaus, and departments, and the granting of concessions and franchises, make America mean to the Philippines what England means to India, and France to Algiers.

The Anti-Imperialists believe that the American people are awaking to the meaning of Imperialism in its largest sense (for the kind of government which is influenced by syndicated capital is imperial government); they understand the imperializing influences of the necessarily autocratic modes of colonial administra-

tion; they believe that the questions which touch the people's pockets and bellies and backs at home will be settled by overthrowing the same power which would govern tropical nations by methods unknown to the Republic; they believe that a menace to labor, a menace to liberty and to religion itself, by state complications with religious questions, of which this country should never take cognizance, are threatening us; they believe that the futility of efforts to educate an eastern race in a foreign language and in foreign manners is already apparent; they believe that the employment of coolie and peon labor, which is a practical form of slavery, will soon be insisted upon in our tropical "possessions."

No campaign was ever intended to be made by the Anti-Imperialists upon the cruelties which have been perpetrated in the Philippine Islands. The honor of the American Army demanded that these cruelties should be exposed and punished, and that those who attempted to whitewash or conceal them should be brought to justice. Their value to the cause which the Anti-Imperialists have at heart consists in the illustration which they furnish of the conditions which must exist in an Imperial system, especially where an alien race attempts the subjugation of a less developed people, conditions which must subsist in peace as well as in war.

Imperialism implies the exercise of autocratic power, secrecy and brutality. The Anti-Imperialists believe that the American people desire no such modification of their principles of government and disbelieve in the possibility of an attachment to its constitution, contrived to hold ten million people as subjects without citizenship. The Anti-Imperialists look for a declaration to be made by the supporters of constitutional liberty in Congress, as soon as they reach the proportions of a majority in the National House, that independence should at once be promised to the Filipinos. They hope to continue to disseminate, as widely as possible, the knowledge of the cost and attendant evils of the colonial system; and they desire to agitate unceasingly for the relaxation of the conditions, which now hinder the formation of organizations for the peaceful promotion of the cause of Philippine independence in the archipelago. They hope to see the United States again restored to its proper position of upholder of the Monroe Doctrine, by consistently abandoning any claim to possessions, or to authoritative interference, in the affairs of the other hemisphere.

As for unfortunate Cuba, the Anti-Imperialist record is clear. The condition of things there is far beyond the conception which is generally entertained in America of the condition of the inhabitants of that unfortunate island. No sugar is being planted. A very large proportion of the Americans who intended to settle have left. Destitution is universal. Business is worse than during the blockade. Our name is generally detested.

The effort to saddle the responsibility for the Cuban situation upon the whole American people cannot be justly supported. The party, and that portion of the American people represented by it, which opposed the Platt Amendment cannot be held answerable for the consequences which ensued from its adoption and from its acceptance by the Cuban Convention. It was strictly a party measure, and not only was it disavowed by a large proportion of American citizens, but the Cuban envoys were specifically notified that this was the case, and that the will of the American people might soon be made known in its repeal; while those pledges that were privately made to induce the Cuban Convention to bow its neck to the yoke which it was sought to enforce upon it, were only to be considered as individual promises made by members of the party, whatever their official station might be. How then can the responsibility for the situation be placed upon any but the Republican Party, especially upon those members of it who gave the pledge which they had not the power to carry out, and upon the Cuban Convention which chose to place faith in the promises thus given? The members of the Cuban delegation were carefully protected from approach, and efforts to meet them on the part of Anti-Imperialists in Washington were frustrated, but certain correspondence took place with some of them. The following letter was addressed to Captain V. Mestre Amabile:

"BOSTON, *April 23, 1901.*

"Your name has been given to me by a friend as a supporter of entire Cuban independence, according to the pledge made by Congress at the outbreak of the war with Spain. We are extremely anxious to assure the people of Cuba that the Anti-Imperialist Leagues of the United States, with their large membership, as well as a great body of other citizens of the United States, believe that our government should fulfil its pledge to the uttermost, and we desire to urge your fellow-countrymen to maintain their independent attitude. We believe that if you continue firm and patient, the American people can be

brought to support your attitude and to fulfil their own obligation, even if you do wait until the complexion of the Congress of the United States is changed in the elections of 1902. Will you let me hear from you, and, meanwhile, do your utmost to communicate our sentiments to your fellow-countrymen and to your colleagues in the delegation, in whatever way seems to you suitable and effectual?"

This was accompanied by the following letter addressed to General Raphael M. Portuondo:

"BOSTON, *April 23, 1901.*

"I wish you to know that the large body of Anti-Imperialists in the United States belonging to our Leagues (and, indeed, what I believe to be a great majority of our citizens) hold that the pledge made to the United States by Congress at the outset of the war with Spain should be literally and honestly fulfilled. Is there any way in which our views could be made known to the Cuban Convention, and in which they can be demonstrated to exist to such a degree that we may hope that, if you maintain your fidelity and patience, the composition of the Congress to be elected in 1902 may reverse the action taken by the last Congress?"

Captain Amabile replied as follows:

"1417 K St., WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 26, 1901.*

"I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 23d inst., and I thank you for the offers made in your name and in the name of the honorable members of the New England Anti-Imperialistic League, who has rendered and is ready to continue to render to the cause of justice and Cuban Independence, so much in danger at the present moment, by the Machiavellian acceptance of the Platt Amendment.

"The members of the Commission of the National Cuban Convention, to whom I have communicated your generous and pathetic sentiments, beg of me to express to you their thanks, and say, that guided by a principle of courtesy they consider not prudent at the present time, especially during the time that the conferences takes place, to say anything in regard to Cuban affairs.

"I handed personally to General Portuondo your letter of the 24th and I hope very soon to have the advantage of being put again in connection with such a brave and generous Association."

A similar letter to that addressed to Captain Portuondo was written to Colonel M. Coronado. Colonel Coronado's reply was as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 26, 1901.*

"I have just received your letter date yesterday, and I gave a translation to the Cuban Committee immediately, and also I send the original

to Havana to be published in 'La Discusion.' All that in my hand will be possible I will be glad to do in help of your ideas who are in relation with mine."

To the opponents of the whole "deal" with Cuba, the question of reciprocity or other modification of the attitude and laws of the United States can therefore only be put upon its own merits. Legislation to bring them about may or may not be desirable, but it should be weighed carefully upon its inherent principles, and in conformity with the necessities of the people of the United States. The true method to atone, it seems to me, for the great evil which we have done to Cuba by wresting her from her relations with Spain, is first to repeal the Platt Amendment in the United States, and to permit the abrogation of all the clauses of the Cuban Constitution which were demanded by it, and next to make a handsome money payment to the Cuban government, rather than to attempt a spasmodic and unrelated interference with our tariff conditions in order to foster a foreign industry. Those who are in opposition to the Republican Party would, probably, join cheerfully in appropriating an adequate sum, while from the Republican Party it would be just conscience money.

The Anti-Imperialists hope that in Hawaii where there is chaos, and in Porto Rico where discontent is rapidly spreading, the conditions will so develop that these "possessions," which are only burdens to our country and a menace in case of foreign complications, may be alienated. They believe in a Continental Republic, and in the reassertion of that moral influence which really made the United States a world-power, growing in greatness and authority from generation to generation, unsupported by standing armies or great navies. As in the case of the individual, whatever may be the forces of evolution, the will and conscience are the only safe guides, and themselves become a part of the biological law of progress; so, whatever may seem to be the Imperial swing of the world's affairs, the duty of the United States, as the Anti-Imperialists hold, is to have no part nor lot in government which does not rest upon the consent of the governed, being determined by the principles upon which the Republic was founded, the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

ERVING WINSLOW.

THE SITUATION IN CUBA.

BY MARRION WILCOX.

During the month of October, the terms of the treaty of reciprocity proposed by the United States, though nominally secret, were freely and intelligently discussed in Cuba. No Cuban, Spaniard or American on the island said that the terms were generous. A few persons, for reasons of their own, asserted that a treaty carried out on the lines indicated in the sketch that Sr. Quesada had forwarded from Washington would be just, or nearly so; but not even these interested persons could claim that our Government had proposed liberal terms. The general sentiment was, that the Government—not the people—of the United States intended to drive a hard bargain.

At the beginning of November, the fact became generally known in Cuba that the Palma Government would request the Government at Washington to consider a counter-proposition, differing essentially from that which the American Minister had urged upon the Cubans without success. An attempt was made by some of the newspapers in the United States to convey the impression that the counter-proposition contained only unimportant modifications of the American sketch; but, meanwhile, the organ of the Palma Administration had stated that the Cubans would stand firm, and would continue to urge their view that the duty imposed upon their products sent to the States should be reduced by more than twenty per cent. That was precisely the most important point in the whole controversy.

The decision of the Palma Government in this emergency was strong and popular in the island. It was not taken before assurances of the approval and coöperation of representative citizens of Havana, not connected with the Administration, had been obtained; nor was it taken until both the Administration and its

independent advisers had been convinced that many people in the United States also favored a programme of fair play to Cuba.

A situation of extraordinary interest was created. We are dealing in the simplest terms with matters of actual, close and recent observation, and the liability to error is recognized; but with a certain degree of confidence we may say that the element in the situation which deserves to be considered first is its final demonstration of Spain's downfall in Cuba—the death of Spanish influence in the West Indies, which had hitherto seemed to survive the defeat of a Spanish fleet and army at Santiago.

Conscious of a lack of ability in themselves, in the national character, to cope adequately with this emergency, the Cubans were not disposed to resort to those who had formerly been their mentors in the larger questions, though a circumstance sufficient to keep the mother-country in a place of honor is this—that some of the noblest characters in all the world of Spanish-speaking people are to be found to-day in Cuba. On the contrary, their impulse was to place the blame for the deficiency which they deplore upon their traditional enemy. "The Spaniards," they said, "encouraged our vices, so that we might continue in helpless dependence; they discouraged every aspiration of our patriots who advocated the virtuous life that would have produced a race able to claim and to conquer its independence."

Every student of history knows that the foregoing view is not wholly correct. But the deep-rooted conviction expressed by the Cubans at this critical moment embodies a truth of profound significance. The Spanish masters of Cuba did actually—not always, but often—encourage Cuban profligacy; they certainly did not make sustained efforts to prevent the race from becoming degenerate. And the result of their policy is seen to-day. Fortunately, a number of the Cubans are unspoiled—are citizens who would do honor to any country. But the level of the mass of the people, little by little, was depressed shamefully.

That was Spain's capital sin in Cuba; and now, as in 1898, we see what wages Spain's sin in Cuba received.

Centuries passed between the first settlement of the island and the last stern balancing of accounts. But mark the quick sequence of events teaching the same lesson, that "the wages of sin is death," in the years since 1898.

The mass of the Cuban people, depressed under Spanish mas-

ters, could not possibly assume in an instant the attitude that we, bred in freedom, regard as the proper attitude toward the independence, integrity and honor of the nation.

Our own attitude with reference to our own country has been most acceptably described by Edward Everett Hale in his book entitled "A Man Without a Country." Dr. Hale makes his hero say, in one of the eloquent passages of this story, that a man who is threatened with the loss of his country should prefer instant death. Also, as a punishment for traitors, more suitable because more terrible than hanging, Dr. Hale suggests that these greatest of criminals should be deprived of that inestimable privilege, the consciousness of belonging to, serving and glorying in a country which is their own, the worthy object of their devotion, whose independence, integrity and honor inspire the noblest sentiments. Failing that inspiration (such is this splendid little book's teaching), human life becomes meaningless, entirely worthless.

This brings us to the element of the situation which deserves to be considered in the second place. The Cubans were at last fully aware, in October and November, of the true character of their compliant act which had made their country less autonomous than a State of the Union—the incorporation of the Platt Amendment into the Cuban Constitution.

A theme for rather serious meditation, on their part and ours as well, is this: What degree of criminality would be required—what universal transgression, without redeeming virtue in a single individual—to warrant a great nation's putting forth its resistless power against an entire people, or punishing all Cubans, a million and a half of them, by depriving them all of the consciousness of belonging to, serving and glorying in their country as their very own and wholly theirs—that inestimable privilege? And this also is a theme for curious inquiry: Whether, instead of removing so many persons from their country, and at great inconvenience sending them a-sailing round the world on ships that never will bring them back to Havana or Cienfuegos, it were not an equivalent punishment to leave them on the island, indeed, but taking away from their country its every hope of achieving honor among the nations of the earth, draining its life-blood by ruining its industries? In brief, whether the process would not be made easier for the great nation, and just as awful for the smaller

nation, if the former simply destroyed the essence of the latter's nationality, taking, as it were, country from people, instead of people from country? And the Spanish-American conclusion, which is perhaps worthy to receive our attention for a moment, though it may seem to be rather cynical, is this: Of course, the teaching of the story entitled "A Man Without a Country" is good doctrine for the United States exclusively; the great Republic's possession it is, above all price. But no mere Spanish-American can be supposed to have a country that is worthy of such love. The Americans cannot for an instant admit that the Cubans have a country worthy of such passionate attachment, or that their hearts are equally warm to cherish devotion to an island, an ideal, a flag. For, if they did admit these things, it would follow, as the night the day, that they had incurred a tremendous obligation toward the Cubans, an obligation commensurate with the Cubans' loss; continuing, also, quite indefinitely into the future, even so long as the deprivation of genuine independence continues.

Does the foregoing commentary upon a literary work that has been accepted as a masterpiece for nearly twoscore of years, and has proved, as its author tells us, to be "a useful reading-book in the higher classes of the schools," show quite clearly the value of the possession that the Constitutional Convention of 1900-1901 surrendered? Then we are ready to appraise one of the gravest offences against the spirit of patriotism that will have to be recorded in the history of our own times—a betrayal of an infant nation by those to whose weak hands the destiny of that nation had been confided. We know that the Cubans, who had never enjoyed an opportunity to learn that freedom is indispensable, sinned against the first principle of civic morality almost as soon as the opportunity presented itself. A few months of wavering indecision and feeble protest—then the plunge into error. The priceless thing that the Constitutional Convenion sold in 1901—the independence of Cuba—was sold for the pitiful price of tariff concessions.

During the present crisis, in October and November, the popular revolt against that bargain gained ground unmistakably.

Let us try to reproduce the spirit of the anti-Plattist reasoning, generalizing a hundred voices of protest, rather than translating any single argument. The anti-Plattists said, in effect:

The United States promised to withdraw its forces and to leave the island in the control of its own people. The members of the Constitutional Convention should have insisted upon the fulfilment of that promise, and should have refused to part with any attribute of Cuban sovereignty. Besides, as the United States declined to enter into favorable trade-relations with us, letting the reciprocity bill fail in Congress last spring, and now sending us a proposition the terms of which are so hard that we should ruin ourselves if we accepted them, the price agreed upon for the insertion of the Platt Amendment in our constitution has never been paid, and we are therefore released from our obligation to observe the conditions prescribed by the United States in those preposterous eight articles. We have found out just how much and how little this partial independence is worth. Now let us see whether, with liberty to choose our own friends among the nations, we may not make alliances that will be more helpful.

But when the anti-Plattists, the Nationalists, the advocates of a more complete independence put forward their suggestions, their opponents and those gravely watching the course of events replied: Do you not know that you yourselves and your Cuban-republican associates—in general, the leaders and present or former members of the party now in power—are responsible for the imposition of the Platt Amendment? You are all doomed. If you fail to secure very liberal terms from the Government of the United States, the people of Cuba will get rid of you, by force if necessary. And you have no time to lose. After squandering such an asset as the Teller Resolution, which meant freedom; after selling the sovereign rights of the island for a price, you must at least get for the people you have betrayed the money they need. They need a great deal more, they demand a great deal more, and you must now obtain a great deal more, than they and you would have been satisfied to obtain last winter.

Now, is it not evident that acceptance of the terms of the treaty of reciprocity which were proposed in the sketch forwarded from Washington would have been, on the part of the Palma Administration, almost a suicidal act? The Palma Government, while fighting for a reduction of fifty per cent. on duties levied on Cuban products sent to our ports, is fighting for its own life.

It is necessary to add that the opposition neglects no opportunity to remind President Palma of his obligation to the Ameri-

can Government: its approval made, its disfavor would unmake, him. How, then, should he retain American approval without incurring the hatred of many Cubans and losing the support of not a few of his associates? Does it seem strange that months passed while the propositions, as well as the new political and economic tendencies on the island, were being considered?

There was one course that avoided the anti-Plattist Scylla and the protectionist Charybdis. That course was suggested or pointed out to Sr. Palma, to the leading members of his cabinet, and to several of his trusted counsellors in private life. That course was approved by them, and we have excellent reasons for believing that they have adopted it; and if so they may still pass through the present strait in safety. These gentlemen were advised to claim exactly what seemed to be fair, in view of the undisputed political and commercial relations of the two countries involved, and (to put it bluntly) the actual business conditions in both. They were assured that, if they found the terms of the proposed treaty plainly unfair, they would be justified in assuming that the best way to win the respect of the Americans and attain any good result that was possible in the circumstances would be, not to yield weakly, but to urge a suitable demand firmly; that we, for our own credit, were only less concerned in an equitable determination of this dispute than were they, for their own comfortable existence.

Yes, the Palma administration may, by good steering, take its little ship in safety through the straits it seems to be caught in at present; and yet the anti-Plattists are right when they say that those Cubans who are responsible for the acceptance of the Platt Amendment, or identified in interest and purpose with the men who arranged or consented to that surrender, are doomed. For how can one both destroy his house and continue to live in it? How can one, at a friend's request or an enemy's command, deliver up his Cuba, almost as though bound hand and foot, to be used well or used ill; and after this disloyal act still expect to be really loved by Cuba and her more loyal sons? Here a law that knows no distinction of islands or continents intervenes. That element of the Cuban population which, with the coöperation of American military governors, made Cuba less than a State, cannot lead Cuba on to a great future. The people have begun to understand this.

As a result of much self-centred talk about our parties, party-policies and conflicting commercial interests that have an international extension, we are apt to forget that a country is not just a bit of land, but is land with a bit of a flag above it; that those people thrive best who make the most of the resources of the land and love the flag more than life; that others do not thrive. One may earn wages of the kind we have somewhat reluctantly referred to by sinning against the humble people who cultivate the land, as did Spain in Cuba, or by taking away from the flag a part of its meaning, as did those who sold Cuba's autonomy. Our own Government and people are on trial in Cuba at present.

As we go forward with our analysis of the situation (though only a little further in this article) let us remember that while our national policy remains undefined, and tendencies in the political and commercial life of the island are therefore uncontrolled, the drift of events is distinctly unfavorable to the prestige of the United States.

When the Cuban Administration, cautiously, circumspectly, was making up its mind to put forward a counter-proposition, the emergency was of a character which in all democratic countries serves as a call for strong and thoroughly organized effort. The assurances of valuable support in Cuba and the United States, already spoken of, did not in themselves constitute a sufficient reliance. Any measure that could be agreed upon by the executive branches of the two countries was certain to encounter opposition, both in Congress and among certain classes of the people, there as well as here; it was desirable, then, to take steps for meeting and if possible overcoming such opposition. The Cuban Government itself and the economical associations of the island, despite old feuds and recent jealousies, reached an agreement during October, the purport of which was that the latter should actively sustain, and the former quietly approve, a new campaign of education in behalf of reciprocity between Cuba and the United States. Conferences at the palace and elsewhere were held at various times during a fortnight; and the chief objectors to the initiation of such a movement appeared to be reconciled, when the Secretary of the Treasury, Sr. García Montes, addressed a note to the writer, in which he stated that he, as "Secretario de Hacienda de la República, is of the opinion that it will pro-

mote the interests of Cuba and the United States to celebrate [make] a treaty of reciprocity between the two countries, and in that concept he regards with sympathetic approval every movement tending to bring about that result, on the basis of mutual concessions."

This note, dated at Havana, the 23rd of October, 1902, and handed to the writer by the Secretary personally, was prepared as a *memorandum* of the substance of a conversation in which Sr. García Montes, speaking for President Palma and the Secretary of State, as well as for himself, expressed the decision of his Government at that time, both in regard to the proposed campaign and the treaty to be proposed "on the basis of mutual concessions," for the twin subjects had necessarily been considered together. Indeed, so inseparably connected with each other were these objects, it was evident that a change of attitude toward the treaty would be reflected or foreshadowed in a changed attitude towards the proposed campaign of education. The note was carefully revised so that it might be used when occasion required as a precise and authorized statement. A more satisfactory assurance could not have been desired that the terms to be proposed by the Cubans would be such as reasonable Americans would be able to vote for.

At this point the sketch of the treaty proposed by the American Government was used with most deadly effect. It was only necessary for persons unfriendly to the United States, or seeking trade openings for European manufacturers at the expense of our country, to point out the wide difference between the only terms that had been submitted by America and the very lowest terms that could be accepted by Cuba. It was only necessary for such persons to insist that no arrangement with the United States was possible; for had the Cubans not heard that they must take what was offered or get nothing whatever? If Cuba could not even get twenty per cent. from Congress last spring, when the American Executive sustained her cause, how could she expect better results now, when she must first try to reconcile Mr. Roosevelt and his cabinet (authors of such inconsiderate propositions, or to some extent responsible for their transmission), and then go before the old enemies in Congress at Washington with a request for much larger concessions—to say nothing of the opposition to be expected in the Cuban Congress?

We know the difficulty that Spanish-Americans in general experience in joining forces and working together for a common end. Nothing is more superlative than their aversion to uniting except their celerity in disbanding, dispersing, becoming, a moment after, separate and more or less hostile critics of each other and the common cause of a moment before. Especially the Cubans, when questions of union and patriotism arise, are at a sad disadvantage. Everywhere in Christendom the rallying cry of patriots, "For God and country!" has been heard. But, as a shallow irreligion has been fashionable, many Cubans fail to realize that they have a God, while few indeed fail to realize that they have not a free country.

Now imagine the effect of truly discouraging suggestions at the end of October. The movement in favor of a reasonable arrangement with the Great Republic "on the basis of mutual concessions"—which had died away in the summer, and then revived again—was checked. People asked, severely or jauntily: Were not England, Germany, and the other European nations likely to be Cuba's best friends, after all? Certainly, their offers were more tempting. And had not Cuba proved, by her experience since May 20th, that she would be able to pay her own way, though not brilliantly, without asking any favors from the United States? Certainly, the fund in the national treasury was growing larger, contrary to all predictions. Exceptional and temporary causes might be mentioned to explain this circumstance; but it is well known that ready money, with or without explanations, inspires self-confidence. As for our own nation, did not the United States appear to the Cubans as a headless monster, a prosperous and successful monster, succeeding because it is monstrous, not because its enormous forces are directed by commanding intelligence? Something like this figure had occurred before to Cuban citizens who received the full force of the blow by which our Congress nearly crushed the life out of the Cuban Republic. At that time, it seemed as though a blind giant, after lavishing favors for a while, should stretch out his enormous hand once more and inadvertently kill his little protégé by a blundering touch. Would the policy of entertaining offers from Europe produce an effect in the United States, where direct appeal on ethical grounds had failed? It might certainly be well to try that as play. But suppose European offers should be so good that hard and fast

arrangements would be entered into abroad, excluding the United States? That would cease to be play.

There were no outward signs of panic or disturbance, for only the most decorous people in Havana knew what was happening. Cuba's political outlook changed; her face was turned away from the United States and towards Europe. A temporary change that will only receive such casual notice as this; or a change that will bring an indefinite amount of trouble for an indefinite number of years? That depends upon ourselves. To those who observed sympathetically, the spiritual disturbance of the decorous, responsible people became known. Without real leadership, disbanded and dispersed, the political "elements," as they are called not inappropriately, were turning to this side and that, seeking comfort and encouragement in some quarter—in *any* quarter—when it appeared that the matter of selling sugar and tobacco at good prices could probably not be arranged through friendly action on the part of the United States. The anti-Plattists, however, were seen to have a strong, consistent platform, that of steady opposition which will yield to nothing less than reciprocity (on a scale to take the high protectionist's breath away) or superior force.

A seafaring man from Maine, who knows Cuba as well as his own mind, gives his views:

"We might have held these people to us by force, or drawn them to us by a wisely liberal tariff policy. We have done neither. At the present time they are discontented and restless and looking for friends across the ocean. There is strong talk of turning their sugar lands into cotton, rice and corn, and so doing away with their dependence on the American market. To make that move they can get all the European capital that may be necessary. Then where would we stand? There is no doubt about their disposition to act unfavorably to the United States, for the people at first were profoundly disappointed and are now exasperated by their failure to secure the concessions which they sought last winter. They thought their claim was just, and now they think the United States is disposed to oppress them. It is too late to bargain with them about that matter. They will refuse to accept terms which are not very advantageous to them. I think we should reduce the tariff on Cuban products fifty per cent. The alternative is bayonets."

As the Cubans have no plain, blunt spokesman who can state their thoughts in quite so unmistakable a fashion, we may prevent future misunderstanding by publishing the Maine man's words without change.

MARRION WILCOX.

BRITISH SUBSIDIES AND AMERICAN SHIPPING.

BY CHARLES H. CRAMP.

In the North American Review for July, 1902, I published an article entitled "The Steamship Merger and American Shipbuilding." In the course of that paper, rather incidentally than primarily, I mentioned the fact that, in the competition between Great Britain and the United States in the ocean carrying trade, there had been three distinct epochs. The first was when the British Government subsidized Samuel Cunard and enabled him to found the great Transatlantic line which bears his name. This was done to combat and destroy the American Collins Line.

The second epoch was in 1871-1872, when the old American Line, composed of the "Pennsylvania," "Ohio," "Indiana" and "Illinois," was put afloat. The British Government met this renewed effort on our part by the increase of subsidies for mail-carrying in its own ships, and also by what is known as the "naval subvention," that is to say, the paying of a retainer to certain classes of ships for readiness to be converted into auxiliary naval vessels.

The third epoch was the formation of what is commonly known as the Morgan Steamship Merger, which has now been brought into practical working shape.

This is a brief description of the three distinct eras of competition, without going into any detail whatever.

The old adage that "history repeats itself" was never more perfectly verified than it has been in the recent outcome or effect of the causes operating in the third and last epoch. The newspapers of England and America for the last few days have been replete with discussion of the action of the British Government explained in the speech of Mr. Gerald Balfour. This action was the re-subsidizing of the Cunard Line, in order to keep it out of

the hands of the so-called Morgan Merger and to retain it under purely British control and capitalization.

The curious coincidence is that, fifty years ago, the British Government used the Cunard Line to destroy the American Collins Line. Thirty years ago, it used the Cunard Line to destroy the old American Line. And now it is using the Cunard Line to meet and combat the new American Merger. In each case, the effort of the British Government to protect its shipping interests has taken the form of an increased subsidy; and, in each case it has selected the Cunard Line as the principal object of assistance.

It is not worth while to go into the details of the discussion evoked in England by Mr. Balfour's announcement of a special subsidy of three-quarters of a million a year to the Cunard Line, in addition to its regular mail pay. Suffice it to say that the dissent from the action so announced, although noisy, has not been formidable and is hardly considered respectable.

The special subsidy announced by Mr. Balfour is the outcome of the action taken at the annual meeting of the London Chamber of Commerce on May 28th last, to which I refer on pages 12 and 13 of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for July last. The President of the London Chamber of Commerce is Lord Brassey, and in the course of his speech he declared that a more liberal subsidiary policy must be adopted by the Government, on account of the American Merger and the great progress of German shipbuilding and ship-owning.

In the session of the House of Commons the same night the question was brought up and debated, on a motion for the reappointment of the Committee on Ship Subsidies. This discussion resulted in enlarging the scope of the Committee's powers, and there was a general assent to the proposition that an important increase of subsidies for mail-carrying and for other purposes was imperative. As I have said, the new special subsidy to the Cunard Line is the outgrowth or result of this action and its discussion.

For years and years, we have been accustomed to hear it declared by a certain class of statesmen (so called) on the floors of Congress, and by editors in a certain class of newspapers, that Great Britain did not pay any subsidies for the maintenance or promotion of her merchant marine; and, whenever Americans

have advocated that kind of policy towards American shipping, they have been denounced as "treasury grabbers" and "subsidy beggars." But now let us hope that no American statesman or politician or editor will be sufficiently simian to repeat that stale falsehood.

The real fact is, that Great Britain is and always has been the greatest subsidizer in the world; and it is also true that her policy in that direction is and has been the principal cause of the supremacy in the ocean carrying trade which, in the general average, she has maintained since 1860. Whether she will prevail in the new competition that confronts her, as against Germany on the one hand and the United States on the other, is a question to be settled by events; but one thing is certain,—that she will exhaust the power of public aid and subvention to recover the ground that she has lost.

The really significant, or rather the most significant, fact connected with this special subsidy to the Cunard Line is intimated in that part of Lord Brassey's speech already referred to, in which he said that the British ship-builders must look to their laurels in the construction of ocean steamships of the type of the Hamburg-American liner "Deutschland," and he based his argument in favor of increased subsidies upon that contention.

In this connection, it is necessary to quote clauses one, two, three, four, five, six, seven and eight of the agreement entered into between the Cunard Steamship Company and the British Government, September 30th, 1902; they are as follows:

"1. The Cunard Company are to build two large steamers for the Atlantic trade, of high speed.

"2. The agreement is to remain in force for twenty years from the completion of the second of these vessels.

"3. The Cunard Company pledges itself, until the expiry of the agreement, to remain a purely British undertaking, and that under no circumstances shall the management of the Company be in the hands of, or the shares or the vessels of the Company held by, other than British subjects.

"4. During the currency of the agreement, the Cunard Company is to hold at the disposal of the Government the whole of its fleet, including the two new vessels, and all other vessels as built, the Government being at liberty to charter or purchase all or any such vessels at agreed rates.

"5. The Cunard Company also undertakes not to unduly raise freights, nor to give any preferential rates to foreigners.

"6. The Government *are to lend the money for the construction of the two new vessels*, charging interest at two and three-quarters per cent. per annum. The security for the loan is to be a first charge on the two new vessels, the present fleet, and the general assets of the Cunard Company.

"7. The Cunard Company is to repay the loan by annual payments extending over twenty years.

"8. From the time the new vessels commence to run, the Government are to pay the Cunard Company at the rate of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds (£150,000) per annum, instead of the present Admiralty subvention."

The two new vessels which the Cunard Company undertakes to build with the money loaned by the British Government, are estimated to cost five million dollars each, or ten million dollars altogether, and they are expected to surpass in speed and other qualities any other vessels afloat.

It will be noted that the term of the agreement is twenty years, and that the subvention of $750,000 a year is, practically, interest on the $10,000,000 at the rate of seven and one-half per cent. It will be noted further that in the agreement the British Government, under clause six, in loaning to the Cunard Company the money necessary to build these ships, requires interest thereon at the rate of two and three-quarters per cent. per annum. That leaves four and three-quarters per cent. of the subvention per annum to inure to the benefit and use of the Cunard Company. As the term is twenty years, it will be seen that this net surplus of four and three-quarters per cent. per annum will come very near paying the first cost of the ships during the twenty years. Doubtless, it is assumed that the Company will make some profit of its own in the operation of these ships. But the surplus of four and three-quarters per cent., which the Government provides in its subsidy for a period of twenty years, would come within half a million dollars of paying the total estimated cost.

It may be that the ships can be built for nine and a half millions; if that should be the case, then the surplus of the subsidy allowed by the Government would be the full first cost of the two ships in the twenty years of the agreement.

This method is the traditional method of the British Government in such cases. It is a repetition of the arrangement which they made with Samuel Cunard at the time when he was aided for the purpose of crushing the Collins Line in the early fifties.

As I point out on page seven of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for July, the British Government increased Mr. Cunard's subsidy to an extent that enabled him to add to the fleet of four ships he already possessed at the rate of another and better ship each year, and this policy was maintained until the Collins Line was destroyed. After that the British Government continued to subsidize the Cunard Line liberally, but not to so great an extent as it had done while the Collins Line was in existence.

Another instance of the same character occurred in connection with what is known as the Empress Line plying between Vancouver, or the Western terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, and the Orient. When this line was created, three ships were built; and the British and Canadian Governments joined hands to provide an annual subsidy equal to ten per cent. upon the first cost of the ships, and the term of that subsidy was made ten years. The British Government pretended that the object of putting this line on, was as much military as commercial. But, as a matter of fact, the Empress Line was put on mainly with a view of destroying or at least crippling the American Pacific Mail.

Now, in this new special subsidy to the Cunard Line, the same policy is being repeated; but in this case there is no subterfuge, no pretext. It was openly avowed by Mr. Gerald Balfour in his speech that the decision in Council to give this special subsidy to the Cunard Line was made in order:

First, to prevent that Line from becoming a part of the American or Morgan Merger:

Second, to keep it under purely British control and capitalization; and

Third, to enable it to build ships capable of equalling, if not surpassing, the highest types of ships which had been produced in Germany, and which were being operated under the German flag.

In other words, this special Cunard subsidy of three quarters of a million a year is the practical expression of the apprehension of the British Government, and of its determination to use its resources for the purpose of habilitating its merchant marine, which had, as I pointed out on pages 11 and 12 of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for July, fallen behind on account of supineness and self complacency.

The logical deduction which our Government ought to draw from these facts, which are notorious and beyond dispute, I leave to be judged by the intelligent reader.

Three times in history, our merchant marine has gone to the wall through the persistent refusal of our Government to meet the conditions which the policy of the British Government imposed upon the competition. And I will add here that all the arguments that have been made in favor of the shipping bill now pending in Congress put together, are not half as cogent as the fact of the British Government's action at this juncture.

In fact, this new subsidy to the Cunard Line is the most tremendous effort of that kind ever put forth by the British Government. By its terms the British Treasury lends to the Cunard Company money enough to build two of the largest, fastest and costliest passenger ships in the world. It lends at two and three-quarters per cent. per annum interest, and it requires repayment of the loan in twenty years; but, at the same time, it gives the Cunard Line a *subsidy* sufficient to repay the loan in twenty annual instalments.

This is a somewhat round-about way of making the Cunard Company a present of two of the best ships in the world. Doubtless, if any American ship-owner or ship-builder should propose a subsidy of that nature to our Congress, there would be among our free-ship statesmen an epidemic of nervous prostration.

CHARLES H. CRAMP.

THE "PIOUS FUND" ARBITRATION.

BY W. L. PENFIELD, SOLICITOR TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

THE importance of the arbitration of the "Pious Fund" case has been both over-estimated and under-estimated. The controversy has now been settled once for all, and a brief review of the arbitration will enable us to appreciate its real significance.

The decisive facts of the case were few. During the latter part of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries, numerous donations were made in perpetuity by Spanish subjects for missions already founded, and thereafter to be founded, for the propagation of the Roman Catholic faith in the Californias. These gifts, amounting approximately to $1,700,000, were made in trust to the Society of Jesus for the execution of the pious wish of the founders. The Jesuits exercised the duties of the trust, until they were disabled from its further administration by their expulsion in 1767 from the Spanish dominions by the King of Spain, and by the suppression of the Order by the Pope in 1773. The crown of Spain took possession of and administered the property for the uses declared by the donors, until Mexico, after her independence was achieved, succeeded to the administration of the trust. Finally, in 1842, President Santa Anna ordered that the properties be sold, that the proceeds thereof be incorporated into the national treasury, and that six per cent. annual interest on the capitalization of the property should be paid and devoted to the carrying out of the intention of the donors in the conversion and civilization of the savages.

Upper California having been ceded to the United States in 1848 by the Treaty of Guadaloupe Hidalgo, the Mexican Government refused to pay to the prelates of the Church in Upper California any share of the interest which accrued after the ratification of the treaty. The latter presented their claim therefor to

the State Department and requested the interposition of the Government. A Mixed Commission for the settlement of cross-claims between the two Governments was formed under the Convention of July 4th, 1869. On the presentation and hearing of this claim, the United States and Mexican Commissioners divided in opinion. The case was accordingly referred to the umpire, Sir Edward Thornton, who rendered an award in favor of the United States for twenty-one annuities of $43,050.99 each, as the equitable proportion to which the prelates were entitled of the interest accrued from the making of the Treaty of Peace down to February 2nd, 1869. The Mexican Government paid the award but refused to make any further payments of interest. Again the prelates appealed to the State Department for support. In presenting the claim to the Mexican Government, Secretary Hay made two contentions:

First, that the case was governed by the principle of *res judicata;*

Second, that the claim was just.

The Mexican Government denied the justice of the claim and contended that it should be sent for trial to the local courts. It disputed the applicability of the principle of *res judicata* to the case. It contended that the principle was limited in application to the final sentence or dispository part of the judgment, and that it did not embrace the law and facts, which might be and were, in fact, erroneously found and applied by the umpire; and it contended that he had acted in excess of his jurisdiction in rendering the sentence of condemnation. Finally, the case was referred to the arbitration of the Hague Tribunal by the Convention of May 2nd, 1902, between the two Governments. The issues submitted by the arbitral agreement were two:

1. If said claim, as a consequence of the former decision, is within the governing principle of *res judicata;* and

2. If not, whether the same is just.

And the tribunal was authorized to render such judgment or award as might be meet and proper under all the circumstances of the case.

The arbitrators were selected from the members of the permanent panel who had been appointed by the signatory States of the Hague Convention. Those named by the United States were Sir Edward Fry, formerly Judge of the Court of Appeals, and

member of the Privy Council of Great Britain; Mr. de Martens, member of the Council of the Imperial Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia; and those appointed by Mexico were Mr. Asser, member of the Council of State of Holland, and Mr. Savornin-Lohman, formerly Minister of the Interior and a member of the House of Deputies of Holland. The Arbitrators appointed as umpire and President of the Tribunal Mr. Matzen, Counsellor-Extraordinary for the Supreme Court and President of the Landsthing of Denmark. The court was organized on September 15th, 1902, and at once proceeded with the hearing. The case was ably defended by Mr. Pardo, agent of the Mexican Government, assisted by special counsel, Messrs. Beernaert and Delacroix. Mr. Beernaert is an eminent statesman, formerly a member of the Ministry and a leader of the Belgian bar; and Mr. Delacroix is one of the most accomplished and brilliant of its younger leaders. Their arguments, varying in style with their genius, displayed those qualities of acute analysis, solid reasoning, lucidity and brilliancy of expression which characterize the pleadings of the great advocates of the Belgian and French bars. The United States Government was represented by its agent, Mr. Jackson H. Ralston, and by Mr. W. L. Penfield, as special counsel, who were assisted by the claimant's counsel, Senator Stewart, Mr. Garrett McEnery, and Mr. Deschamps.

The defense made by the counsel for Mexico was:

1. That, the power of the Mixed Commission proceeding only from the consent of the parties, the award of the umpire was limited by the mandate from which it emanated and could not, therefore, constitute a former adjudication.

2. That the claim was not just; that the property sequestered was national or political in its institution and character, and not religious;

3. That, by the Treaty of 1848 and by the Convention of 1868, the two Governments intended to settle and cancel all claims of the citizens of either State against the other, and that the claim was predicated on the sequestration of the property by the Mexican Government prior to the said treaty;

4. That the claim was barred by limitation, through the failure of the claimants to present it for adjustment before the local tribunals within the periods prescribed by certain Mexican statutes;

5. That the claimants, the Archbishop of California and the Bishops of Monterey, were not the proper parties in interest, who were said to be the Jesuits.

The reply made on behalf of the Government of the United States was, that the Pious Fund was derived from donations of private property expressly dedicated to religious uses, and that, therefore, its institution and character were not national or political, but religious; that the Treaty of 1848 and the Convention of 1868 only dealt with claims then subsisting, and that, the claim sued on having since accrued to its citizens, the Government was entitled to maintain the action. It was further contended that an international award has the force of *res judicata;* that it includes all the grounds on which the final sentence was predicated; that it includes, in effect, as many distinct judgments as there are essential bases of law and fact which, in the light of the issues, are implied in the final sentence; that, in submitting a case to international arbitration, the parties consent in advance to accept the award and all the judicial consequences which attach to it; that those consequences are as much a part of the award as are the fundamental bases on which it depends; that the award, therefore, is by the consent of the parties to have its complete juridical effects, and that its payment is only one of those effects; that inasmuch as the former award, in fixing the amount of each annuity, necessarily ascertained the amount of the capital, and inasmuch as the obligation to pay the interest was adjudged by the umpire to be perpetual in its nature, it only remained for the Tribunal to declare the perpetuity of the obligation and render an award for the amount of the annuities accrued subsequent to February 2nd, 1869.

It was further contended that statutes of limitation are of a domestic character and not internationally binding and enforceable by one Government against another which has espoused the cause of its injured citizens; that the controversy thereby becomes international and should be decided upon principles of international law and justice.

Finally, it was urged that the claim was prosecuted by the proper party in interest—namely, the Government of the United States, which represented before the Tribunal all its citizens, in all of their legal capacities to sue, whether natural or juridical, whether corporations public or private, lay or ecclesiastical; and

that the President, in the proper exercise of a sovereign prerogative, acting through the Secretary of State, would distribute the award to any of its citizens who might be equitably entitled to receive it.

THE AWARD.

The award, rendered in the form of the civil law judgment, is a model of brevity and perspicuity. It discloses the interesting but not surprising fact that the doctrine of *res judicata* in the civil law and common law systems is one.

The opinion states the considerations of law and fact which control the decision. It declares the international character of the conflict between the two powers in litigation; that all parts of a judgment concerning the points debated in a litigation mutually enlighten and complement one another, and that all serve to define the meaning and scope of the final sentence and to determine the points upon which there has been *res judicata*, and which, therefore, cannot again be brought in question; that the rule applies not only to the judgments of tribunals established by the state, but applies equally to arbitral sentences rendered within the limits of competence fixed by the arbitral agreement; that this principle ought for a much stronger reason to be applied to international arbitrations; that the Convention of July 4th, 1868, granted to the Mixed Commission, and eventually to the umpire, the right to pass upon their own competence; that, in the litigation submitted for decision to the Tribunal created under the arbitral agreement of May 22nd, 1902, there is not only an identity of parties but equally of the subject matter adjudicated by the arbitral sentence of Sir Edward Thornton; that the Government of Mexico has conscientiously executed the arbitral sentence, by payment of the annuities adjudged by Sir Edward Thornton; that, since 1869, thirty-three annuities have not been paid by the Mexican Government to the United States Government; that the rules of prescription, being exclusively of the domain of the civil law, cannot be applied to the present conflict between the two states in litigation; that the silver dollar being the legal currency of Mexico, payment in gold cannot be demanded in the absence of an express stipulation, and that, therefore, the defendant has a right to pay in silver; that, consequently, the decision of Sir Edward Thornton has not the force of *res judicata* with respect to the currency in which the payment should

be made, since the question of the mode of payment does not affect the substance of the right in litigation, but only the execution of the sentence. Upon the foregoing considerations the Tribunal decided:

1. That the reclamation is governed by the principle of *res judicata,* in virtue of the sentence of Sir Edward Thornton;

2. That, conformably to this sentence, the Government of the Republic of Mexico ought to pay to the Government of the United States the sum of $1,420,682.67 in the legal currency of Mexico, within the period fixed by the protocol, constituting the total amount of the annuities accrued and unpaid since February 2nd, 1869, to February 2nd, 1902;

3. That the Mexican Government shall pay to the Government of the United States on February 2nd, 1903, and on that day each year, forever, the annuity of $43,050.99 fixed by Sir Edward Thornton, in money having legal currency in Mexico.

At the conclusion of the announcement of the decision, the President of the Court added a few appropriate words. No one present during the trial of the case could doubt his sincerity in saying:

"We bring here the firm conviction of having sought the truth with all our strength, conscientiously and impartially; and I may be permitted to add that the unanimity with which all the members of the Tribunal, belonging to different states assembled here at the Hague have reached, each for himself and all together, the same conclusions, seems to me to constitute an additional guaranty that, in our earnest search after the truth, we have not pursued a false route."

The decision establishes an important landmark in international law. For, although it is in harmony with the general consensus of opinion of publicists of recognized authority, it was the first time that an international tribunal has been called upon to pass directly on the question whether an international award has the force of *res judicata.* Its value as a precedent consists in this fact, and is accentuated by the fact that it was so decided in the absence of an express stipulation to that effect in the arbitral agreement under which the original award was rendered. It constitutes a useful precedent to the Foreign Office having to deal with defences based on local statutes ingeniously framed with a view to embarrass or prevent the enforcement of diplomatic claims, by prescribing short periods of limitation for their pre-

sentation before local tribunals, under penalty of forfeiture; by prescribing rigorous rules of decision by the local courts; and by prohibiting foreigners residing in the state which has injured them from appealing to their own Governments for protection. It decides, in effect, that such statutes, "being exclusively of the domain of the civil order, cannot be applied to a conflict between two states in litigation," and it holds that controversies which have become international are to be decided upon principles of international law and justice.

The arbitration was also interesting because it was the first experiment made of the Permanent Court of the Hague, which is so composed as to secure able and disinterested triors, through the double process of selection, first, by the appointing power of the several signatory states of the Hague Convention, who are best qualified in the first instance to name the permanent panel; second, by the choice of the litigant states, from this panel, of the members of the trial court. It was interesting because of another experiment made further to assure the impartiality of the tribunal. It has been the practice of litigant states to appoint one or more in equal number of their own nationals, as members of Mixed Commissions or Arbitral Tribunals for the trial of their controversies. Experience has shown that those members not infrequently assume the inconsistent rôles of judges and of counsel, and of convenient organs of communication with the agents of their Governments. In the decision of the case, they not unnaturally nor infrequently disagree in opinions which are not always the most creditable in judicial form or substance, because they unconsciously reflect the partisan feeling which is so easily aroused where the sense of national pride and honor is even unintentionally and unwittingly touched. In the Pious Fund case, the two Governments agreed that the Court should be composed exclusively of the nationals of states not parties to the litigation. The result justified the experiment, by the freedom from all manifestation of partisan feeling or interest, on the part of the Court, in the success or failure of either party, and from any suggestion of diplomatic finesse or of leakage of the secrets of the Council Chamber; and by the unanimity of the decision, announcing correct principles, and awarding what, upon a sound application of the law to the facts, was justly and lawfully due and no more.

Other valuable precedents were set in the manner of the selection of the umpire, and in the mode adopted for fixing the compensation of the arbitrators. The four arbitrators named by the litigant states met at the appointed time; and, in the exercise of their power and discretion under the Hague Convention, and without the suggestion or advice of the United States or of Mexico, so far as known, selected the umpire. This conception of their power and duty was justified in their choice of the umpire, who admirably exercised the functions of the presiding judge.

A delicate question arises in such cases in fixing the compensation of the Arbitrators. Is their compensation simply an honorarium, whose measure is left wholly to the Foreign Office? Or will the arbitrators render a statement of their charges? The agents of the two Governments conferred on this subject with the Secretary-General, who, as an officer and proper organ of communication with the Court, reported that either of the above modes was in vogue and proper; but the informal action taken led to an easy solution, entirely satisfactory to all concerned.

Under the Hague Convention, the Court is authorized to determine the language of the proceedings. The solution of this question was, as a matter of procedure, highly interesting as a precedent to English-speaking advocates who may be called to plead their cause before a tribunal composed, like this one, of four civilians and one common-law lawyer. The Court, as would be expected, adopted French as the official language of the proceedings, but permitted the agents and counsel of the two Governments to address the tribunal in their own tongues. While, therefore, the record of the proceedings is in French, the entire freedom of counsel in the use of whatever language they preferred in argument, conduced to a full and satisfactory presentation of the case.

Enough has been said to indicate the unusual significance which attaches to the arbitration of the Pious Fund case. But, valuable as are the example and the precedents set, corresponding to the expectations entertained of the Permanent Court, this arbitration has a special importance in its relation to American interests in the New World. Its significance was pointed out in the argument to the Court:

"The prime motive which inspired the formation of the Hague Con-

vention was to secure the establishment of international justice. One of its chief objects was to afford sure redress for whatever injury may be arbitrarily inflicted by the Government of one state upon the subjects of another. Unfortunately, the juridical fact has sometimes been momentarily overlooked or forgotten, that the supreme authority of the state which arbitrarily injures the property right of the subject of another state incurs the just obligation of fulfilling the duties thereby entailed. It is these arbitrary injuries to private right which constitute, unhappily, a long list of grievances which in the past have been preferred by governments on behalf of their subjects against offending states. These grievances have sometimes been summarily settled by the strong arm of the Government acting on behalf of its injured subjects; and this has given rise to grave complaints of the forcible collection of exorbitant indemnities. The states of the Western Hemisphere recently held an International Conference at the City of Mexico, with a view to finding some satisfactory solution of this grave problem; and the result was that the project of a treaty was signed by the delegates of the states there assembled, under which such controversies between those states are to be tentatively referred, for a period of five years, to the Permanent Court provided by the Hague Convention. Without exaggeration, therefore, it may be said that the eyes of the Western World are now turned towards this Judicatory; for the sessions now held by this High Court and its determinations, of vast moment as they are to the nations of the Old World, are even more so, if that were possible, to those of the Western Hemisphere. The decision, which will make for the reign of law and justice among nations, and for law and justice between the state and the humblest individual, will by its benign influence and beneficent example, tend to increase respect for private right, and to put an end to the mutual grievances complained of, in the past, of arbitrary acts of the state with respect to vested right, on the one hand, and, on the other, with respect to the collection of indemnities by military execution—complaints which have sorely perplexed and sometimes imperilled the relations of otherwise friendly states. Upon the Court is therefore cast a most solemn responsibility—weighty as regards the litigant states, who are parties to this controversy, and of incalculable importance by the lasting impressions its determinations will produce upon the states of the Old World and upon the sense of law and justice among the peoples of the Western World. The precedent now set will live in its effects upon social order in the Western Hemisphere, and will live in its influence upon the cause of international arbitration."

W. L. PENFIELD.

RAILROAD BUILDING AS A MODE OF WARFARE.

BY CAPTAIN JOHN McAULEY PALMER, U. S. A.

CAESAR conquered Gaul by building roads. No matter how decisive his victories may have been, their effect could only have been transitory but for the great highways that he continually built in his rear. In warfare against a savage people, if you surround a hostile region with roads the included territory must sooner or later become untenable. The enemy must yield. If you establish lines of communication through and around the fastness of a barbarian, it ceases to be a fastness and he ceases to be a barbarian.

It might also be asserted that Cæsar's whole strategy was merely a policy of road-building. It was not necessary for him, as a rule, to seek the enemy. It was only necessary for him to urge on the road-building. From time to time, combats resulted where the road-building was opposed; but the combat was merely an incident, and, by virtue of the road, was always a Roman victory. Only military force sufficient to guard the road was needed.

But Cæsar's highways were something more than mere engines of conquest. The Roman road civilized as it conquered; the barbarian ceased to be barbarous, and a single generation found Gaul converted from a savage wilderness into one of the most peaceful and prosperous of the Roman provinces.

It is probable, even in the most barbarous societies, that a majority of the population would accept the benefits of peace and commerce if they could. They are not industrious, in many cases, because they are not secure in the enjoyment of the rewards of industry. It is generally only necessary to check the nomadic tendency in order to start the work of civilization. Better communication gives security to the industrious element of the population, in proportion as it brings insecurity to the migratory and warlike. Thus it was that, as depredation and brigandage

ceased to be profitable, people began to settle in the shelter of the great Roman road, while the incorrigible barbarian was driven farther and farther away.

It is possible that a Roman statesman, in Cæsar's day, would have justified the cost of the military roads merely from the standpoint of military economy. That they might become highways of commerce was but a secondary consideration. Their cost was justified because they reduced the cost of the Transalpine garrison. No other military expenditure could have brought anything like the same return. A legion, in a region of good roads, could police and control many times as large an area as it could in a trackless wilderness.

Before the highways were built, the radii of military influence extended but a few miles from the military base; but, with the highways built, the area of the pacified zone was increased an hundred fold. In other words, the system of roads enormously increased the efficiency of the legions, and therefore were profitable merely from the military standpoint and before they became highways of commerce.

If, by means of the highways, the Transalpine garrison could be reduced from twelve legions to three legions, then, obviously, the highways saved the Roman people the annual charge of nine legions which might either be disbanded or employed in other fields of conquest.

But the most remarkable influence of the Roman roads is found in their effects upon the conquered peoples. In the meshes of the great net-work of highways, migratory tribes became settled communities, wild hunters became husbandmen, the ancient forest gave place to cultivated fields, rough fishing-villages became great cities, warring clans were welded by commercial intercourse into a national whole. A united and civilized France could not have been blended from the heterogeneous tribes of ancient Gaul, save for the influence of the Roman conqueror and the Roman road-builder. The Roman arts of peace rested upon a consummate art of war.

Cæsar's strategy has been followed by all conquerors and pacifiers who have left a lasting impress upon history. The later Romans pushed the paved road from the English Channel to the Welsh mountains and to the foot of the Scottish Highlands, extending commerce and civilization with their military power.

The British have at once conquered and developed India by a system of railroads and highways. It is by virtue of these communications that a small European garrison can hold the millions of India in subjection.

If President Diaz has given Mexico a new era of security and prosperity, it is largely through his military wisdom in laying iron rails. The profession of fomenting revolutions cannot thrive in the land of the locomotive. A military unit that can move 200 miles in a day is vastly more efficient than one that can move but twenty miles.

When the Cape to Cairo railroad is completed the "Dark Continent" will no longer exist as such, Africa will be cut in two, and the remaining fragmentation will take but a little time. Tribes that are capable of receiving civilization will prosper, the others will disappear.

But perhaps the military effect of the highway has never been exemplified more remarkably than in the history of the United States. A little more than a century ago, the whole continent was a wilderness, save for a little fringe of civilization on the Atlantic seaboard. The wilderness was sparsely peopled by savages, who opposed every westward step, and who, unlike the savages of Gaul, were incapable of accepting civilization. Here, as before, the white man advanced on roads, clearing the forest and building villages as he advanced; and here, as before, savagery could not abide where the highway had penetrated. For a time, the progress was relatively slow, principally because the roads were bad; but, when the railroad became the white man's highway, his conquering progress became unparalleled. Forty-five years ago, the region west of the Missouri river was an unconquered wilderness. In less than ten years, it was practically subdued. The Pacific railroads stretched as yokes of steel across the continent; and unorganized bands of settlers, with the railroad at their back, achieved a military conquest that Cæsar and his legions would have found impossible.

The commercial effects of the Pacific railroads have been so great that we are too apt to forget their military aspect. But, if we attempt to compute the cost of securing the same military results without the railroads and by purely military means, we will find that the railroad is the most potent engine of modern war. We conquered the West so easily with the railroads that we can-

not realize the amount of military effort that the railroads saved.

The railroad is not only an efficient weapon but a cheap one. It costs a million dollars a year to maintain a regiment of infantry in the field. The same sum will maintain and pay interest on 300 miles of railroad, even if it does not carry a ton of revenue freight. If a general had to advance 300 miles through a wilderness, and were given the choice between an extra regiment of infantry or a railroad leading to his destination, he would probably be willing to spare the regiment. Even if the enemy should burn his bridges from time to time, even if he should find it necessary to rebuild parts of the line and to patrol it from end to end, he could subdue the country incalculably more quickly, more cheaply and more permanently with the railroad than without it.

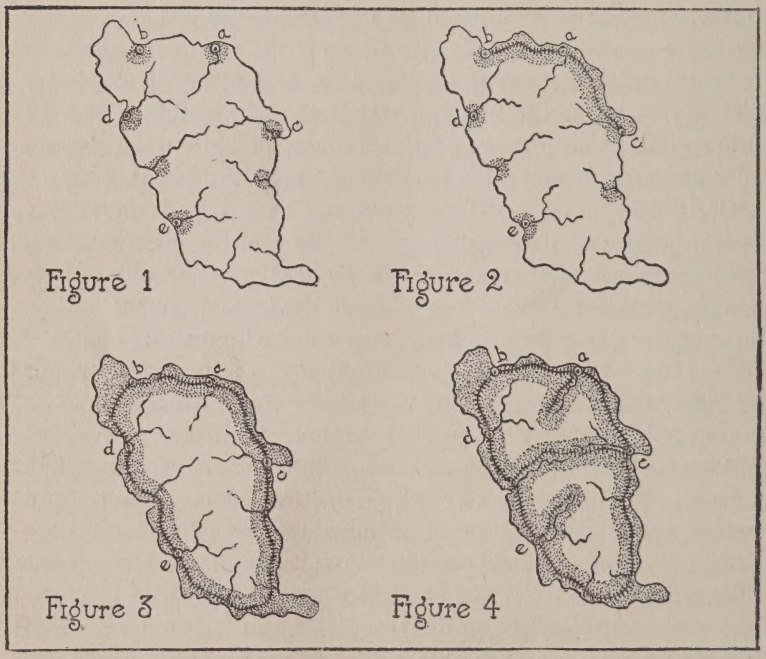
But, unlike other military weapons, the railroad would pay something toward its support. With the country once subdued, its revenues would increase. In a little time, it would pay its operating expenses. Soon it would pay the interest on the outlay, and in due time create a sinking fund and extinguish its cost.

The value of the railroad as an auxiliary in military operations has long been recognized; but a study of the relative economies of railroad construction and of ordinary military operations would seem to point to the conclusion that the railroad ought to be used as the primary and essential tactical device, especially in warfare against an uncivilized enemy. Instead of regarding the railroad as more or less useful, but subordinate to the several military units, would it not be more scientific to regard it as the main engine of war, the ordinary military units being employed merely to guard it and maintain it? If a country is worth the effort of pacifying it, it is also worth railroad development. If the railroad is constructed and maintained through the theatre of war, military operations cannot continue.

If the objective be mere conquest, the railroad would seem to be the most efficient and economical military weapon; but, if the object be the ultimate civilization and elevation of the conquered race, it would seem to be still more appropriate.

Let us suppose that our task is the subjugation and pacification of the island shown in figure 1. The island is mountainous and heavily wooded, and its slopes are traversed by mountain streams; there are no roads, and the country is exceedingly diffi-

cult for military operations. The area of the island is about 5000 square miles, and its irregular coast line is between 300 and 400 miles long. Its climate is tropical, and its low, marshy coast is exceedingly unhealthy for civilized soldiers. Communication is very difficult. The beach is generally swampy and impracticable, and coastwise navigation is dangerous and uncertain on account of coral reefs. The only ports are shown at *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, and *e*. One



of these, *a*, is a fair harbor; the others are mere anchorages where landing is impossible, except under favorable circumstances of wind and tide.

The larger valleys of the island are fertile; and, under ordinary conditions, the valley people are fairly industrious; but, during periods of war, which are frequent, the farmers are in enforced idleness and under a reign of terror.

The enemy occupies the mountains of the interior, while our posts are scattered along the coast and can communicate with each other only with difficulty. On account of the impassable nature of the country, the radius of control of each post is small,

and the effect of a successful expedition is only temporary. A village may be captured and destroyed, but it cannot as a rule be occupied, and if occupied its garrison has no communications. Under these conditions, our zones of influence are indicated by the little shaded areas along the coast. The enemy occupies an extended area in the interior, and he can communicate with the sea at many points between our detached and isolated posts. With great loss and exertion, we may break up all organized resistance; but the peace, when it comes, is uncertain, and a successful campaign leaves little basis for the progress of civilization.

Now, suppose a narrow gauge railroad is built merely as a military measure. The location of the line would depend upon the topography of the country; but let us suppose that, in this case, it is proposed to encircle the island, and that the construction is undertaken in both directions from the port *a*. Figure 2 represents the results obtained after the line reaches *b* and *c*. The effect thus far is to control all of the included coast line. This part of the coast will no longer be tenable for the enemy.

Figure 3 shows the condition when the encircling system is complete. The military situation has been entirely changed, and by the construction of only 250 miles of narrow gauge railway.

The annual cost of the investment would be about equal to the annual cost of one regiment of infantry, but it is obvious that our military position would be strengthened much more by the completion of the railroad than by the addition of one more regiment. Our sphere of influence and control would be immediately changed from a few detached and disconnected posts to a wide belt entirely embracing the island. The enemy would be cut off from the coast; our communications would be complete; we could concentrate our reserves in a few hours at any point; our main garrison could be maintained in some healthful place; one base of supplies would serve our whole force; and, whereas the efficiency of our force would be increased an hundred fold, the strain on our men and our loss from sickness would be greatly diminished.

For a time our enemy might dispute the possession of the shore line with us, but very soon he would be forced either to go into the mountains and stay, or to come down and go to work. If he chose the latter alternative, the railroad would bring him employment and would find new markets for the rich products of his forests and fields.

In the case assumed, the construction of the little narrow-gauge railway would almost immediately give us the complete and undisputed possession of more than half of the island. The unsubdued would have only the interior area; but this area would grow smaller with the advance of commerce. The effect of constructing additional transverse lines up the valleys is shown in Figure 4. Each mile of the new line cuts off large tracts of wild land, and brings it under the influence of law and civilization. The strategic advantage of the savage consists only in his independence of communications; with communications established, the strategic advantage passes to the civilized soldier.

Men cannot remain in a savage state in the vicinity of a railroad; they are compelled by irresistible influences either to accept civilization or to withdraw. The railroad brings the lumberman, the prospector and the trader, and these are closely followed by the planter.

When the soldier has prepared the highway of commerce, his work is all but done. The soldier of commerce soon relieves him in the work of reconnaissance and exploitation. It does not follow that the pioneer of commerce must be an European. Whether the trader be an American or a Chinese Mestizo, the effect is the same. He brings with him the idea of property, the magic charm of commerce before which savagery and disorder must disappear.

If the railroad has the great military value indicated above, it might be worth while to consider the probable effect of a government system of railways as a military measure in the Philippines. It is probable that such a system would result in a sufficient saving in the cost of the military occupation, to cover the entire cost of the investment. There can be no question that a system of railways would have a great effect in developing the commercial prosperity of the islands, and that better communication would tend to foster political unity and good government. Whatever may be the ultimate political fate of the islands, it must be the present aim of sound statesmanship to end the war and to develop commerce and industry.

The cost of a railway system adapted to insular conditions need not be very great. The traffic would generally be made up of short hauls, and narrow gauge lines would serve every purpose. The narrow gauge construction involves a cheaper first cost, cheaper maintenance and greater adaptability to surface irregularities.

It is estimated by the Philippine Commission that a system of insular railways can be built at a cost of not more than $35,000 per mile. At three per cent., the interest on the investment would be $1,050 per mile. An annual charge of $3,000 per mile would cover interest, maintenance, and transportation service, even if there were no revenue from traffic.

A railway from Manila to both ends of Luzon would be less than 700 miles long. A system of 1,000 miles would bring every important point of Luzon within one day's journey of Manila. This service would cost but $3,000,000 per annum, but a small percentage of the present cost of military occupation.

But this annual cost assumes no revenue at all from traffic, a condition that would not exist even at the beginning. It would not be long before the system would more than meet its annual charges. One thousand miles of railway for an area of 45,000 square miles and a population of 4,000,000 would be a small proportion, even in the tropics. The State of Illinois, with a population of 5,000,000, supports 11,000 miles of railway.

It seems almost certain that, as a mere military measure, and with no idea of investment, a government system of railroads in Luzon would pay. It would enormously increase the efficiency of the military garrison, and would greatly decrease the cost of the transport of supplies. It would probably pay the United States to build such a system, even if no commercial business were carried, and even if the American occupation should terminate in ten years.

The same conditions would apply to other islands than Luzon. In some of them, commercial considerations would already justify the construction as a profitable investment; in others, the railroad would be economical as a military and political measure.

It is possible that, in some parts of the archipelago, conditions would justify the building of railways by private corporations; but there are several reasons why it would not be wise or just for the government to relinquish control.

In the first place, on account of obvious military economies, the government can afford to build before conditions are secure enough for private capital.

In the second place, a uniform system of communications covering all parts of the islands would give the most economical service, and would do away with the waste of resources due to unnecessary

competing lines. To provide a complete system of private railways, it would be necessary for the government to inaugurate a policy of subsidies, either in the shape of land grants or of a guarantee of interest. This would amount in the end to a gratuitous donation of valuable property to private individuals; for the cost of railways must finally and in every case be paid by the people that use them.

Another consideration is the fact that the government can build the railroads more cheaply, and can therefore give the Filipinos a cheaper service. Private capital will not go into the field merely for interest. Under the private system the railroad must pay dividends as well as interest, and the service will cost the people that much more. The railways of the United States are now supporting upwards of $5,000,000,000 of bonus stocks and bonds in addition to the capital actually invested in them.

As the government would find ample reimbursement in the military and political economies that the railroad would develop, it would be free to adopt a broad and far-sighted transportation policy, independent of the narrow conditions of immediate profit. It is this aspect of government control that gives such great strategic and political value to enterprises like the Siberian Railway.

This paper is not intended as an argument in favor of government ownership of railways as a general proposition. Where the object of a proposed system is purely commercial, it may very properly be regarded as beyond the scope of government investment. But, where the prime objects of the enterprise are military and political, where the problems to be solved are the problems of enlightened statesmanship, where the policy to be pursued involves high moral and humanitarian responsibilities, the advantages of government control should be carefully considered.

JOHN MCAULEY PALMER.

THE MONARCHS OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE.
I. THE KAISER.

BY SYDNEY BROOKS.

POPULAR estimates of heirs-apparent are rarely worth much. Even if they were, their usefulness would still be limited; for the weight of a crown, the sudden change in duties, surroundings, advisers, and, above all, interests, radically modify the character. History is full of instances where men were one thing as crown-princes and quite another as kings.

It is, therefore, nothing strange that William II. should seem to-day a totally different being from the youth whose abrupt accession, fourteen years ago, to the most powerful throne in Europe sent a shiver of alarm from London to Moscow. The alarm was not unnatural. The coolest-headed statesmen shared it; at the time, nothing else seemed possible. Both as Prince William and as Crown-Prince, the present Emperor had done nothing to reconcile foreign Powers to the idea of his new position. The shrewdest observer might have been forgiven for not seeing in him anything more than "a rather self-willed and theatrical youth, consumed with Chauvinism, and lending himself with an avidity that seemed more French than German to the easy histrionics of militarism. Wherever he went the full stage effects of a regimental setting went with him. Whenever he spoke, it was in flaming apostrophe of the sword and martial glory and the heroic deeds of the most warlike of his ancestors."

Princely rhetoricians are usually disquieting, if only because the qualities that make an orator are not those that most become a monarch. But when you have a prince who is not only gifted with genuine powers of declamation which he is only too proud to show off, but chooses for his subject-matter the most disturbing of all topics; when you are forced to catch the rattling of the

sabre and the beat of the war-drum through all his impetuous periods—then the zone of anxiety and mistrust he creates is incalculably widened. So long as he was merely second in succession to the throne, Europe could afford to laugh at it all as a bit of youthful prankishness that would wear off. It took on quite a different air when it became known that the Crown-Prince Frederick was suffering from cancer of the throat and might even fail to survive his venerable father.

On March 9th, 1888, the grand old Emperor died. His son succeeded him, a doomed man; reigned pitifully for ninety-nine days, and on June 15th breathed his last. It was a period, as all remember, of blunder and misunderstanding everywhere, a wretched lingering tragedy dragged out under the eye of the whole world. Crown-Prince William had his full share of the mistakes. He seemed to sink the son in the coming Emperor. He should have kept in the background; instead, he took every chance of posing before the people in full pageantry of war. He might at least have held his tongue; instead, his speeches multiplied in vehemence and fervid imagery. Considering the shadow that lay across his father's life, Europe found it hard to forgive his struttings and lime-light effects. German sensitiveness in such matters is not, perhaps, as great as it might be. His turn for military pirouetting made him the darling of the masses, and his barely veiled antagonism to the English influences that surrounded his father won him the devotion of the army and aristocracy. But the outside world, both then and for many years after, saw in him only "a prancing German edition of Harry Hotspur, dashing, wilful, 'heady,' with an instinct for flashy and inopportune display," and terribly given to sounding the charge. Small wonder that Europe drew fearfully together, prepared for anything!

It is hard to say precisely when the universal uneasiness began to give way. For at least five years after the young Emperor's accession, Europe was kept on a nervous stretch. It could not get rid of the idea that the Kaiser meant war. It hugged itself in apprehension of what he might be up to next. Within a few hours after his father's death, he had issued thrilling and exalted addresses to his army and navy. Within six weeks, with quivering and, as Europe thought, unseemly haste, he had visited Peterhof, Stockholm, and Copenhagen; and, that neither Denmark nor

France might be under any illusions as to where he stood on the North-Schleswig question and Alsace-Lorraine, he declared, on his return, that "we would rather leave our united eighteen army corps and our forty-two millions of inhabitants lying on the field of battle, than relinquish one single stone of what was won by my father and Prince Frederick Charles."

This, to begin with, was disconcerting enough. But the Kaiser, it was soon seen, could act as well as talk. "He plunged forthwith into affairs of state; rejuvenated the services by weeding out old and incompetent officers, with a merciless eye to public efficiency; reorganized the ministerial and diplomatic bureaus; turned the royal household inside out; commanded an army corps at the manœuvres; and before the astonished world could draw its breath, was off again on another tour—this time to the capitals of his allies in the Dreibund." Here, evidently, was a new type of monarch, or rather, a type so old and long-departed that its reappearance at the end of the nineteenth century would have been thought incredible before the coming of the Kaiser. Here was no timid "constitutional" ruler, hiding his impotence under legal fictions; no fainéant king, fit only to mumble commonplaces at the opening of charity bazars. The Kaiser stood out palpably as, above all things, a man of action, and of action altogether outside the usual routine of royalty. His fellow-sovereigns must have found him something of an *enfant terrible.* It seemed for a while as though his ambition were to be "perpetually startling the world by some freakish impulse, some grotesque oration, some new display of hollow versatility." Laughter, amazement, and a half-scandalized applause followed him wherever he went and in all he did or said. "William the tourist, William in the pulpit, William the perfervid orator, William passionately propounding the doctrine of divine right, William scolding his nobles and citizen subjects and glorifying his army, William devising new uniforms and court dresses, new dances and pageants, William 'dashing to pieces all who oppose me,' William the colonizer, William painting pictures, William building a fleet, William the idealist, William dismissing Bismarck and becoming in truth William the Second to none—in all his characters he amused, mystified, shocked, or disturbed the wondering world."

But we have grown used to the Kaiser now. It is not that the first hot flush of youth has passed and left him less exuberant—

the Kaiser is still at times as impulsive as ever. It is that we have revised our early impressions and come to see the man as he is. No one now thinks of the German Emperor as a menace to European peace. No one now imagines that he will ever wage a war for mere glory or personal vanity, or, indeed, for anything but the defence of his empire. The nervousness he once excited has quite died down; and, under an odd covering of mediæval instincts and impetuous deed and word, the world now recognizes in him a high-strung, fearless, tempestuous nature, full of poetry and idealism as well as force and practicality, a mind that has flashes of something like genius, that is at all times receptive and perspicacious, an unquenchable zeal in the service of his people, and a character which, far from being "harum-scarum," is builded on bold, if somewhat erratic, lines. He has done what it is exceedingly difficult for any man to do—he has lived down laughter; and a man who can live down that can live down anything. It is true we are forced occasionally to a smile, but it embraces not the man, but only some quaint way of displaying himself; and even while we smile we have a suspicion at the back of our minds that there may be, probably is, a method in his madness. The "mailed fist" speeches at Kiel beguiled the whole world with merriment, but the seizure of Kiao-chou followed swift upon them, and the world smiled no longer. The lesson of that famous *coup* endures, and people now are not so wholly absorbed with the Kaiser's bombast as to forget that there may be something behind it. We may still think that William II. has "scattered" too much, but we no longer call him meretricious. We may still laugh at his passion for pageantry and military peacocking, at what a witty Frenchman called his *defil-irium tremens,* but we no longer put it all down to vanity. We may still be startled by his self-glorifications and the fervor of his claim to the divine right, but we recognize that this, too, has another and better side to it. We have, in short, come to a juster, kindlier estimate of both the man and the monarch. It used to be said of Louis Napoleon that he deceived Europe twice—once when he succeeded in passing himself off as an idiot, and again when he succeeded in passing himself off as a statesman. It may at least be said that the German Emperor has deceived Europe once. "The world had one opinion of Louis Napoleon when he dawdled round English race-courses and gambling-houses, and another and very dif-

ferent opinion when he flashed upon the world as the author of the *coup d'état*. The two estimates hardly differed so greatly as people's judgment of the German Emperor in 1890 and their judgment of him to-day."

With a man who touches life at so many points, analysis must almost inevitably take a categorical form. Let us look into his boyhood. It was passed in that admirable school of kinship, the free and open competitions of the German gymnasium and universities; and it is full of many illuminating incidents, but none more telling than this: A professor, wishing to curry favor with his royal pupil, informed him overnight of the chapter in Xenophon which would be made the subject of the next day's lesson. The young prince did what a great many boys would not have done. He entered the class-room directly it was opened on the following morning, and wrote conspicuously on the blackboard the information that had been given him. A boy who would so act, one may say unhesitatingly, has the root of a fine character in him, has that chivalrous sense of fair play which is the nearest thing to a religion that may be looked for at that age, hates meanness and favoritism, and will, wherever possible, expose them. His instinct will always be to do the big thing, and to do it in a big way. That instinct has been with the Kaiser all his life. I do not say he has always acted on it. It has sometimes to struggle hard against his haste and impulsiveness or his sense of offended kingship. But sooner or later it comes out triumphant. Pettiness of any kind cannot hold its own for long against so much that is generous, so much that is ardent. The Kaiser who publicly snubbed Bismarck after his dismissal by practically ordering the official world of Vienna to take no notice of Count Herbert's marriage was not the real Kaiser. The real Kaiser came out when he heard of the ex-Chancellor's illness in the fall of 1893, and wired at once to offer him one of the royal castles to winter in; when he followed this up by the gift of a bottle of the very finest old Marcobrünner Cabinet that could be fished out of the royal cellars; when he received the ex-Chancellor in Berlin with sovereign honors, visited him at Friedrichsruh, and severely trounced the Reichstag for refusing to congratulate the great founder of the empire on his eightieth birthday.

"To do the big thing in the big way." That, one is convinced, is the direction in which the balance of the Kaiser's nature over-

whelmingly inclines. He is a man who may be touched on many sides, whom things stir quickly and strongly. Above the fundamental bent towards whatever is clean, manly, and above-board, above the range of glowing sympathies, there is his strong imaginative, and his yet stronger dramatic, sense to appeal to. No one manages to throw such feeling into little international courtesies. His telegrams of condolence to the widows of Marshals MacMahon and Canrobert were, in their way, quite perfect. He has something, perhaps a good deal, of the Crusader temperament. He is moved profoundly by tales of heroism, by the clash and jar of elemental life. Somebody once called him "an applied Kipling." He is, at any rate, one of the few men outside the British Empire who read and thoroughly appreciate that author.

Most people know that the Kaiser's left arm has from his birth been practically useless. He has met the misfortune by training the right arm to do the work of two. That is a feat it is easy to record, but not so easy to accomplish. Many men simply throw up the race on smaller pretexts than that, and a king who had not the right fibre in him would be peculiarly seduced into making himself out a martyr of circumstances. The Kaiser has never been one of that kind. So far from sitting down under his handicap, he rose to conquer it. With infinite patience and grit, such as men who have been spared that sort of affliction can hardly have any conception of, he slowly taught himself to row, to swim, to skate, to ride, to fence, and to shoot—and to do none of these things badly, but all of them with far more than average skill. Look at it whichever way you please, it takes a man to win such a match with fate as that. No weakling could have done it; no one with any serious flaw in his character could have done it. Properly considered, there is a certificate of immense fitness for his post in the Kaiser's list of accomplishments. They are a guarantee of something more than a liking for the wholesome, manly things of life; they give proof of a strength and discipline of character, of that "infinite capacity for taking pains," which, if it be not genius, is at least as solid a foundation as one could wish for any head of a State, King or President. One would prophesy much for any man in any sphere who had overcome his disabilities so finely, but, on the whole, one would prophesy more for a king. Energy and will power may of themselves carry a monarch far, but in the Kaiser they are united with two other

qualities of the first value as guides—intelligence and a sense of duty.

The Kaiser's mind is unquestionably of an unusual order. Like his uncle's and his mother's, it is a facile, quick-moving instrument; it works in flashes; it assimilates seemingly without effort; it swoops unerringly on the essential point; it is at its best under the highest pressure. The Emperor can grapple with a pile of despatches as Doctor Johnson grappled with libraries, tearing the heart out of each with a perception that incessant practice has made almost instantaneous. But—and this is really remarkable—though not of the concentrated, "specializing" kind, his mind is instinctively thorough and accurate. He thinks things out; it tortures him to feel that he does not know everything that there is to be known on a given subject; he must master all the details. This is an extremely rare quality to find in a man who has so large a share of the oratorical temperament, a man in whom the imaginative powers are so fully developed that to exaggerate is almost second nature. Mr. Gladstone may supply a parallel of sorts. He, too, was a born orator, could stand back from his subject and see it as a whole, and at the same time find inexhaustible pleasure in all its minutiæ. In all business that he understands—and he tries to understand everything—the Kaiser is a master of detail. He has an eye for the great problems of tactics and strategy, and has shown himself at the manœuvres to be a commander of unusual originality and decision, but he is equally interested in the smallest particulars of the soldier's kit, in wire-fencing and the mechanism of the latest rifle.

Only a few weeks ago M. Waldeck-Rousseau, cruising in Norwegian waters on board a friend's yacht, fell in with the Kaiser in the Sörfjord. William, we are told, asked leave to inspect the yacht, and succeeded in charming every one by his simple, courteous ways, his fluent French, his abounding gayety. He examined everything with the utmost interest, looking at the engines, even questioning the cooks, praising the Breton sailors, and afterwards engaging in a long conversation "on a thousand things that concern the navy, philosophy, social and foreign questions." On the same evening the Kaiser entertained the French party to dinner on board the "Hohenzollern." "Rhine and Bordeaux wines were drunk, and only French music was played—Auber, Gounod, Bizet, Délibes." Dismissing *Weltpolitik* and philosophy,

the Kaiser talked with Madame Waldeck-Rousseau throughout dinner about the theatre and Parisian fashions. Afterwards he showed his visitors his yacht, "astonishing M. Menier by his intimate knowledge of what French constructors had done for the development of pleasure yachts," and finally allowed them to inspect the bureaux where four secretaries were engaged in reading and sorting telegrams that had to be attended to before bedtime.

But the human intellect, after all, is limited, though, like Lord Brougham and Gladstone and Charles Kingsley and a few others, the Kaiser will not believe it. It is not given to one man to know everything about the army, and everything about the navy, and everything about foreign politics and Parisian fashions and the construction of yachts and clay-modelling and the theatres, and at the same time be an indefatigable traveller and a still more indefatigable Emperor into the bargain. The Kaiser, in consequence, speaks sometimes from an inevitable half-knowledge, and has occasionally to call in the Imperial authority to back up his verdict against the judgment of professionals. Thus the Kaiser blossomed out of a sudden into Dr. Koch's warmest patron; he has repeatedly been at loggerheads with his Academy over the merits of particular pictures; he swept away every one of the models that had been sent in for the national monument to his grandfather; and at least once he became a dramatic censor and almost indeed a stage-manager. Only last year, he was lecturing painters on chiaroscuro and sculptors on the proper chiselling of draperies, and the whole world on art in general. He is still fighting the Berlin municipality because it wishes to run cars down the Unter den Linden. He has reversed the decision of the annual Schiller Prize Jury, and once at least he published some verses of his own, an "Ode to Aegir." It had to be followed up, however, with so many prosecutions for lèse-majesté, on account of the parodies that appeared in the press, that he has not repeated the experiment.

I have said that the Kaiser's energies are animated and directed by intelligence and sense of duty. This last is a static quality, and governs the whole. The Kaiser has the highest possible conception of what he owes to the nation and of what the nation owes to him. The two are blended so inextricably that they must be considered together. If William II. appealed to the divine right as a sufficient reason for crushing out all opposition, there

would be no more to be said. But he does nothing of the kind. Believing with all the might of his earnest and deeply religious nature that he and his are the agents appointed by Heaven to lead the German Empire to greatness and success, he realizes that the position exacts terrible obligations. These obligations he strives unceasingly to live up to. Duty has been from the first his paramount watchword. On the very eve of his marriage he exercised his company as usual, and on the morning of the ceremony rode over to Potsdam at six o'clock to decorate a sergeant-major. There is a strain of real loftiness in his orations on the duties of royalty. "You know," he once said, "that I regard my position as appointed for me by God, and in this consciousness I daily labor; and be assured that every morning and evening of my life I begin and end the day with a prayer for my empire, my realm, and Brandenburg, which is so near to my heart." Again: "This 'Kingship by the grace of God' expresses the fact that we Hohenzollerns accept our crown only from Heaven, and are responsible to Heaven for the performance of its duties. I, too, am animated by this view, and am resolved to act and govern on this principle." In all this there is nothing ridiculous. If sincerely held—and there is no question of the sincerity with which the Kaiser holds it—it is as fine and inspiriting an ideal as any ruler could be possessed by. Year in and year out, it braces the Kaiser to a sum total of exertion that without some such support would prove too much for any human being. He was once accused of spending too much of his time on sea-voyages. His reply showed a very pleasing aspect of the man. "Whoever," he said, "alone with himself on the high seas, standing on the ship's bridge, with only God's firmament above him, has entered into the chamber of his own heart, will not mistake the value of such a voyage. I could wish that many of my countrymen might know such hours, in which a man can give account to himself of what he has won and done. Here lies a cure for over-estimation of self, and that we all need." Such a man is not of the type that spares himself or allows others to spare themselves. He levies unstinted toll on himself, but he expects as severe a tribute from his subjects. Moulding himself on the solid principle of duty, he looks for all others to do likewise. It is this sense of the paramountcy of duty, at least as much as his dread of revolution, that inspires those periodic harangues in which his soldiers are warned

that the time may come when, in obedience to orders, they will have to shoot down their own fathers and brothers in the streets. Were the Kaiser a private in his own army there would be at least one German soldier for whom such reminders would be superfluous.

It is, therefore, only fair to remember that the assumption of the divine right throws a heavier burden on the Kaiser than on any one else. His notion of an ubiquitous paternalism is one that other nations have rather left behind them. It still has to be recorded that under his guidance it has scored in Germany many a brilliant triumph. Without it, indeed, where would Germany be to-day? We catch too readily at the absurder side of it, at the royal photographs with their "*Sic volo, sic jubeo*" inscription, the lèse-majesté trials, and so on. We laugh at the haughty sentence: "There is only one master in this country, and I am he. I shall suffer no other beside me." We laugh again when the Kaiser declares that "the ways into which I and my government have struck are the right ways, nor can I deviate from the path which I have prescribed to myself, and for which I have only to answer to God and my conscience." We laugh once more when he laments that "even the word opposition has reached my ears. Gentlemen, an opposition of Prussian noblemen, directed against their King, is a monstrosity." But we should, at the same time, remember that if any man can earn the right to speak so and to act so at this day, then the Kaiser has earned it; that he is himself a harder worker than any of his subjects, and that the example he sets of devotion to a great ideal is one that no country can afford to be without. He believes in monarchy as an acting force, believes in it as Americans believe in their Constitution. And it is just because he believes in it that he calls in to its support every accessory that his nimble mind suggests. His love of ceremony is often ascribed to mere vanity, but that surely is wrong. No doubt he likes it for itself and for its artistic effect; but he values it, in the main, because it adds to the majesty and imposingness, and therefore to the popularity, of the throne. No man would change his uniform six times in a couple of hours for the mere fun of the thing. The Kaiser does it because it is his maxim that a thing worth doing at all is worth doing well; and if he carries out that maxim in little things, he does not forget it in great.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

WHAT CONSTITUTES A PLAY?

BY MARGUERITE MERINGTON.

It is constantly asked, What constitutes a play? and many are the answering formulas the bookmen have laid down. However, in this, as in all things that are the product of creative force, there comes a point at which definition stands still before a subtle, unreducible something that eludes analysis, transcends interpretation, and yet by its sympathetic appeal to the spirit proves itself the essential quality. For the advent of this divine messenger the artist at best can only prepare conditions and set wide the door. Its response to his invitation will remove him forever from the rank of artisans, yet no more than these can he explain its true nature. All said and done, the quickening spirit that turned the statue Galatea into Galatea the woman always will remain the gift capriciously bestowed, the jealously guarded secret of the gods.

The play differs from other art-products in this respect, that when it has left its maker's hands it still is incomplete. It is but one bar of a trinity in which player-folk and play-going folk must be component elements. On occasions when the literary and leisured classes rub social elbows, it is not an infrequent experience for the craftsman in dramatic art to be enjoined, "Oh, you must meet Mr. So-and-so; he has written a play!" And when the craftsman enquires, "And, pray, Mr. So-and-so, where has your play been produced?" the response, accentuated with a pained shudder of superiority, is like to be, "Oh, my plays are not intended to be produced!" Satisfaction in this attenuated negation is possible for the incurable amateur alone. To the workman it is grotesque, as though a boat-builder were to boast that his craft had been designed with the express purpose of remaining forever on the stocks, without matching her strength and

fleetness against wind and wave; it is pathetic, as if prospective parents should calmly petition Heaven for a lifeless child! True, every abortive art-attempt cannot be too early, too conclusively, exposed on the nearest Mount Taygetus; but equally true it is that every art-attempt that has been nobly begotten and healthily born owns the birthright of all created things, to clamor lustily and fight to the death for life!

Produceableness, actableness, fitness to be presented before witnesses, is the crucial test—a test from which the highest literary or readable merit does not exempt it—of a play's title to the name. To the uninitiate, a drama in manuscript presents a story indicated by a technical arrangement of gesture, speech and silences; to the mind that conceived it, it already is a veritable incarnation, demanding actors to demonstrate it and audiences to attest its right to live. A play come to full fruition is a story about fictitious persons, represented by real persons in the presence of people. Each scene, each phase of its development its author has lived through in the puppet-booth of his imagination, whose marionettes are the children of his psychic fatherhood, the persons of the play.

Persons, as everybody knows, originally were personifications. Types, composites, symbols, rather than human portraitures, they began by presenting themselves as exaggerated or contracted figures, whose voices were sounded through the mask that accounts etymologically for their name, walking on stilts to aggrandize the dignity of suffering, comic by token of extraordinary fatness or leanness, and so on till they declined into the homilists of Miracle and Mystery, with labels, vicious or virtuous, tied about their necks. But we have changed all that. The change, dating some centuries back, discarded stilts and symbols, and drew, crudely, ruggedly, but honestly, from nature's self. Angels long since were relegated to sacred edifices and grand opera; wickedness no more is concentrated in one solipsistic gentleman, but is a public fund in art; the modern play aims to paint pictures of life—life romantic or idealized, but still the life that is or that could be lived by persons we know, or whom we should, or possibly should not, like to know.

Dressed in the garb of contemporaneous life, to repeat the eternal myth of life is the function of the play. Through whatever exterior forms and fashions the drama may pass, of all the

arts it always has been, is, and will be nearest of kin to life; and that, not because living men and women are implicated in its representation, but because it is fundamentally an epitome of life, a complete statement of the human case in art.

Then, concerning the marionettes, how many does it take to make a play? The *donnée* of a story assented to, what characters must be impressed to set forth its argument? What colligation of men and women, and in what combinations and contrasts, is necessary dramatically to state the case of Man and Woman which is the basis of all stories?

The wise child in playcraft works out his problem with the smallest possible number of masks, and that from no sordid intent to minimize the salary list, but in order to avoid confusing his audience with superfluous complications and relationships. When he introduces a mob, a crowd, or a chorus, he makes it speak as a unit, so that, bringing to the story the value of but one point of view, it may be rated on the playbill as one person. This being so, can the play devote itself to a single, pivotal character—a hero, perchance, dealing with events of map-changing import? Impossible. It is the time-honored office of the bard who is backed by the epic muse to celebrate arms and the hero; and, though in all the epics, at the outset, a woman has made the mischief that has set nations by the ears, still in the resultant story she plays no essential part. The solitary hero belongs to the epos, not the play. Humanly, and therefore dramatically, speaking, it is not good for man to be alone.

Woman by herself, artistically considered, has no status, and exists only by the courtesy of man. Outside the pale of natural human relationships, the drama of the ages has accorded her no place. Vainly the Woman Suffragists and chivalrous masculinity will cast about for names wherewith to contradict this thesis; till a new dispensation shall prevail it must stand. Penelope was a wife before she was a heroine; the Maid of Saragossa was a heroine because she was a lover; the heroineship of Boadicea arose from her widowhood, when the call of outraged maternity goaded her into the avenging chariot. In the battle of sex and the battle of arms alike, Woman, however stubborn her resistance, must finally meet her match—nay, her conqueror!—in Man. Artistic completeness demands that Bradamant shall succumb to Ruggiero; that the Amazonian Penthesilea shall die on the breast of her

dearest foe Achilles; that the beautiful Miss Byron who has adopted six volumes' full of brothers shall marry Sir Charles at the conclusion. In art, when the Virgin deliberately renounces the sex-love that is her birthright, it must be in the service of some high spiritual cause that leads her to unsex herself in glorious martyrdom like La Pucelle, or in a nunnery to be refined away into the sexless vestal, like Thérèse and other sainted brides of Heaven.

Since, then, one individual obviously fails to be dramatic, let us ascertain what possibilities lie in a company of two. The answer is contained in the word "company," whose sweet concordance the traditional third person is needed to break up. The pair whom God hath joined, or it-was-a-lover-and-his-lass, being the elemental two in the predestined scheme of sex, it seems as if it might fairly be expected of them to represent the human case in art. But a brief consideration will show that this is not the case, and that a third and discordant note must enter to show them up in their true relation toward each other and toward the harmonies of life. Drama implies mischief, a dislocation of orderly events, a disturbance of Heaven-ordained peace. The essence of drama is trouble leading to catastrophe, and it is whether the catastrophe is averted or submitted to that stamps the drama tragedy or comedy. All proverbs to the contrary, notwithstanding, it takes more than two to engender trouble; to make, or make up, a quarrel. The pair, the man and woman in an ideal union, form the pastoral, the idyl, whose course runs too smoothly to be dramatic, and whose foregone conclusion of happy-ever-after is bought by no spectacular heroics, no red outlay of histrionic blood. Attuned to such bucolic strain, the world began with the beauty of all Eden for *mise-en-scène;* accordingly, of drama there was no hint till the third person lifted its head, tempter of parable, villain of the play. As a character in one of Ben Jonson's comedies remarks, "There's no play without a devil or a fool in it!" This serpent of the paradise may be a fiend personified, or an incarnate fool, or his malign activities may vent themselves subjectively in any one of his protean forms of sin and folly; but, whatever the mask he may choose to wear, his existence is indispensable to dramatic art. His is the sombre shadow needed to throw the white light of virtue into high relief. Three, then, clearly, is the mystic number from which arises the

dramatic quality: broadly speaking, the burden of a dramatic story will fall upon a trinity, one of whom may be a subjective agent. Iago is a personal devil, but in "Macbeth" the overweening ambition of a loving wife is the incorporeal demon of the tragedy. All other characters beside these three generally are collateral or accessory, and as Horace sagely advises, "Nor let the fourth person be officious to speak!" Two persons and a passion may possibly make a play, but three persons never fail to engender both a passion and a play. In such a combination the clash of conflicting interests will best be shown by opposition of sex, or by lack of balance in the proportion of the sexes. An insufficient number of suitable partners to go round will produce drama, just as surely as a dearth of wives on the Palatine Hill made history.

> "Here on this beach, a hundred years ago,
> "Three children of three houses, Annie Lee,
> "The prettiest little damsel in the port,
> "And Philip Ray . . . and Enoch Arden played!"

The keynote of drama is struck in these opening lines of the poem when three persons are announced, one of them being beautiful, since for only two can there be a satisfaction of the heart interest; so that, no matter how events may be manipulated, some one must be sacrificed. Summing it up, then, two men will unite in peaceful partnership; a group of men will coalesce more or less harmoniously into a firm; two women will maintain an alliance for defensive or aggressive purposes; a band of women will resolve themselves into a club; a man and a woman left to themselves and to each other will settle down to undramatic domesticity, if not happiness—but, given two women and one man, or two men and one woman, and the outcome is a play!

While the love-contest of the sexes habitually serves for basic theme, this is by no means an invariable rule. Ofttimes a cause, a kingdom, is the real bride of the play. Conquest, not Katharine, is the romantic object of Henry the Fifth's desiderative quest. Occasionally, as in "The Two Captives" of Plautus, a dramatist is so hazardous as wholly to banish woman from his scheme. Sometimes filial or parental love is the *leit-motif;* or, as in the "Antigone" of Sophocles it is sisterly devotion that inspires the tragedy. But the majority of plays read their culmination in the

bridal synthesis. The typical drama offers a statement of the human case in its relation to the spiritual forces underlying destiny—and every complete statement of the human case calls for man and woman, shadow and light; man and woman, joy and pain; man and woman, hope and despair; man and woman, Hell and Heaven!

It is in the skill with which he groups the persons of a play that the cunning of a master's hand reveals itself; and it is the range of emotion allotted to these persons that measures the greatness of the theme. The dramatist must be judged in part by what he has to say, and partly by the way in which he says it. The literary beauty of "Hamlet" is monumental; in its subjective plan, mark what forces are at work—the natural affection subsisting between father and daughter, brother and sister, mother and son; reverence for the sainted dead; love of country, sex-love, friendship, loyalty; and the antithesis of these: guilty lust, servility, cunning, treachery. What chord of the passional symphony is there that in this masterpiece has not been struck!

It is to be noted that Shakespeare's grouping of his persons generally involves some daring idea of contrast. The coquettish grace of a Rosalind's wooing is offset by Phœbe's clumsy pursuit of Ganymede. Hamlet's counterfeit dementia is placed in startling juxtaposition to Ophelia's unsimulated ravings. "Enter Edgar disguised as a madman" is closely followed by "Enter Lear fantastically dressed with flowers!" Throughout Shakespeare's pages the folly of wisdom is confronted with the wisdom of the fool. And so, in the winding mazes of a drama, the marionettes must perpetually come together in relations that blend, contrast, and enhance one another, just as, in an orchestral number, all the instruments are laid under contribution, according to the value of their several temperaments—the romantic strings, the plaintive or playful woodwinds, the assertive, martial brasses, the low-comedy percussives—to produce a harmonious whole!

One weighty obligation rests upon the playwright toward the characters his art informs with life, and that is his undying responsibility for their character! In the playwright's longer catechism, the fidelity with which he follows up these children of his fancy to the altar or the grave will count as a cardinal point in his salvation, his claim to immortality. The saying that in the long run it is character that tells, has its direct application

to the drama, where character becomes a matter not of the Christian virtues, but of characterization. The modern manner, having outgrown the artificial stage where human nature was delineated by personified impossibilities, insists that every person on the playbill shall be a personality. The character-conception of each sojourner on the scene must be clean cut, its development must proceed with inexorable logic on the lines of its own individuality, from its initial entrance, from its maiden speech, to the curtain's fall. Fortunately for art, the whilom trick of tagging *dramatis personae* with catchwords or the tedious iteration of some trivial phrase, is out of date; and, while dialect, physical or national peculiarities, all may lend some color-value when handled with skill, yet characterization is something that goes below the skin, deep into the secret places of the heart and soul. The deformity of Giovanni Malatesta, the fiery nature betokened by the swart complexion of the Moor, such eccentricities as these are legitimated by their indispensability to the play's catastrophe. And unless the man who signs his name to the play can enter with his own soul into each part, think it, feel it, speak it, in a measure do it, he cannot expect other men and women to enter into his conception sympathetically, which is the office of the audience, nor can other men and women translate his conception with love, which is the secret of the actor's art!

Just as the inexorable logic of character persists through the play's events, so no person on the playbill, however subordinate, can afford to be insignificant. Every word, essential gesture, expressive silence, devised by the playwright, must find its motive in the psychic essence of the part, must tend to some definite dramatic end in the structure of the play. These are no hard and fast rules framed by didactic theorists; they are the simple economics by which the great masters who knew what they were about have lived. The space within the puppet-booth is too restricted, too precious, ever to be cumbered lightly; therefore, in play-building no individual may be permitted to come upon the scene, or to remain upon the scene, without some clear errand that must be accounted for in words, or that must be so obvious as not to call for verbal explanation.

It is a vital principle within this puppet-booth, that, unless the marionettes are allowed to work, they will not play. The novelist, to whom is unlimited license to toy with time and space,

may talk about his people from sheer literary wantonness; but in a play there are no people; everybody on the playbill is a person, with a definite task to perform, and one which, moreover, no one else is qualified to perform, from announcing "The carriage waits, my lord!" to the killing of a Cæsar. Then, when the man has done his dramatic duty, he has earned from his author a happy or unhappy but definite dismissal, even if, like the Fool in "Lear," he goes to bed at noon!

In its last analysis, the play must stand for the logic of character working through the logic of events. The marionettes in the puppet-booth are expected to keep their audience surprised, interested, by the things they say and do; but when all has been said and done, the things they say and do are the only things those particular persons under those particular circumstances could have said and done! However fanciful the premises the playwright asks his audience to accept, in the sequence of his happenings he owes them the logic of truth.

That the persons of the play, under extraordinary conditions, shall produce on an audience the effect of human nature, is the touchstone of the playwright's art—and the possibilities of art are infinite as those of human nature.

MARGUERITE MERINGTON.

ŒDIPUS AND THE SPHINX.

BY EDGAR FAWCETT.

"THIS way, Lysander," shouted Œdipus,
"Why tarriest thou inert?
Here, where these bluff crags glisten against the blue,
Our fated path sheers. Come!
A hollow of rock is twisted summitward,
Even as I said. From yonder vale we reach,
By just these devious clamberings, we two,
The vile Thing's lair.
So shall we steal upon It, swords alert,
Ere It hath time to turn Its greedy gaze
From the broad popular stream-rimmed street.
Nay, boy, thy courage? Hast thou moulted it
Like a sick eagle his feathers? Come!"

"Look, Œdipus!" Yards down, through prongs of cliff,
Lysander's cry shot shuddering.
"By this dread signal, rolled from yonder steeps,
We are warned! The fates rule unpropitiable!
Fare back, dear friend,
Fare back, though all Thebes hiss thy baffled vaunt!
Fare back, I adjure thee!"

Pity and scorn laughed Œdipus, and now
Impetuously upsprang.
Cloakless his breast and shoulders braved the breeze
With symmetries august
As those the great Greek sculptors give their gods;
With feet a goat's for surety, and his eyes
Radiant rebellious.

The strait ravine veered narrowing till it coiled
A stair whose rough sides pricked his restless arms.
Then sudden, as though your step
Should crush dry reeds, the youth trod snarls of bones
In hideous lacework; some gnawed nude,
And others bloody and ragged, as from wrench
Of ravelling teeth. He paused,
An instant numbed by nausea; then
Dashed on and up, imperious, terrible.

At last the ascent ceased, and a flat space gleamed,
Ranged round with splints of rock, and foully paved
With pallors and raw reds of carnage. Here
Lodged the unutterable Thing.
Here, here—but where? Beyond him, drowsed
With marble might of tower and temple Thebes·
But ere one reached it, one must thread
The people's way—wide-winding cityward
Between two bright streams, Dirce and Ismenus
For months by this live Horror sentinelled.

Here, there, the youth gazed searching—
Stony yellow, and stony brown,
And stony white on every side of him!
No hint of life, all immobility—Ah!
Yonder a movement! Yellow and brown and white,
Like Its encompassings, a Shape sprawled huge.
He dashed to assault It; but his two-edged sword
Grew instantaneously void air,
While the Shape turned and looked on him.

A lion, a bird, yet human! Œdipus
Felt first the intense monstrosity
Of wings half sheathed, of leonine body. Then
A woman's breast, a woman's face
Dizzied him with wild wonder. Centuries
Of effort to attain the beautiful
Seemed in that breast and visage concentrate.
Massive were both, yet rich with delicacies;
The neck, throat, bust, one lily of regal grace;

The lips, a flowering passion; brow, cheek, chin,
Melodiously attuned and intertwined,
As if their curves were rhythms of some high strain
Inaudible here, and heard alone in realms
Where gods commingle; and the eyes,
For pupil and orbit grand,
Emeralds of drowsy mystery, drowsy fire,
Twilights of eves or dawns, howbeit the soul
Might will to interpret them; twin deeps,
Fathomless and crepuscular.

Rallying from shock, spake Œdipus: "Thou art
That pest who fain would desolate fair Thebes.
Thou art goddess, too; else my stout sword
Had not so vanished from this grasp whose aim
Was thy destruction."

Loiteringly the Sphinx: "I am goddess. Why
Hast thou adventured thus
By sidelong stealth upon my vantage—thou,
A mortal? Didst thou dream
By trickeries to o'erthrow me? Look
On these crude records of audacity
Less rash than thine."

"I have looked," he hurled, still obdurate
Though awed. "I have known, besides,
The abomination of thy questionings
To all who pass thee. Nay, if such thy power,
Kill me, as thou hast melted into naught
The sword I had meant to plunge in thy dark heart.
Yet, ere thy Riddle is asked,
Thy Riddle it bodes quick death
To fail of answering, tell me what thou art,
And wherefore, and how long thy beauty of beast,
Blent with thy beauty of woman, shall inflict
Bane upon Thebes."

"I tell thee nothing. Guess my Riddle or die."

With fierceness of the tiger and wolf in one,

He darted toward her. "Give thy Riddle, O fiend,
And may the gods befriend me!"

"Fatuous boy," she laughed,
In calm of supercilious indolence,
"Guess this." And then with tones of gold,
Languid, yet savoring of harsh cruelty,
She further spake. What fell from her was not
The old legendary enigma, catchword snare,
That children learn to-day, but weightfuller
With many a pregnant meaning. Time
Was in it, and eternity, and the flux
Or reflux of man's destiny; the laws
Of love, hate, honor, duty, obedience;
Of art, song, music and the idealisms
That haunt us with such tender tyrannies;
The starry and silver cobweb spun by space;
The whither, whence, beginning, end of all
We have named Divinity, glimpsed vague through life.
And ever amid this awful monologue,
A note of query implacably would ring,
Until at last the tones of gold grew hoarse:
"You hear my Riddle. Unweave it me, or die."

A trance had fallen on Œdipus. He stood
Statuesquely motionless and calm,
While some power made of him an oracle,
Delivering from unconscious lips
Largess of truth and wisdom. Then he waked,
As from a dream sublime, with echo and throb
Of thoughts miraculous in brain and blood.

But violently the Sphinx
Had risen erect. Against her lion flanks
Lashed the sleek lion tail; her claws distent
Rasped the tough rock; strange pulses woke
In her chimæric wings. Yet boundless burned
The tragedy of anguish on her face.

"Thine is the victory. Take it, Œdipus!
I had feared this, dubiously, yet feared it. Now

The death dealt many another swings
Back with annihilation upon myself.
But thou, my conqueror, be thou merciful!
Think not of me hereafter in hard scorn,
As glacial intellect with animalism
Conjoined, an individuality
Spurred by its own will to its own crime. Nay,
I was but the incarnate Prophecy
Of what the People in future years will prove,
Half bestial and half spiritual. I flaunt
My Riddle, as they will flaunt their own.
Time thus doth pre-delineate their wild need,
And they will punish, even as I have done,
Thousands incapable of answering it.
But thou art emblem of the omnipotence
Which Knowledge, luminous guide and guard and god
Of man, will somehow, sometime, somewhere, pour
Torrentially, beneficently down
Upon his darkness and his ignorance.
For all is Knowledge; even the loftiest Love
Is parcel of it. We are but images
And symbols. In rehearsal weird
Thou hast slain me, Superstition. Thou,
Science, assaulter of the Unknowable
Until it yields its ultimate secret, thou
Must suffer, and with exorbitance of pain,
This being the doom of all who fight to tear
From nature, deity, what thou wilt, its mask
Of incommunicable reserve—
O Œdipus, farewell! yet thou shalt fare,
I fear me, not so calmly as I, whom now
Morningless night enshrouds. We are shadows both,
Flung on the eternal by the temporal,
And both in shadow at last one shadowland
Obliviously shall sepulchre. Farewell!"

"Stay, stay!" cried Œdipus, "I am fain
To question of thee . . " But, with drearier cry
The Sphinx, her vast vans opening, upward soared.
One moment lofty in air she hung.

Without a quiver of plumage, hung serene,
As though in fixity perpetual. Then,
With speed to have shamed the eye's alertest wink,
Whirled herself to the chaos whence she had come.

EDGAR FAWCETT.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND "THE TRUSTS"

BY JOSEPH S. AUERBACH.

It is safe to say that the most important contribution yet made to the literature of so-called Trusts has been the series of addresses lately delivered by Mr. Roosevelt. The views of the ordinary citizen on the subject, while they may be interesting, are for the most part academic; the settled convictions of the President of the United States stand for a good deal more.

In the opinion of Mr. Roosevelt, the evil, or tendency to evil, in Trusts is so evident that the intervention of the National Government with new authority by means of a sweeping, far-reaching Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, is alone equal to the pressing emergency of their investigation and control.

The phraseology of Mr. Roosevelt is as unique as his plan.

In Cincinnati, where he delivered his last elaborate address upon the subject, it was said:

"The necessary supervision and control, in which I firmly believe as the only method of eliminating the real evils of the trusts, must come through nicely and cautiously framed legislation, which shall aim in the first place to give definite control to some sovereign over the great corporations."

Then, it is stated, will come the knowledge necessary for action, and then the action. And again:

"We need additional power and we need knowledge. Our Constitution was framed when the economic conditions were so different that each State could easily be left to handle the corporations within its limits as it saw fit. Nowadays, all the numerous corporations which I am considering do what is really an Inter-State business, and as the States have proceeded on very different lines in regulating them, they are often organized in a State in which they do little or no business, and do an enormous business in other States contrary to the spirit of whose laws they may be openly antagonistic."

Because there seems to be no prospect of uniform action by the several States towards these corporations it is urged that:

"The States must combine to meet the problem caused by the great combinations of capital, and the easiest way for the States to combine is by action through the National Government."

It is then stated that "a good deal can be done by law"—though there is little or no information as to what it is to be a good deal of—yet a Constitutional Amendment is advocated for procuring, through enforced publicity, the requisite knowledge of the doings of these corporations and for the promulgation of plans for their regulation.

We are thus brought face to face with a plan startling in its possible consequences. Precedents and traditions which have become an accepted part of our political institutions, and under which our commercial activities have been developed until we have come to our existing internal prosperity and to our admitted place in the councils of the world, are to be abandoned in favor of what, we believe, can be shown to be nothing more nor less than an experiment. The National Government is not merely to regulate, but, through the coercion of a Constitutional Amendment and of mandatory statutes, is to have an important voice in the origin and development of commerce; the purposes of corporations are to be the subject of national inquiry. State lines are in large part to be obliterated; Centralization is at last to be enthroned.

A great step this—backward or forward, as the case may be. We may have come to the necessity for it all; the body politic may be so diseased as to require such heroic treatment, but we shall do well to have it first made abundantly clear to us that this condition exists and is not merely guessed at.

Within the limits of a magazine article, it is proposed briefly to consider the views of Mr. Roosevelt with all respect, and yet with the feeling that, when he becomes the advocate of such a departure, not associated with his executive position, he subjects himself to ordinary comment and criticism.

The Constitutional Amendment and subsequent legislation are not described, except that they are to be nicely and cautiously framed. In fact, any knowledge as to what the form of either ought to be is disclaimed, but it is announced that the first aim must be to give definite control to a Sovereign over these corporations. There is, it will be noticed, no hesitation in going to the

logical conclusion to which such views lead; and old phrases, long since discarded, reappear to do good service when centralization in the National Government is aimed at anew.

Again, and with like appropriateness for such a plan, the Constitution is spoken of as having been adopted under conditions where each State could easily be "left to handle the corporations, within its limits, as it sees fit." The idea of a sovereign power in the United States, dominant in Mr. Roosevelt's mind, must be responsible for this expression. The States were not "left" by any one to handle the corporations within their limits. The powers of the General Government are not those which remain after the transfer to the States of their respective powers. On the contrary, the powers of the General Government represent simply the sum total of the concessions from the several States. The States retained what they did not part with. This is not a technical, over-refined distinction. It is fundamental, and on it rests one of the underlying principles of construction of the Constitution. Express language of the Constitution itself has made this abundantly clear.

Among its first Amendments, interpreted by the United States Courts not to contain restrictions on the powers of States, but to operate solely upon the powers of the Federal Government, it is provided that:

> "The powers not delegated to the United States, by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

It is announced, too, that this power was "left in" the States, as this could conveniently, or, to use the precise words, easily be done, since, when the Constitution was framed, "the economic conditions were so different." Though this expression is not quite clear, it is fair to assume that what is meant is that our commercial relations were then either so insignificant as to be negligible, or that they were deemed to be of such a character that it was proper or easy to permit the States to exercise the control over corporations now authorized by law.

These views are not correct. The States have the power because they chose to retain it, and the economic or commercial conditions then in existence were not only given full consideration, but were regarded as of such vast importance that from them, more than from any other source, came the Constitution itself.

So complete was the confusion in those conditions that there were then urgent reasons, wholly lacking now, for surrendering to the National Government the power sought for by Mr. Roosevelt.

The Articles of Confederation failed of their purpose and were productive of good results only while the people were under arms. Even as the War of the Revolution dragged on, the inherent weakness of the Government came to be more and more apparent. With victory and peace came the realization that the hope of the survival of the nation lay in some new and additional power in a common head. "A nation without a national government," Hamilton had termed the United States under the Articles of Confederation. The inability of the Government to impose or collect taxes was serious enough, but the chief defect lay deeper still and is voiced in the call by Virginia for a new compact between the States. New York had taxed the products of New Jersey, and New Jersey those of New York. Virginia taxed the tobacco of North Carolina. There was serious conflict between the States of Maryland and Virginia, in the navigation of the Potomac and Chesapeake Bay; and the States, according to their whims or supposed interest, had laid imposts upon foreign commerce.

This ever-famous resolution of Virginia, looking to a conference of the representatives of all the States, was the recognition of the hopelessness of the existing confusion. It was the foundation of the movement for the establishment of the Constitution, and it made these commercial interests its very corner-stone. It declared that the purpose was:

> "To take into consideration the trade of the United States, to examine the relative situations and trade of the said States; to consider how far an uniform system in their commercial relations may be necessary to their common interest and their permanent harmony."

The Constitutional Convention, afterwards convened, adopted, as the solution of the difficulty, the provision of the Constitution that Congress shall have power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes."

Even under the urgent need of a national control over commerce, the provision was adopted without a full realization of what was to be its final construction by the Courts. The views of the framers of the Constitution, and the first decisions of our inferior

courts, all point to a limited construction of this provision, rejected in the great decisions ultimately interpreting it. The States, while intending to reserve to themselves co-ordinate powers with Congress, had vested in Congress a wider and more complete control of commerce than was ever contemplated. The discussion as to the adoption of the exclusive right to regulate commerce with the Indian tribes, proposed to be reproduced from the Articles of Confederation, leaves no doubt on this point; nor is there any question that the provision as it now stands would have been essentially modified if the decision of the higher courts could have been read into it as a context.

But, though it had been supposed that this power of regulation was to be concurrently exercised by the States, the broader construction was adopted, and now in Congress alone resides the exclusive power to regulate commerce. In like manner, the word "commerce," which at the time of the adoption of the Constitution meant primarily transportation, has broadened in meaning, keeping pace with the development of the country, until it includes now communication, and even intercourse, between the States.

Under this Constitutional provision, Congress has passed the Sherman or Anti-Trust Act of 1890, with its sweeping condemnation of all contracts in restraint of Inter-State commerce; and the Supreme Court of the United States has left no doubt either as to its constitutionality or its scope. It has been liberally, not narrowly or strictly, construed. It has been held to reach all contracts in restraint of trade, even though slight and reasonable. The common-law rule making unreasonableness to be the test of the invalidity of trade restraint, was wholly discarded in the framing of this legislation, with consequences to which we shall refer below.

Again, as above quoted, it is said:

> "Nowadays, all the numerous corporations which I am considering do what is an Inter-State business, and as the States have proceeded on very different lines in regulating them, they are often organized in a State in which they do little or no business, and do an enormous business in other States contrary to the spirit of whose laws they may be openly antagonistic."

Supposing this to be so, no one need have any solicitude for the States whose policy or whose laws are opposed to the doings of objectionable corporations created by other States. In so far

as these corporations are not engaged in Inter-State commerce, the right of regulation is in the States. Even where they are engaged in Inter-State commerce, each State may for itself determine how far they shall do business by way of having offices, plants and property within its limits. It can deny to them pretty much everything except the means necessary for soliciting the sale of a product, and its subsequent transportation and delivery. Except when, and to the extent that, they are engaged in the exercise of Inter-State commerce, each State has the right to exclude corporations of other States, from doing business within its borders. It need give no reasons for its action; its power is complete and final. It may act from insufficient causes, yet there is no appeal.

All these questions have long since been set at rest by decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

This proposed Constitutional Amendment, wresting from the State the control of its own corporations and the right of exclusion of corporations of other States, would vest in Congress the substantial control of all commercial interests; for the business of this country is to-day in large part transacted by its large corporations. If there were no other objection to the plan, its abrupt transition would be sufficient to condemn it. But the substance, not the form, of the change is its chief objection; for no plan could, it is believed, go further than the proposed Amendment to break down State lines, and to deprive vested interests of the security of State refuge, which may be so vital in the future.

"No political dreamer," says Chief Justice Marshall, "was ever wild enough to think of breaking down the lines which separate the States, and of compounding the people into one common mass." If the time for such political dreaming has come at last, then, when it is too late, there may well be a rude awakening to a more hopeless condition of things than even the chaos out of which the order of the Constitution itself was fashioned.

Not simply conjecture of evil in some of these corporations, but only the demonstration of great evil in all of them, would justify overturning the nicely balanced reciprocal National and State authority, now an accepted part of our institutions, and then only after every other reasonable device had been tried and discarded. Urgent cases make bad law; but at least the emergency is provided for, even though a harmful precedent be established. Here there is not yet the demonstrated emergency to be dealt with, and the

adoption of the proposed plan might work great injury without even the correction of a discovered evil.

Mr. Roosevelt does not attempt to recite any evils against trusts, but leaves this part of the subject with the simple statement that "the evils attendant upon over-capitalization alone are, in my judgment, sufficient to warrant a closer supervision and control than now exists over the great corporations."

Mr. Knox, also, the Attorney-General of the United States, an accomplished lawyer and the chief legal adviser of the President, in a late speech before the Pittsburg Chamber of Commerce, supplementing Mr. Roosevelt's views on the subject, singles out over-capitalization.

Mr. Knox recites various other evils, which it is impossible to consider within the limits of this article. They, however, may be said to group themselves into two classes: those in the one class, we believe, are largely conjectured; for those in the other class existing laws give ample redress, or the mere lapse of time should work a solution.

As to over-capitalization, upon which both Mr. Roosevelt and himself fix as the "very head and front of the offending" of these corporations, Mr. Knox says:

"Over-capitalization is the chief of these, and the source from which the minor ones flow. It is the possibility of over-capitalization that furnishes the temptations and opportunities for most of the others. Over-capitalization is the imposition upon an undertaking of a liability without a corresponding asset to represent it. Therefore, over-capitalization is a fraud upon those who contribute the real capital either originally or by purchase, and the efforts to realize dividends thereon from operations is a fraudulent imposition of a burden upon the public.

"The over-capitalized securities enter into the general budget of the country, are bought and sold, rise and fall, and they fluctuate between wider ranges and are more sensitive in proportion as they are further removed from intrinsic values, and, in short, are liable to be storm-centres of financial disturbances of far-reaching consequence. They also in the same proportion increase the temptation to mismanagement and manipulation by corporate administrators."

In so far as these alleged evils of over-capitalization have to do with the investor and not the consumer and the general public, we make no comment except that, if the investor is by misrepresentation misled to his prejudice, existing laws will protect him. In other cases, Wall Street can be depended on to take care of itself in such matters; it does not need to have its sagacity sup-

plemented by an Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. A centralized government is bad enough; but a paternal government demanding the aid of a Constitutional Amendment to protect speculators in inflated share capital, would be a rather dangerous and revolutionary substitute for the good old-fashioned doctrine of *caveat emptor*.

That over-capitalization is an evil every one must admit, but that it increases "the temptation to mismanagement and manipulation by corporate administrators," or that the effort to realize dividends upon over-capitalized shares is the source of great evils, we very much doubt. We believe that as a rule the history of corporate mismanagement would not bear out Mr. Knox, and we are dealing with the rule, and not with exceptions, for the remedy proposed is to be general, not specific. Corporate mismanagement is traceable to a good many sources, but the evil of over-capitalization is not one of its sources, but rather one of its manifestations; and, though we do not mean to suggest that we should dispense with the aid of statutes to prohibit over-capitalization,—quite the contrary—yet a Constitutional Amendment of the Constitution of the United States ought not to be sought as an agency to that end. Time or organization may be relied upon to correct much of this abuse of over-capitalization in industrial enterprises as has been the case with railroad corporations.

Over-capitalization in most cases contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction. Investors and financial institutions after a few bitter experiences are quick to let alone over-capitalized ventures, and the absence of a purchasing public and a diminished credit can be relied upon to cure a great deal of the evil of over-capitalization by making it unprofitable.

We do not believe that the desire for large earnings is measured by the size of the capital stock of a corporation. Nor do we believe the view to be correct as a rule—and we again emphasize the remark that we must deal with the rule and not with the exception—that the over-capitalizations of industrial corporations become the "storm-centres of financial disturbances." Certainly the last three financial disturbances of the country have not been attributed to this cause, nor do we recall any such instance. Financial disturbances arise from a variety of causes: from over-confidence followed by lack of confidence; from excessive speculation in good, bad and indifferent securities, in

products, in real estate; and from the neglect on the part of the public of ordinary principles of business prudence.

But there is frequently an underlying cause of this trouble. Periodical financial disturbances, according to the general testimony of experienced financial men of this country, entirely familiar with the subject of which they speak, are largely brought about because Congress continues to decline to adopt reasonable and urgently demanded changes in existing provisions as to our currency and our National Bank reserves. And if some part of the time that is spent in trying to catalogue the suspected evils of trusts were given to devising a sane financial policy for our Government, and to inculcating among the people the true principles of business prudence, we should be freer from financial disturbances; and what financial disturbances there might be would not be likely to rise to the dignity of having storm centres.

It is an error to suppose that these corporations can profit only by secret methods and that they are invariably opposed to a reasonable publicity as to their operations and conditions. The fact is that there are several conspicuous examples to the contrary. The United States Steel Corporation, since its organization, has without the coercion of law or statute treated its shareholders and the commercial world with all reasonable confidence. In this case, having the knowledge, is there the disclosed evil? And, if so, is any one prepared to suggest the remedy to be applied? Would it not be fair to assume that other corporations will of their own accord follow this example, or that either public opinion or the public Exchanges will exact of them similar frankness if it continue to be withheld?

It is to be borne in mind, too, that the great problem inherent in these vast aggregations of capital and intelligence—and intelligence constitutes much of the capital—is not yet understood; that much which seemed permanent has been found to be temporary; much of apparent import has become insignificant. Few of these corporations have succeeded in a way to justify the expectations of their promoters or the fears of their critics, and many a one has fallen of its own weight, not because it was too evil, but simply too big. Often has reorganization followed quickly on the heels of organization, and the attempt at an undue control of an industry, through the limitation of the output of a product or the fixing of its price, has not merely invited, but

really spawned, rival enterprises. "*In se magna ruunt,*" is the fitting epitaph for many a so-called trust.

To await a time when developments will have suggested beyond much doubt the best plan to be adopted in dealing comprehensively with the question, meanwhile calling all offending corporations to account for their misconduct, would seem to be the part of wisdom.

To apply a remedy before the real trouble is understood is to act unscientifically, nor is one a good physician to the body politic who does not appreciate that a disease, if it exist, must be eradicated by a treatment of its source, and not its symptoms, and that, as the French cynic declares, there are diseases which all remedies aggravate.

Still, Mr. Roosevelt, having undertaken to deal with this question, may have assumed responsibility for some prompt action, and, if the plan suggested by him be abandoned as impracticable, it is believed that another and a better course is possible. The suggestion is made, not because it is believed that the time is yet ripe for the most intelligent action, but because, as an experiment, it is thought preferable to the plan proposed.

Since the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States as to the constitutionality of the Act of Congress incorporating the Bank of the United States, it is accepted law that Congress can, in aid of governmental functions, create a corporation for the purpose of engaging in foreign or Inter-State commerce. Chief-Justice Marshall, in the United States Bank case, rested this power of Congress upon the authority of the Constitution, which, after enumerating specific powers, among them the power to regulate commerce between the States and with foreign countries, empowers Congress "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers."

Later expressions of the United States Supreme Court have not departed from this view; they have enlarged it.

Congress being authorized, therefore, to create corporations in aid of Inter-State commerce, it is believed that it can likewise pass a general Act under which corporations engaged in Inter-State commerce may be incorporated. The subject cannot be said to be free from doubt, but after a careful review of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States it is our judg-

ment that such an Act, if confined in its purposes to Inter-State commerce and its reasonably necessary incidents, could be so drawn as to be constitutional. And by these incidents we mean to be understood to go so far as to include the conduct or control by such corporations of the buying and selling and manufacture legitimately connected with their corporate objects.

Such an Act would require that corporations availing of its privileges should from time to time make public certain information deemed for the public good. Incorporation under such Act would, of course, be permissory, not compulsory; but, in consideration of the manifest advantages of incorporation under a National Act, it is probable that new corporations would avail themselves of the privileges offered, even though with the benefits of the Act there were associated this requirement of publicity, and, perhaps, other requirements. Existing corporations, even, might reincorporate under the Act.

Such an Act, to accomplish its purpose, must be fair and liberal, drawn upon the lines of the most enlightened thought concerning corporations. While it is not necessary that it should go as far in conferring powers as the Companies Acts of England, still it should meet the requirements of modern corporate business.

The State of New York, after a good deal of bitter experience with respect to its corporation act, offers an excellent illustration of the spirit in which Congress must legislate.

For many years, there had been upon the statute books of New York State the so-called Manufacturing and Mining Act. By successive amendments it was, in 1890, abreast of the most liberal acts of other States. In 1875, there had been passed another act called the Business Corporation Act. The latter was rarely, if ever, availed of. It was drawn by a lawyer not engaged in general practice; it was narrow, imperfect, unworkable in its provisions.

In 1890, a revision of the New York Statutes affecting corporations was determined upon, and to that end a commission was appointed. Unfortunately, the leading spirit on the commission was a lawyer with little professional experience. He determined, according to his own language, to pattern the new bill after what he called the "latest expression of the legislative will," the Act of 1875; the Manufacturing and Mining Act was repealed and a most objectionable law resulted. Not until two

years afterward, when a Committee of the New York Bar Association was appointed, was any progress made toward refashioning the Act.

To this Committee, of which the writer was a member, many amendments were conceded by the commission and adopted by the Legislature. Other changes were enacted in succeeding years until New York is beginning again to get a fair share of new corporations, and should get its full share if the tax feature of the act were appropriately modified.

But in the interval New Jersey had profited by the mistakes of New York, and the exodus of corporations from New York State to New Jersey began, and has continued ever since.

To bring about substantial results, the Act proposed must be drawn with a deliberate intent to adapt corporate forms to the transaction of commercial business, and with a full knowledge of the requirements of commerce as well as the technical structure of a corporation. Such an act should not be drawn without consultation with practising lawyers, who know the needs of their clients, and who can at least be as much depended upon as the average legislator to give due heed to the public welfare.

Perhaps the appointment by Congress of a Commission for the framing of such legislation might not be inappropriate. On such a Commission, in addition to members of Congress, might be representatives from Chambers of Commerce, practising lawyers, eminent judges. It is not impossible that among the representatives of organized labor might be found those able to render valuable public service on such a Commission.

Where a corporation organized under such an Act of Congress is engaged in Inter-State commerce, the States would be powerless to make any injurious regulation concerning it, and the right of a State to prohibit such corporations from doing business within its borders could be distinctly limited.

While it is true that many of the States have made provision by statute whereby corporations of other States, on compliance with prescribed terms, are entitled to carry on business within their borders, yet there are objectionable limitations and conditions in some of those statutes, construed at times by even ministerial officers. Not a little embarrassment has thus resulted, and the conduct of business and the ownership of property by these large corporations are not always under favorable conditions.

Not only could such restrictive statutes, in large part, be made nugatory, but it is reasonable to suppose that the broadest comity of the States would be expressed toward corporations organized under a National Act.

The United States courts could be given jurisdiction of all actions by and against such corporations, and, as occasions arose, their reorganization could more easily be effected, for only United States courts are fitted by wide experience and effectiveness of their decrees to deal with such an emergency.

Uniform taxation could be provided for.

There could be uniformity, too, of liability of Directors, capable of being enforced by prompt and well-defined procedure in the Courts of the United States. Along with all reasonable publicity, other reasonable requirements also could be provided for.

The securities of such corporations might well furnish a more attractive investment to the public than the securities of State corporations, and the more general such an investment should become, the closer would be the relations of producer and consumer, and the less the likelihood of hostility between them.

Though by no means all, these are among the results to be looked for from a judicious Act of Congress. Assuming that such an Act can be so drawn as to be constitutional, and that it will be availed of by men having in hand large commercial enterprises—and both these assumptions are quite as reasonable as that a Constitutional Amendment of the kind proposed, even if it could be brought about, would have the desired effect—then we shall secure publicity, which seems to be the chief object of the Constitutional Amendment. And we should secure a good deal besides.

The whole theory of our nicely balanced control of State and Inter-State commerce ought, with the exercise of only reasonable comity by the States, to be worked out in practice under such an Act, not after long years, by sweeping changes or at best by doubtful expedients, but promptly, by reason of and not in spite of the Constitution. Lastly the result will come without coercion.

We are not without experience as to the choice of methods in such matters.

In the recent anthracite-coal strike the right of coercion against the coal operators was doubtful, although it was claimed they represented a so-called Trust. At best, coercion meant delay, the suffering of rich and poor, and no end of conflict between labor

and capital. Mr. Roosevelt brought about a peaceable and prompt adjustment of a momentous situation and received the acclamations of a grateful people. He was in truth a *Deus ex machina*. He can gain like credit now in the case of Trusts by a solution less dramatic, though it may be at least equally efficacious. In fact, there are many men standing for the best citizenship who, while hoping that the action taken in this great emergency will not be productive of evil consequences, hope, too, that it should not establish any precedent; who believed that any intervention was inadvisable when the reign of law was challenged by public disorder and by bloodshed, and that a winter's comfort might be dearly bought at the price of a compromise with labor defiant, mutinous and under arms.

In the light of this experience it would be rather anomalous if these corporations, because some of them are accused at the most of avoiding or, if one will have it so, of evading State and National statutes, are not to be accorded judicious and temperate consideration.

Of course, the experiment suggested is a simple one, but such experiments ought to be simple. Important changes in our organic law which dates from the foundation of the Republic should come by growth, and not by abrupt creation.

Compared with the plan of a Constitutional Amendment, it is a coastwise passage—perhaps a millpond sail—as against the crossing of an ocean. But voyages on the great deep require much preparation and wide experience. The prerequisite knowledge to deal intelligently with this question is nearly all lacking, according to Mr. Roosevelt's own admission. If so, let the modest effort be made; the more hazardous voyage may never be necessary.

We have had, not long since, a striking example of the need of great deliberation in dealing with the question of any new regulation of these corporations.

We understand vaguely what is colloquially meant by "community of interest" in railroad circles, and we know that, from the North to the Gulf, from the Atlantic seaboard to the Lakes and to the Pacific Coast, lines of railroad, through merger or substantial union, are linked together into great railroad systems.

The existing condition, in more than one significant instance, is directly traceable to the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

If the decision in the United States courts in the Trans-Mis-

souri and Passenger Traffic cases had been that only unreasonable contracts in restraint of trade were in violation of the Act, and that all contracts between transportation companies could have been the subject of judicial enquiry, does anyone for a moment think that these corporations would have fled as a refuge against unwise legislation to authorized mergers? But the Act was crudely drawn, imperfectly considered, hastily enacted; the rule of the Common Law that only unreasonable contracts in restraint of trade are void was disregarded, and the Supreme Court, finding no authority for upholding agreements in even slight or reasonable restraint of trade, condemned them all.

The transportation problem of this country has thus suddenly come to gigantic proportions; and, without wishing to be understood as predicting evil consequences from these conditions, it must be borne in mind that great common-carriers, with their accompanying franchises, are to be regarded quite otherwise than are mere trading or manufacturing corporations, however great. Moreover, and this partakes almost of the ludicrous, while the whole history of the Act indicates clearly that it was intended to apply merely to so-called Trusts, and not to transportation companies, it has been held to apply to contracts in restraint of trade, however reasonable, between transportation companies, and not to reach the operations of a so-called Trust, even though seeking to monopolize the output of a special product.

The Attorney-General of the United States, Mr. Knox, is not slothful in the pursuit of these great corporations; yet he is pleading for what is the opposite of the effect of the decisions under the Sherman Act. In his Pittsburgh speech he said:

"A law regulating Inter-State commerce for its protection against restraint, so broad as to cover all persons whose business is conducted under agreements which are in any way or to any extent in restraint of trade, might exclude thousands of small concerns conducting industries in the State from marketing their products in others; but a law which only covers contracts and combinations in restraint of trade, as defined by the common law, would exclude all hurtful combinations and conspiracies. Congress can, if it sees fit, adopt the scheme of that law.

"In the enforcement of such law, each case as it arose would be considered upon its own facts, and the rule of guidance would be as laid down by the Supreme Court of the United States—that is, 'public welfare is first considered, and if it be not involved and the restraint upon one party is not greater than protection to the other party requires, the contract may be sustained. The question is whether, under the particu-

lar circumstances of the case, and the nature of the particular contract involved in it, the contract is or is not reasonable.' "

No one could make wiser suggestions on the subject, and it would seem clear that, without any great display of repentance, the Republican Party, in so far as Mr. Knox represents it, is prepared to lead a new statutory life.

Yet, considering some of the results brought about by this crude legislation, the plea of Mr. Knox is, to use a homely illustration, somewhat like "locking the barn door after the horse has been stolen."

Whatever else may be said of his view, it is virtually a concession that the Sherman Act was drawn upon a wrong principle. Clearly, if there is to be further action in the matter, it should be with the caution born of previous error.

Hasty action toward large corporations has proceeded on the theory that capital employed in industry is seeking temporary advantage by evading the mandate of some rule of right conduct, whereas the whole history of such investment shows that in the main the effort has been to build great and permanent enterprises within the shelter of reasonable laws. It has proceeded on the theory that all large corporations were guilty of the offenses laid at the door of only a few, without recognition of the fact that by such confusion of thought all industry might be injuriously affected. To use the most felicitous illustration of Mr. Secretary Root, these offending corporations are mere weeds in the garden of prosperity and are to be gotten rid of only by patience and discrimination, and not by a destruction of the garden itself.

These corporations ought not to be free from governmental regulations, but the regulations must, to be framed intelligently and wisely, be framed deliberately. Any other course is of no effect, or of evil effect. If there are to be new regulations, then they must be reasonable in the light of past experience; they must be framed to correct abuses where they appear, not where they are conjectured; they must be directed against evildoers, not against all organized industry; they must not arraign all corporations under indictments without counts, and lastly and above all, they must be founded not on the dictates of political policy, but on the accepted principles of political economy.

These corporations may reach out for great gain; but philanthropy is not a corporate object, and it is altogether fanciful to

seek the adoption of any Utopian plan, whereby business men for business acts are to be tried in a Court of Conscience. Evil conduct in corporations or individuals may properly enough be legislated against, but keen rivalry and the legitimate effort to secure large return on invested capital are not to be confused with evil conduct.

A former Lord Chief Justice of England, knowing men and the world as he knew law, once said when deciding a question growing out of the selfish rivalry of a great corporation whose practices were not altogether to be commended:

> "It must be remembered that all trade is and must be in a sense selfish; trade not being infinite, nay, the trade of a particular place or district being possibly very limited, what one man gains another loses. In the hand-to-hand war of commerce, as in the conflicts of public life, whether at the bar, in Parliament, in medicine, in engineering (I give examples only), men fight on without much thought of others, except a desire to excel or to defeat them. Very lofty minds, like Sir Philip Sidney, with his cup of water, will not stoop to take an advantage, if they think another wants it more. Our age, in spite of high authority to the contrary, is not without its Sir Philip Sidneys; but these are counsels of perfection which it would be silly indeed to make the measure of the rough business of the world as pursued by ordinary men of business."

Special care is desirable just now in legislating concerning these great corporations, grouped under the name of Trusts, for they stand not only as exponents of our prosperity at home and abroad, but as its sponsors as well. They are not only national but international enterprises. The scarecrow "Made in Germany" has been replaced by a real man in the field wherever these corporations are supplanting or diminishing the trade of other nations, and to-day we have a great place in the councils of the world, not so much because of our new possessions or of our new navy, but because we have pushed our commercial interests to the very ends of the earth. The agency has been the much-denounced Trust.

It is of the first importance that the efficiency of the agent be not unwisely and unnecessarily impaired, not because we should desire to be richer and more influential than all other lands, but because—while not unmindful of the far-reaching results which flow from the high ideals of the individual and of a people—we must recognize it to be true that the power of a nation for great good in the world and for establishing the peace and the happiness

of its subjects, must rest finally for a foundation upon national prosperity.

And now it remains to add only one suggestion.

The problems which the vast accumulations of wealth and power of these great corporations bring in their train are yet unsolved. Great and enduring renown will be the award of him who does solve them, for he will have gone far in solving the problem of labor and capital. The President of the United States from his high position and with the esteem of a whole people is earnestly trying to solve them, and in this work he is entitled to the co-operation of his fellow citizens. To that end, in the hope of suggesting one reasonable way of going about the work, this article has been written. It is hoped, however, that the spirit of the suggestion, rather than its letter, will commend it.

Reasonableness is the prerequisite of any plan looking toward a closer relation between the interests of capital and labor of this land, of the producer and consumer, of the rich and the poor. It will not come, in our day or ever, through the coercion of Constitutional Amendments which undermine cherished traditions of State and National authority, or of mandatory statutes enacted in a spirit of hostility towards capital invested in industry. It will not come through coercion at all.

For this closer relation we must look elsewhere, to the development between the two interests of a wider charity, which shall derive its sustenance and its inspiration from humanizing influences, from high purposes and from all else that is making for the enlightened progress of the world.

To be given the opportunity which Mr. Roosevelt now has to contribute towards such a result, is nothing less than a splendid privilege.

JOSEPH S. AUERBACH.

WHAT IS PUBLICITY?

BY HENRY C. ADAMS, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

It is commonly acknowledged that publicity is an essential agency for the control of trusts. Evidence of this appears on every hand. In the Conference on Trusts, held in Chicago in 1899, a conference which embraced all interests from all parts of the country and all schools of economic thought, there was scarcely a paper which did not give direct or implied assent to the proposition that trusts are under moral obligation, and should be placed under legal obligation, to expose their financial and operating accounts. The Industrial Commission, to whose investigation we are indebted for what little is known of trusts in this country, submitted three independent and, in some respects, conflicting sets of recommendations, but all of them acknowledged the significance of publicity. Most important treatises on this phase of the monopoly problem, such as those of von Halle, Ely, Jenks, and Clarke, while presenting different analyses of the situation, are united in their demand for publicity. The utterances of President Roosevelt upon this point are strong and emphatic; and even Mr. Dill, the avowed advocate of industrial combination, uses the phrase when discussing remedial measures.

So universal a consensus of opinion commonly indicates that the question involved is well advanced towards a satisfactory adjustment; but such a conclusion would be far from correct if applied to the present relation of publicity and trusts. Unfortunately, the word is capable of many meanings, and must be defined before it can serve as the rallying point of a constructive policy. Such being the case, an endeavor to analyze the principle of publicity, and to point out what should be the form of the law designed to secure its realization, seems pertinent and timely.

Any fruitful analysis of publicity requires that it be considered from at least three points of view. One must learn, first, its general significance, or the state of the public mind which publicity is designed to create; second, its particular significance, or the interests which publicity is designed to serve; and, third, its administrative significance, or the claim which publicity submits for successful realization.

THE GENERAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PUBLICITY.

The fundamental purpose of publicity is to establish in the community a condition of confidence. Secrecy in the administration of a power which in any way touches the interests of the community, gives birth to the suspicion that the power is unwisely or tyrannously administered. Not only does this state of mind impair the most successful use of the power in question, but, if the interests which believe themselves jeopardized are sufficiently important, it becomes a prolific source of political agitation and social unrest. The task of publicity is to allay this suspicion, and the statutory definition of publicity, in any particular case, must be as broad as the ground of suspicion which makes appeal to it necessary.

It may be said that this view of publicity is correct so far as the power in question is a public or political power, but that it does not apply in the case of private or commercial power. I am quite willing to admit this theoretic limitation, because it raises the question whether or not highly centralized commercial power can longer be regarded as a private power. There was a time when even political power was claimed as a private possession, and when the sovereign urged his right to administer that power without accountability to the people. We need not dwell upon the struggle that followed. The result is well known. The counter claim prevailed, and the public character of political power was irrevocably established for all peoples who acknowledge the principles of constitutional government. Accountability of public officers—that is to say, publicity in political affairs—followed as a matter of course. Commerce, trade, and industry, on the other hand, continued to be regarded as matters of private concern. For more than two centuries, English jurisprudence and English political philosophy have given formal consent to the distinction between political or public power, on the one hand,

and commercial or private power, on the other; and, until comparatively recent years, no serious criticism has been heard based upon the practical workings of this distinction.

It would be a mistake, however, to read from this fact the conclusion that English jurisprudence has ever given sanction to the doctrine that the rights of private property are superior to the necessities of public welfare. The courts upheld the claim of secrecy in business affairs because they assumed the efficacy of competition; and it must be admitted that, while industries were small, markets local, and the relations between producer and consumer continued to be personal relations, this assumption of the courts was reasonable. Wherever healthful competition holds sway, there is no ground for suspecting a tyrannous use of commercial power and, consequently, no demand for publicity. But industrial conditions have changed. Industries are becoming colossal. The local market is a thing of the past. The personal relation between producer and consumer, which for generations exercised a powerful moral restraint upon business conduct, no longer exists. The automatic restraints being weakened, artificial restraints have, in consequence, become a necessity. Neither the assumption of publicity for industries superior to the satisfactory control of competition, nor the assumption of secrecy for industries subject to such control, may be said to possess inherent vitality; they are merely working hypotheses for the administration of justice and for the organization of the State. Secrecy against a competitor is, doubtless, a right carried by the institution of private property; secrecy against the State is a privilege which the State sees fit to grant, but which can be recalled if necessary to allay the suspicion that the privilege conferred endangers the public welfare. Interpreted in this way, publicity seems to have ample legal justification, for it rests upon a fundamental principle of English jurisprudence.

I might refer, in further support of this distinction, to the fact that the socialization of the industrial process has, in large measure, destroyed the private character of business enterprises, and that, in so far as this is the case, the power which it generates is a public power, which, like all public powers, should be administered under conditions of strict accountability. It does not, however, seem appropriate to encumber this article with a line of reasoning which would render necessary the use of unfamiliar

words. The conclusion would be the same as that already reached, relative to the right of government to such information as may be necessary to enable the people to live in the enjoyment of equity and justice. The important fact is, reverting again to the definition of the phrase, that publicity should be defined by its functions, and that one of its functions is to dispel the suspicion that industrial power is used in a tyrannous manner, or to make it possible to specify the ground of complaint should investigation prove the suspicion well founded. Such is the general significance of publicity, and such the aim which a law that provides for publicity should hold in view.

THE PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE OF PUBLICITY.

The second suggestion for defining publicity holds in mind the particular interests jeopardized, or believed to be jeopardized, by the growth of colossal enterprises operating in a world's market. It will suffice for our present purpose to mention only the more important of these interests. These are: the interest of the investor; the interest of the independent or potential producer; and the interest of the consumer.

It would be a mistake to say that the public has no interest in easy and safe investments. Under the institution of private property in its present undeveloped stage, there is no other means of making provision for declining years. Moreover, it is of the utmost importance to continuous prosperity that consumption be steady and uniform from year to year. The economic necessity of high wages regularly paid is coming to be generally recognized; but the argument upon which this necessity rests applies with equal force to high dividends and regular interest, provided stocks and bonds are widely diffused among the people. The permanent interest of the investor coincides in every particular with what is known as the permanent interest of society.

It would also be a mistake to say that the investor can take care of himself. This is just what he can not do, unless he is possessed of sufficient property to protect his capital by becoming a promoter. It is a statement of stupendous significance, as indicating the insecurity of small investments, that the amounts paid by life insurance companies are, on the average, lost to the beneficiaries within seven years of the death of the insured. The small investor is exposed to the danger of the speculative pros-

pectus, which not infrequently is so highly colored as to be utterly untrustworthy; he is exposed also to the danger of being forced to sell, or induced to sell, through false rumors or incomplete statements relative to the industry in which he has placed his capital. Whatever the precise remedy for this unfortunate state of affairs may prove to be, it is evident that appeal in some form must be made to the principle of publicity, whose function it is to let in the light and let out the facts. Any comprehensive definition of publicity must hold in mind the continuance of the existence, and the encouragement of the growth, of the small investor. To kill the small investor is to make socialism inevitable.

The second of the particular interests named is that of the independent and potential producer. The chief argument in support of trusts rests upon the assumption that colossal corporations are essential to a low cost of production and on this account are the forerunners of low prices. It seems to me that this argument is sadly overworked; but, out of deference to the large number of conservative economists who judge it proper to march with the procession of present tendencies, it is temporarily conceded, in order to bring their view of the situation within our definition of publicity. Says Professor Clarke: "The key to the solution of the grave problems that are thus presented lies in the fact, that the independent producer is the natural protector of all the other threatened interests." Social and political considerations, also, urge the preservation of the independent man in industrial affairs. So far as his disappearance is due to the decrease of cost through the aggregations of large capital, no help, perhaps, can be offered. Possibly, none is to be desired. But so far as this is due to the fact that the small producer is exposed to "predatory competition," the government is in duty bound to grant its protection. This phrase "predatory competition" is taken from Professor Clarke's book, "The Control of Trusts." As defined by him, it embraces three classes of improper acts; namely, "favors exacted from railroads," "the local cutting of prices" (by which is meant the placing of goods on local markets at a sacrifice, in order to destroy local competition), and "the type of boycotting termed 'factor's agreement.'" Predatory competition thus defined is not competition at all; it is, again to quote Professor Clarke, "refined robbery;" and a citizen has the same right to protection from this refined robber as from the footpad or the pirate.

Can publicity reinstate normal competition? Possibly not, in

and of itself; but, when government shall undertake the task of restoring to the public the liberty of individual enterprise which the institution of private property assumes to be the inalienable right of every business man (and which, taken away, means inevitably the destruction of the historic institution of private property), it will be found necessary to assign to publicity a broader and more comprehensive interpretation than seems at present to be contemplated by many of its most pronounced advocates. Publicity is whatever is necessary to perform the work of publicity, and one of its tasks is to assist in keeping open the door of opportunity for the independent producer.

The third interest to be considered is that of the consumer. From the time of Moses to the present, industrial philosophy has interpreted the fair price to mean the cost price. Wherever competition guarantees this fair price, government is excused from the task of supervision; but wherever exclusive possession of the source of raw material, monopoly of the process of manufacture, or factious control of the market, enables a corporation to charge either more or less than the fair price for the service which it renders, it is encumbent upon the government to substitute the bookkeeping price for the monopoly price, which, in the absence of effective competition, is sure to be exacted. The determination of the bookkeeping price by which the purchaser is guaranteed justice against a monopolistic producer, is, or may become in extreme cases, one of the functions of publicity, and any definition of publicity which ignores this fact is an incomplete definition.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SIGNIFICANCE OF PUBLICITY.

Theorists are too apt, in their study of particular questions, to overlook administrative considerations. It seems sufficient to them to conclude that a certain thing should be done, without inquiring what is implied in the doing of it. Statute makers, also, are prone to the same error. Their besetting sin seems to be the enactment of laws which impose tasks, but which do not, in clear and unmistakable language, grant adequate power for the performance of the tasks imposed. This fact goes far toward explaining what is called the incompetency of governmental administrative bureaus. It seems appropriate, therefore, in discussing the character and scope of publicity, to go beyond a simple statement of the ends desired, and to inquire respecting the powers

to be conferred, if the desired ends are to be attained. Three suggestions are offered as bearing on this phase of the subject.

First. A law designed to secure publicity, such as is necessary to enable government to dominate the industrial situation, must provide for the final determination of the industries which are to be subject to its jurisdiction. This implies, of course, an authoritative classification of industries. The general principle according to which such a classification should be made is manifest. Our industrial constitution—that is to say, that scheme of industrial rights and duties imposed by English jurisprudence—assumes not only the persistence of competition, but that the competition which persists will be normal in character and healthful in its working. The present necessity for an appeal to government is found in the fact that certain industries, or industries operated under certain pecular forms of organization, lie beyond the influence of the healthful regulation of competition. It is this class of industries to which the rule of publicity applies, a fact which the law providing for publicity should definitely express.

Unfortunately, however, although the principle is simple, its application in our complex industrial order would be attended with difficulty. It is not easy to enumerate the tests of normal competition, nor is the idea of monopoly a simple idea. There are many degrees in monopolization; there are many conditions which give vitality to monopolistic organization. Some industries are by nature monopolistic, others are monopolistic through ownership of the source of supply, and still others become monopolistic through their dependence upon or agreement with what may be termed the fundamental industries—as, for example, railways. The situation is not, then, a simple one. It can not be understood without an investigation more far-reaching and exhaustive than would be possible for any legislative committee. While, perhaps, one cannot go so far as to say that the determination of what industries are to be brought within the jurisdiction of a law providing for publicity is in its nature an administrative act, it is certain that better results are likely to follow if the law contents itself with a statement of the end to be attained, with a delineation of the principles to be followed, and with the creation of such executive machinery as may be necessary for its effective administration. It is clear to me, although the Federal Court in its treatment of the Inter-State Commerce Commission seems

to hold a different opinion, that the realization of the principles of publicity and control means, among other things, a further development of judicial or semi-judicial functions on the part of the executive branch of the government. It is either this or a further development of administrative functions on the part of the judiciary; and, when the real meaning of such a tendency is appreciated by the people, I am confident they will choose the former alternative.

Second. The law should confer upon the bureau or commission intrusted with its administration, power to prescribe a legal form of accounts for all concerns which come under its jurisdiction. To one who has had experience with government investigations into corporate accounts, no argument is needed in support of such a suggestion. It is easy for an accountant, so disposed, to give a false coloring to a transaction by an unusual distribution of charges. A current expense may be carried as an investment in such a manner as to increase unduly net earnings, and thus deceive the investor as to the value of the property. An improvement, on the other hand, may be charged as a current expense, which results in an erroneous statement of cost, thus misleading both court and legislature, should either be called upon to consider the question of a just or reasonable price for service rendered. Statutory bookkeeping is the only remedy for the many mischiefs incident to uncertain accounting.

A system of prescribed accounting finds further support when one considers that, even with the best intention on the part of accounting officers, a compilation of the reports which they render will not accurately portray the industrial situation, unless the reporting corporations keep their books according to uniform rule. The basis of accounting is classification, and sound classification consists in collecting items of the same sort under the same title. If, now, there be no uniformity in the use made of the titles of accounts by the several accounting officers, it is evident that a combination of their reports will result in bringing together incongruous items, thus rendering impossible the determination of a true average or the disclosure of a safe generalization. This consideration in favor of statutory accounting is especially pertinent to those who rely upon that indefinite though powerful force called "public opinion" for the control of corporate powers.

The man interested in corporate securities as an investor, has

a special reason for the advocacy of statutory accounting. His judgment relative to an investment rests quite as much upon a comparison of the current report with previous reports as upon an analysis of the current report itself. If, then, the corporate financier is at liberty to distribute the items of income and expenditure in an arbitrary manner, the usefulness of the report to the investor is very largely destroyed. It will be said that most corporations do, at the present time, maintain uniformity in their current reports. This may, perhaps, be true; but, in the same way that a small amount of false coin gives rise to the suspicion that all coins may be false, so the listing of securities of corporations whose accounts can not be trusted may be the occasion of widespread distrust with regard to all securities. The government ought to guarantee, not only the integrity of the reports which corporations make, but that the charges in the books from which the reports are made shall be uniform from month to month and from year to year.

The government, on its part, has a peculiar interest in the demand for statutory bookkeeping from all corporations subject to its supervisory jurisdiction. If each of these corporations—and their number, it may be assumed, will be very large—retains the privilege of formulating its own classification of charges, the task of gaining mastery over their accounts lies beyond the ability of any single office. If, however, the mastery of a single system of accounting implies the mastery of all, as would be the case if all industries of the same class follow the same accounting rules, this task would be greatly simplified. Each item would then mean the same thing for every reporting corporation, and it would not be necessary to enter upon a detailed analysis of each in order to arrive at its true meaning. Moreover, it would be impossible to locate reasonable suspicion relative to improper administration by the comparison of individual reports with what may be termed the typical report, were each corporation at liberty to follow its own whim in the classification of its charges. Such considerations as these, and there are others of the same sort, make it evident that the only hope for the successful exercise of supervisory control over the administration of private corporations, through the agency of an administrative bureau, lies in granting that bureau the right to prescribe the manner in which corporation accounts shall be kept.

Third. The law designed to realize publicity must, in some manner, make the accounting officer of the corporations in question personally responsible for the report which he submits. The most direct method of arriving at this result would be to follow the suggestion of a man who, at the time of his death, was the treasurer of one of the largest railway interests in the country. "In my opinion," he said in the course of a conversation upon this point, "you will never get what you are after until railway accountants are made public officials." This, perhaps, is an extreme suggestion. It may have been made in levity, though many a sane word has been spoken in jest. It is certainly true that the accounting officers of the class of industries for which publicity is demanded, should be forced to recognize a broader allegiance than to the corporations which give them employment. As a practical proposition, it may at least be urged, in the name of the principle of publicity, that a government bureau created for the purpose should have the right of visitation and examination, and that any deviation which may be discovered from the method of accounting prescribed by law, should be regarded as a misdemeanor chargeable to the accounting officer. Unless one is willing to go this length in providing for governmental supervision over corporate administration, one had better abandon the advocacy of publicity.

It is, of course, understood that the foregoing is merely an attempt to formulate a practical definition of publicity. The analysis does not touch the deeper question of governmental supervision and control over monopolistic corporations. It is evident, however, that, whatever the character of that supervision or control, adequate provision must be made for getting at the facts. This is essential, whether we rely upon public opinion to exercise a conservative influence in the management of corporations, or upon the legislature to prescribe reasonable conditions for corporate activity, or upon a semi-judicial administrative bureau to supervise monopolistic combinations. Indeed, from whatever point of view the trust problem is considered, publicity stands as the first step in its solution; and there is reason to believe that the further the government is willing to go in its statutory definition of publicity the greater likelihood is there that it may be excused from the necessity of exercising direct administrative control.

HENRY C. ADAMS.

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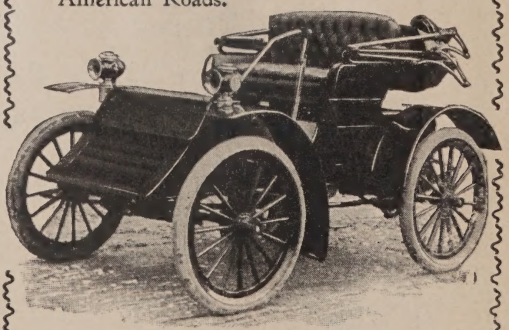

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for 1903 HARPER'S MAGAZINE for 1903

THESE WILL WRITE IN 1903

Algernon Charles Swinburne

Mary Johnston

Mark Twain

W. D. Howells

Edith Wharton

Maurice Hewlett

Mary E. Wilkins

Booth Tarkington

Robert W. Chambers

Amelie Rives

Margaret Deland

Henry Van Dyke

Thomas A. Janvier

IN these pages are outlined some reasons for believing that HARPER'S MAGAZINE (which attracted a larger number of readers in 1902 than ever before in its fifty years of progress) will appeal to an even wider audience in 1903.

The promise for increased excellence is a certain one, though only a part of the good may be definitely foretold. In the matter of serial stories and continued series of articles, HARPER'S MAGAZINE will be different.

It will not print more than one serial story at a time.

It will not print articles of a "news" nature.

It will not print consecutive series of short stories.

It will not print connected series of articles on any except possibly historical subjects. Thus every number will come as a surprise. This was true of last year, when the most important, the most readable, the most authoritative articles were those which appeared without preliminary announcement.

A few of the things which can now be announced are:

THE PICTURES OF EDWIN A. ABBEY, R. A.

Mr. Abbey has for ten years been engaged upon the colossal work of illustrating Shakespeare's Tragedies for HARPER'S MAGAZINE. Many of his pictures will be paintings in color, others in pen and ink, handled with that delicacy and finesse which characterize all of Mr. Abbey's work. All of Mr. Abbey's illustrative work will appear in HARPER'S MAGAZINE. The text accompanying Mr. Abbey's pictures will be by the most notable living scholars and critics.

ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE

No living writer on literary subjects commands the attention of the world more completely than Mr. Swinburne. During the coming year he will contribute to HARPER'S MAGAZINE a number of brilliant literary articles. Other notable writers who will write on literary subjects are Theodore Watts-Dunton, Arthur Symons, Joseph Knight, W. J. Rolfe, etc.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE
for 1903

A NEW ROMANCE

By MARY JOHNSTON

AUTHOR OF "TO HAVE AND TO HOLD"

Miss Johnston's new story is entitled "Sir Mortimer." It is a psychological study deeper than her previous work, and is of a more delicate literary texture; it maintains a higher artistic level and displays a new and maturer genius. Miss Johnston ranks anew from this work. "Sir Mortimer" is a romantic love story of the Elizabethan period. The romance will be illustrated by F. C. Yohn, and will run through the summer months.

MARK TWAIN

The famous author of "Huckleberry Finn" and "Tom Sawyer" will write only for HARPER'S during 1903. Mr. Clemens will contribute frequent short stories—possibly a novelette.

WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS

Mr. Howells also will write only for HARPER'S during 1903. He will continue to conduct the "Easy Chair," and will contribute short stories, essays, and poems.

EXPLORATION AND TRAVEL

Representatives of the MAGAZINE are now travelling in unexplored parts of the world. Their narratives will appear during the coming year. Negotiations are now being carried on with Captain Sverdrup, who has just penetrated to the extreme of the Arctic regions, to write of his adventures and discoveries; and with Sven Hedin, the distinguished explorer, to tell of his perilous journey in Tibet; J. B. Connolly and H. Reuterdahl, the artist, have made a trip with the far northern whalers, in the interest of the MAGAZINE; I. Zangwill, the English novelist, and Louis Loeb, the painter, have travelled for the MAGAZINE through little-known parts of Italy. A special representative of the MAGAZINE is now making a trip on foot through the strange mountain districts of Greece and Turkey.

[OVER

Woodrow Wilson

George E. Woodberry

Goldwin Smith

Lew. Wallace

Theodore Watts-Dunton

Alice Meynell

Alice Brown

Alfred Ollivant

Brander Matthews

Chester Bailey Fernald

Josephine Dodge Daskam

E. S. Martin

I. Zangwill

Sarah Orne Jewett

Octave Thanet

HARPER'S MAGAZINE
for 1903

A FEW OF THE ARTISTS WHOSE WORK WILL APPEAR IN HARPER'S MAGAZINE FOR 1903

Edwin A. Abbey, R.A.

Howard Pyle

F. C. Yohn

Elizabeth Shippen Green

Albert Sterner

W. T. Smedley

Walter Appleton Clark

Sarah Stilwell

H. Reuterdahl

E. M. Ashe

H. C. Christy

André Castaigne

Lucius Hitchcock

Peter Newell

F. Luis Mora

Jessie Wilcox Smith

Fletcher Ransom

THE DUTCH IN NEW YORK

For some years Mr. Thomas A. Janvier has made a study of the Dutch period in New York. The result of his researches is a story of that period, which differs most radically in its conclusions from the narratives of Irving and the early chroniclers. It gives the truth about this period for the first time. This history will be illustrated from contemporary engravings and documents.

THE STATE AND PROPERTY

John Finley, Professor of Politics, Princeton University, is making a personal study of the legislatures of thirty of our states. He will write on questions of state government, ownership of property, and other points equally vital to every citizen.

ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL

Professor Richard T. Ely will contribute a number of papers on economic and sociological communities in the United States, which, as the representative of HARPER'S MAGAZINE, he has visited and is studying.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Articles on the English language, its problems, growth, its future, etc., will be a feature of the MAGAZINE for 1903. In the January number Professor Kittredge, of Harvard, will write of "The Coinage of Words." Later both Professor Kittredge and Professor Brander Matthews, of Columbia, will contribute in this field.

LITERATURE

Professor George E. Woodberry, of Columbia, will write of a number of the most significant periods in American life and letters. Literary essays will be contributed by Mrs. Alice Meynell, Mr. Howells, and Miss Agnes Repplier.

CHILD LIFE

In its stories and pictures of child life HARPER'S MAGAZINE has developed a new field—one of the greatest human interest. Even more attention will be paid

HARPER'S MAGAZINE
for 1903

to this field during the coming year. Roy Rolfe Gilson will contribute several of his beautifully simple and truthful studies of child life, and arrangement has been made with Miss Sarah Stilwell to paint a series of child pictures, which will be reproduced in color.

SCIENCE AND ARCHÆOLOGY

The most authoritative accounts of important archæological discoveries by great scholars will appear in HARPER'S MAGAZINE. Professor Boni, who has conducted the investigations in the Forum at Rome, will write of his remarkable discoveries. Professor Hilprecht, of the University of Pennsylvania, will write of equally important discoveries in the East. Experiments are now being conducted in every field of science, and the final authorities will write of every notable development. Problems of life and psychological questions will be treated in a popular yet authoritative manner.

EARLY AMERICAN EXPLORERS

One of the leading American historians will tell the romance of the early adventurers in this country—men who, like Cortez, De Soto, Ponce de Leon, came from the most brilliant courts of Europe to fight their way through the unbroken forests of the new country.

SHORT STORIES

HARPER'S MAGAZINE will print in each number more short stories than any other illustrated magazine. In this branch of fiction the MAGAZINE has always been famous. It has published the best work of noted and new writers alike, and has been perhaps the strongest factor in developing short-story writing to its present perfection. Not less than seven short stories of varied types and wide range of interest will appear in each number of the MAGAZINE for 1903. The list of authors who will contribute stories includes the names of every notable story writer in this country and England. Some of the names are given in the margins.

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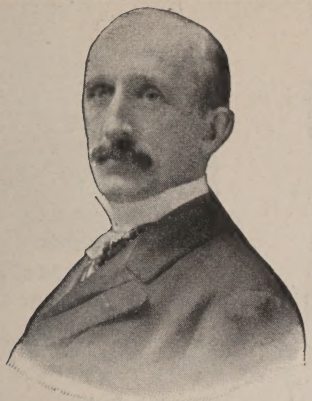

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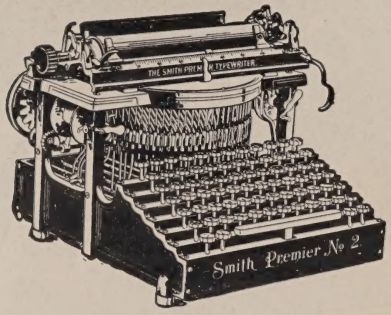

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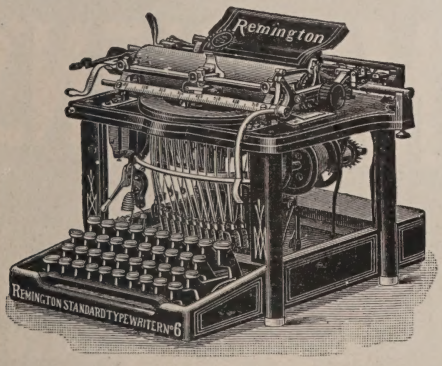

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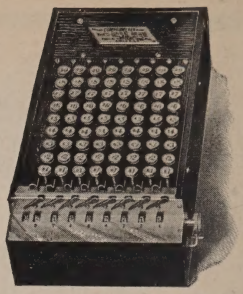

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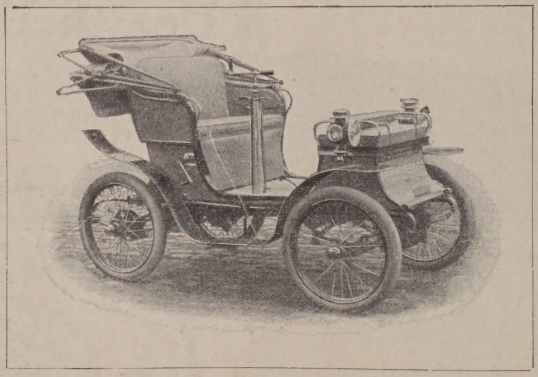

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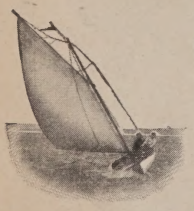

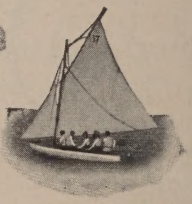

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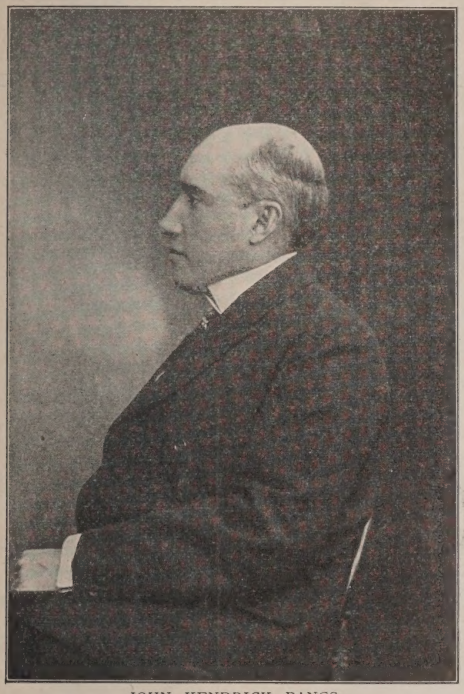

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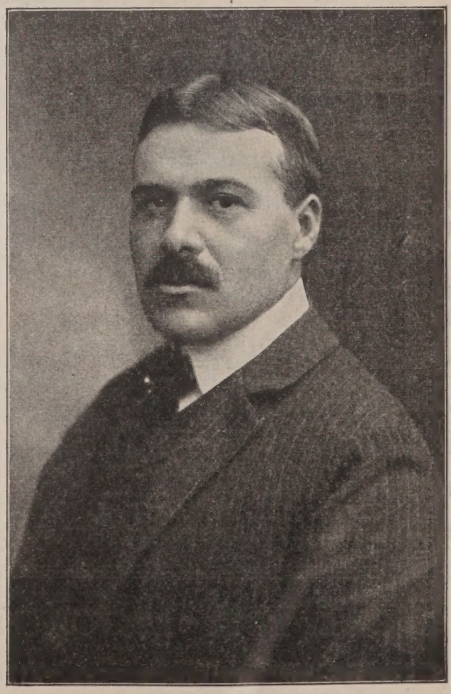

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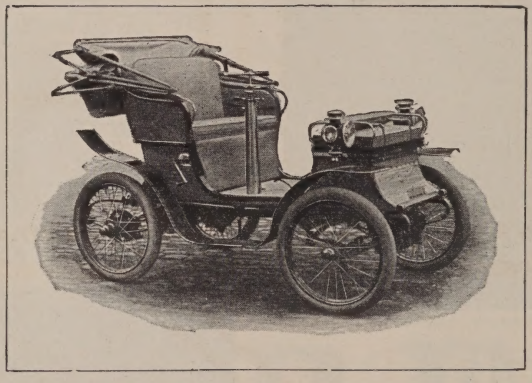

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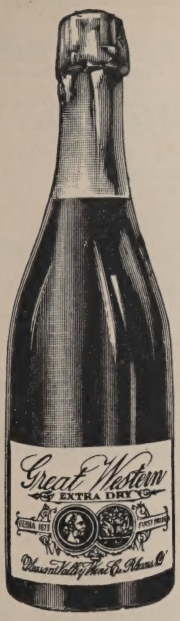

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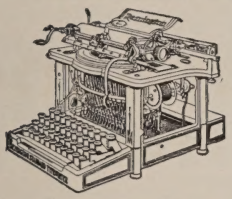

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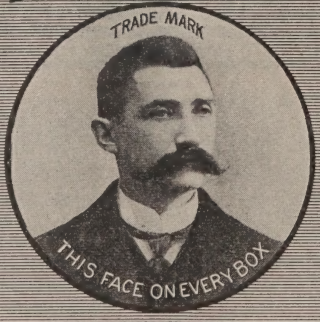

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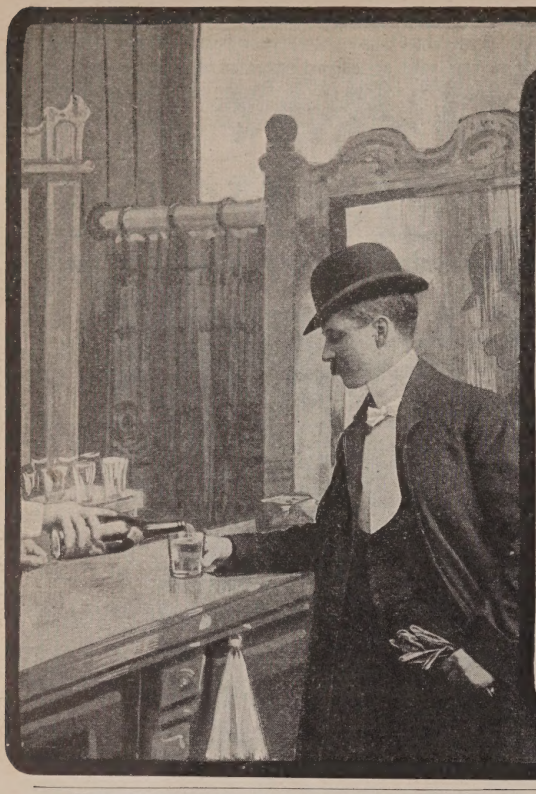

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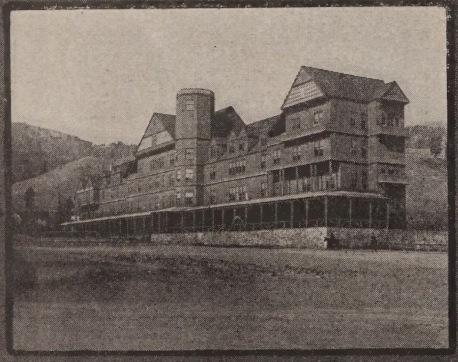

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The population, including suburbs, is 72,263, and is a very cosmopolitan one, nine-tenths of it being white; and this character of population prevails in the surrounding county.

LOOKING WEST ON MAIN STREET.

The climate is most salubrious, temperate, and semitropical; the rainfall varies between 28 and 36 inches, January and February being the winter months, the temperature seldom going below zero, and in midsummer rarely above 100, owing to the trade-winds from the Gulf, which make the nights always pleasant. No epidemic has ever visited the city, and rigid statistics

show the death rate to be for the past ten years only eleven per thousand inhabitants. The tax rate is $1.65 on the $100, including school taxes. Assessed values are $23,984,000. The net bonded indebtedness is $1,692,000. The value of the city public property is $2,903,148. Its water-works alone would sell for more than enough to pay its entire debt. Her 4-per-cent. bonds sell at par, and the city has no floating debt.

Dallas has four national banks, with deposits aggregating more than $10,000,000 and annual clearances of $160,000,000. Dallas has been designated by the Comptroller of Currency as a reserve city on the basis of having more than 50,000 population. Besides national banks, there are one private bank and a number of saving and loan companies.

Dallas stands at the head as a publishing centre, and numbers fifty-five newspapers and periodicals—three and one-half tons of newspapers and magazines being handled through the post-office daily.

The water-supply is abundant and good. The city water-works, taking its supply from the river, has a present pumping capacity of 19,000,000 gallons per day. Artesian water is found in abundance, twenty-two artesian wells having been sunk in the past few years, some of them flowing, and all affording fine water for drinking and manufacturing purposes. The city has just completed an additional storage reservoir with more than a billion gallons' capacity, and is systematically perfecting one of the best water-works plants in the Southwest.

Dallas has sixty miles of electric street railway, three electric companies furnishing power and light, and one gas company with sixty miles of gas mains.

The transportation facilities of Dallas are good, having six railroads radiating in eleven directions, with sixty passenger trains arriving and departing each day, and two additional trunk lines now building. Having railroads is one advantage, and being the centre of a fertile country with more than a million consumers is another, and yet Dallas possesses, beyond dispute, both of these. Dallas is in the centre of the most productive and most thickly populated area of Texas. Within the thirty-five counties surrounding it (out of 243 in the State) is a black-waxy district of 28,980 square miles, or 10.9 per cent. of the State's area. Within this circle is 36.2 per cent. of the State's population, 33.9 per cent. of the assessed values, 28.8 per cent. of the railroad mileage of the State, 32.2 per cent. of the cities, towns, and villages, and 60 per cent. of the total number of business houses. In the same counties are produced 40 per cent. of the cotton of the State, and a like proportion of wheat, oats, and corn. Dallas has more telephones in service than any other Texas city. It is the centre of the long-distance telephone business, and has about as many circuits as Chicago.

The educational and religious facilities of Dallas are unsurpassed, there being fifty-nine schools and colleges. Among the schools are four seminaries for young ladies, a musical conservatory, a school of oratory, two schools of medicine, four business colleges, two boys' academies, besides numerous private schools. Dallas prides herself on her public free schools as being equal to any in the country. There are thirteen public free school buildings, including the High School building, nine of which are for white children and four for colored children. These buildings are of brick and stone, substantial and attractive in appearance, and cost, with furniture and equipment, $350,000. There are now over 7,000 children enrolled in the public schools. These public schools are supported by an appropriation from the State school fund amounting annually to about $80,000, augmented by a special tax of 22½ cents on the $100. The High School has a special income of its own, yielding about $11,000 per annum. There are two free kindergarten associations doing splendid work.

A handsome public library, well equipped, a Young Men's Christian Association building, and other free reading rooms, sixty churches, and numbers of every variety of social, literary, artistic, musical, and athletic associations, besides benevolent organizations of every character.

The fire and life insurance headquarters for the State are located at Dallas, all the State and general agents being here, transacting from Dallas a large business with Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Indian Territories.

At Dallas is held annually the Texas State Fair, the largest of its kind in the United States, the attendance last year being 273,428.

Dallas leads the world as a distributing point for agricultural implements, machinery, and vehicles, business in this line running over $15,000,000 annually. All the manufacturers of these lines have constructed extensive, costly, and commodious buildings at Dallas to accommodate this immense and growing trade.

The volume of the wholesale business of Dallas is over $40,000,000 annually. It is the leading city of the United States for the manufacture of cotton-gin machinery, as well as the manufacture of harness and saddlery goods. It has the largest wholesale dry goods house south of

A TYPICAL BUSINESS BLOCK, DALLAS, TEXAS.

St. Louis, the largest wholesale grocery house in Texas, and the largest wholesale saddlery house in the world. As a recognition of its excellent trade facilities a number of wholesale houses have recently located here.

Dallas's big postal business is one of the best indications of the city's business and energy. It exceeds that of any other two cities in Texas combined, and is larger than many cities throughout the country which greatly exceed Dallas in population. The gross receipts of the Dallas post-office exceeds that of Worcester, Mass., Grand Rapids, Mich., Jersey City, N. J., Syracuse, N. Y., Portland, Ore., Nashville, Tenn., and Los Angeles, Cal. It is conceded that the postal receipts of a city are the most reliable measure of its business.

The improvement of the Trinity River, now assured (Congress having made a large appropriation at this session), and Dallas being at the head of navigation, offers superior inducements to manufacturers by reason of its central location, its distributing features, and its proximity to raw material. Bordering on the Trinity River are vast tracts of timber land, and it is estimated that there are two million acres of fine hard woods, pine, and cypress. There are also vast beds of coal, iron, clay, and stone of various kinds. The report of the United States Government Engineers states that the outcroppings of brown or lignite coal were found in numerous places covering a distance of 200 miles, the veins running from three to twenty feet thick, and that iron was found for eighty miles, which would carry 5,000,000 tons to the square mile. The improvement of the river will make Dallas a basing point, and must add greatly to her present prestige as a distributing and manufacturing centre, besides opening up to her trade a vast area of the finest farming land, heretofore inaccessible for want of transportation facilities.

Dallas has now 180 distinct manufacturing concerns, all prospering and growing. With bituminous coal fifty miles west and lignite fifty miles east, and the finding of fuel oil in different parts of the State and within sixty miles of Dallas, the problem of cheap fuel is solved.

Practical experts have stated that Dallas could produce steel and iron cheaper than Chicago, Pittsburg, or Birmingham, for the ore and lime are nearer to Dallas and cheaper of extraction. Soft ores are found in abundance within 120 miles, and the highest grade of hard ore within a short distance.

The ores of Llano County, 350 miles from Dallas, are said to have no equal except the ores of Siberia. Birmingham gets her hard ores from Lake Superior, more than 1,000 miles further than Dallas to Llano.

The hotel accommodations are the best in the State. There are six brick hotels, all within a few blocks of the depots. These hotels are the Oriental, one of the finest and most commodious hotels in the Southwest; the Grand Windsor, a spacious four-story structure covering nearly a block, and facing four streets; the St. George, running through from Main to Commerce streets, four stories high, and recently remodelled; the McLeod, an immense six-story building; the Adelphia, a three-story brick building; the Arlington, a three-story brick, and in addition there are others of from twenty to thirty rooms each, while the city directory shows twenty-eight hotels, distinctly classed as such.

Dallas is the convention city of the Southwest. As an instance of her ability to care for a large assembly, she points with pride to the manner in which she handled the Confederate Reunion, which brought over 150,000 visitors, who were cared for in a highly creditable and satisfactory manner. On the Fair Grounds she has a convention hall capable of seating 12,000 people, within ten minutes' ride from the centre of the city, besides other halls and places for meetings.

Dallas, though yet a young city, is growing rapidly. Last year's building permits nearly doubled that of 1900; 892 building permits were issued in 1901, at an estimated value of $2,550,000. Notwithstanding this activity, there are few vacant houses, the demand keeping ahead of the supply.

The city's welfare is ably looked after by the Dallas Commercial Club, an organization composed of the prominent and progressive business men of Dallas, a live and wide-awake association who will cheerfully give desired information relative to their city. Through its influence capital has been secured, new enterprises started and fostered, until to-day there is not another city of its size in the United States which can compare with it in commercial and industrial importance.

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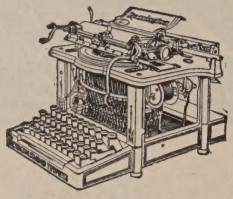

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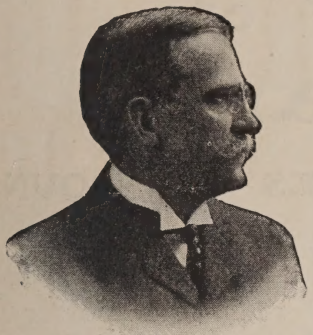

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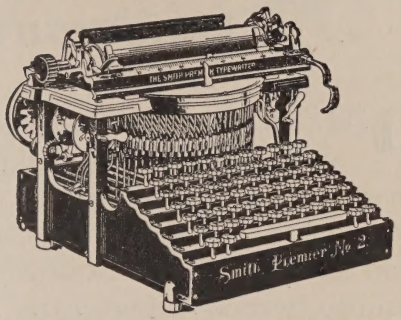

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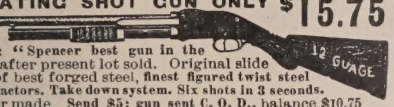

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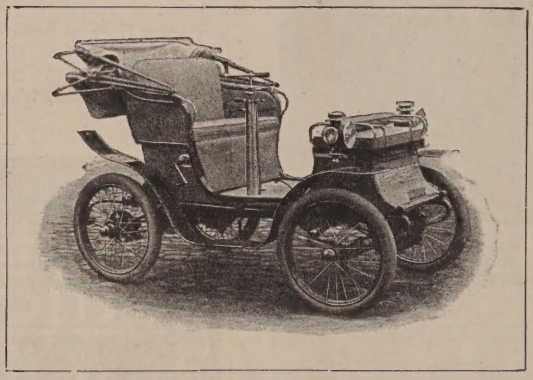

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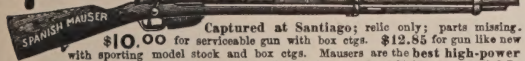

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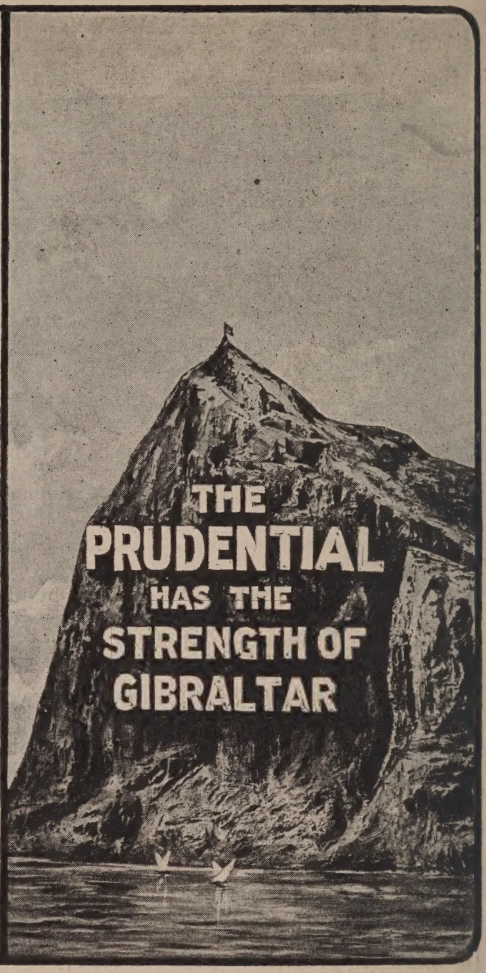

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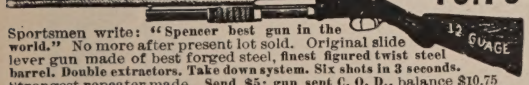

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PARIS, TEXAS.

A FIELD FOR INVESTMENT.

Every one is prone to the idea that his immediate location is the axis of the universe and offers the only opportunities.

Especially is this true of the Eastern man in matters financial, and thereby have many fortunes been missed; recent events have brought the man of modern surplus capital to realize that the field of individual investment in the East is much narrowed, not by lack of opportunity, but by the enormous values which require the resources of a syndicate for capitalization.

This is as true of the factory field. The concentration of plants into gigantic combines have so cheapened their production cost as to render hopeless the small individual plant in the same line. In the local field he is undersold, and his business is not of that magnitude that he can make the entire country a market, or, if he could, his output is not of that volume that secures the lowest transportation cost.

Hence for fixed investment or for minor manufacturing the man of $75,000 to $250,000 capital can no longer operate in the East unless he becomes a stockholder without control in a many-millioned syndicate or combine.

To the man of moderate means wishing to preserve his individuality there is a field, promising, safe, and sure, in the great Southwest, and of this Southwest Texas is nearly the "whole thing."

The loan companies discovered this years ago, and their records show that for gilt-edged safety there is nothing better than a Texas mortgage; other sporadic individuals have also learned this, and made money by interests in banks or factories or by realty purchases.

Lands that ten years ago were $20 per acre are now hard to buy at $60, and in ten years more will be double that. And such lands! City values have shown the same progressive values. There has been no ebb and flow, but a steady, constant rise, soundly based. Texas has the lowest taxation and more funds in her treasury than any State, a better school endowment, more varied resources; and her growth has been a steady, constant, business growth, and her values have advanced only in proportion to this growth and development, and these may be fairly said only to have begun.

Remember that Texas, while a State, is a great State, of wide latitude, and it would be as wise to figure Ohio possibilities by Kentucky conditions as to generalize on Texas.

Her area will undoubtedly support five great cities, and the trend of growth and development with the varied resources contiguous indicate that these will be San Antonio, Houston (or Galveston), Waco, Dallas, and Paris. New as it is, a town of 20,000 people is large for Texas, and all the above have this or more.

The latter city has equal advantages with any of the others, and has some local surroundings not possessed by the others, but has not been so greatly advertised, nor become so well known, and the development of the grand agricultural country surrounding it and the extension of its banking and commercial facilities to handle the resultant business has kept its resources so fully employed that its natural advantages which would form the basis of sound, successful manufacturing, have been either neglected or only partially developed along the most obvious lines. Cotton-seed products are partially produced, but have not been worked out to last results, though there are two very large mills and one large refinery. Its clays have only been used for brick-making, though there is a variety of them that would enter into many products if developed. Its great hardwood timber resources are hardly touched.

The agricultural products of its county (Lamar) easily aggregate five millions annually, and with a considerable area yet to go under the plough. The transportation account of the merchants of Paris, paid out on goods received by them, is about $750,000 per annum. Its banks have a capitalization of over a million dollars, with average deposits of two millions, and yet are always crowded to care for the business offered. One of its banks ranks first in the State and fifth in the United States in the cash value of its stock, a $100 share being worth $700. The largest wholesale furniture house west of the Mississippi River is located here, and in hardware, groceries, and other lines it makes as good showing as any Texas town.

In manufacturing a start has been made in saddlery, confectioneries, wagons, and some smaller lines; these factories are all doing well, and have all the trade they can handle, but are all hampered by lack of working capital sufficient for the demand on them. In fact, in Paris, as in all other Texas towns, the amount of home capital is not equal to the demand made on it by the growth and development of the country.

While the growth of Paris has been due to the growth and development of the Texas territory contiguous to it, there is approaching rapidly the opening of the Indian Territory, which is within sixteen miles of Paris, and will easily double her trade area and double the demand for capital to handle it. In this respect Paris is superior to any other Texas town, as their trade area is not subject to such expansion as this.

There is nothing speculative about the resources of Paris; they are of the solid, lasting sort that make a good foundation on which to build business enterprises.

Detailed information on any special line can be had of the Paris Commercial Club.

SHERMAN, TEXAS.

Sherman is a city of about 15,000 people, with natural and industrial advantages possessed by but few cities, and excelled by those of no other urban community in this country. Being the county seat of the rich and prosperous county of Grayson, and the largest city in Texas north of Dallas, it is destined to be the scene of the greatest commercial activity as the years roll on.

Sherman has seven railroad systems, with eleven outlets, covering every direction, penetrating into the rich country, and reaching the people who make their homes in the prosperous regions of North Texas and the Indian Territory. Sherman is the end of a division of five railroads, and has a large number of railroad men who reside there. The St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad, recently built to Sherman from Sapulpa, I. T., and extended on to Fort Worth and the Southwest, has its Texas shops located at Sherman, where an army of workmen are employed in the machine-shops, roundhouse, terminal yards, transfer sheds, etc. This has very materially stimulated Sherman's prosperity and progress, and the 'Frisco road is almost daily adding to their shop plant here, and to the number of men employed on the system, who make their homes here.

The coming of the 'Frisco from the Indian Territory, and the extension of the road to Fort Worth and the Southwest has opened up a vast section of country to the jobbing houses of Sherman, and caused this class of business, as well as many others, to be wonderfully increased since the advent of the road into this territory.

Besides the 'Frisco, Sherman has the Houston and Texas Central in two directions, north and south; the Santa Fe, east; the Cotton Belt, eastward; the Texas and Pacific, east, west, and north; the Missouri, Kansas and Texas, north; and the Denison and Sherman Railway, north. With these great arteries of commerce covering every direction and every section of the tributary country and making the town of easy access from all sections, Sherman's retail trade has grown, as well as the jobbing trade. Industrial enterprises have been quick to see the advantages that would accrue to them from locating here, and they have increased in number.

Sherman is one of the strongest financial centers in Texas. She has three national banks, with a total authorized capital of $1,200,000, and there is constantly on deposit in Sherman in the various banks about two and a half millions of dollars.

The educational institutions of Sherman cannot be excelled in the South. On account of the number, thoroughness, and importance of her educational institutions, Sherman has been justly denominated the "Athens of Texas," and is known by that well-earned title all over the South. Sherman has five public schools, with a competent corps of teachers capable of conducting them on the highest plane. We have eleven colleges and private schools.

There are many large churches and handsome church buildings of every denomination. The schools and churches of Sherman are alone sufficient to attract people to the city to make their homes.

Sherman has two oil-mills, one of them the largest cotton-seed oil-mill in the world; three of the largest flouring-mills and elevators in Texas; one of the largest packeries in the State; a large ice factory, etc. These give employment to a large number of people, and are of great and important value to Sherman, not only because of their permanency, but of their constantly increasing activity.

Sherman has well-graded streets, good water, electric lights, gas-works, street cars, sewerage, and all modern conveniences.

There are here beautiful residences, a healthful climate, with an elevation of 800 feet, and educational and religious advantages of a very high order. In fact, Sherman is noted for her educational institutions, and is a city of culture and refinement.

The past decade has been an era of great development in the South. Texas has the greatest amount of land of any State in the Union that is still open to settlement; capital is finding here a field for investment that is as rich in reward as were the diamond mines of Golconda. During this era of progress Sherman has not been behind, but through its unexampled energy and splendid surroundings it has forged to the front, not only in size, but in commercial importance, and is known in the commercial world as one of the most up-to-date and progressive cities in the State.

DENISON, TEXAS.

Denison, Texas, is the most important gateway to the great State of Texas, being on the extreme border-line of Texas, and nearer Red River, the northern boundary of Texas, than any other town.

Denison is located on the Missouri, Kansas & Texas and St. Louis & San Francisco railways, which enter the State from the Indian Territory on the north. It is situated in the finest agricultural and fruit-growing country in the Southwest.

The country is distinguished by a greater variety of soil and a greater diversity of products than any section of Texas. The climate is especially favorable to truck-gardening, peach and apple growing, strawberry growing, etc. All vegetables and small fruits are very successfully grown and largely cultivated. The Rocky Ford variety of cantaloups grown on the iron-ore soil near Denison have a reputation in Northern cities, where they are sold at the highest market price, being produced and put on the market far earlier than the Colorado melons. The peaches grown in the country around Denison are as fine in size, coloring, quality of fruit and flavor as any grown in America, and much finer in flavor than any fruit produced in California orchards. The June apples grown here are several weeks earlier than those produced in any other section of the country. The trees bear freely every year, and in flavor they compare with any apples produced in the apple-growing sections of the United States, and, being much earlier on the market than other sections can produce them, they command a fancy price.

Besides the production of such fruits as are above mentioned, all kinds of fruits growing in a temperate climate are grown here, such as cherries, plums, all kinds of berries, grapes, pears, quinces, almonds, figs, etc. Grape culture is assuming large proportions, and the acreage in vineyards has been largely increased in recent years. These products bring values amounting to from $100 to $400 per acre, according to state of cultivation and methods employed.

There are five distinct soils in country contiguous to Denison, and in these are produced all the fruits before mentioned, besides fine crops of corn, wheat, oats, broom-corn, cotton, hay, etc.

No town in Texas exceeds Denison in number of advantages offered. The town is located within forty-five miles of the finest coal-fields in the Southwest, and there are two competing lines of railroad tapping these coal-fields, running through Denison, making this a distributing-point for coal in Texas, making the price for manufacturing purposes more reasonable here than at other points. There is an unfailing supply of pure, potable water for manufacturing purposes, besides a vast amount of raw material for manufacturing.

Denison is located at the head of navigation on Red River, the largest and most important stream of water touching Texas. An appropriation was made at the first session of the Fifty-seventh Congress to begin the improvement of the river for navigation as far as Denison. With needed improvement, transportation rates will be greatly reduced, making Denison the point having the lowest rate in North Texas common-point territory. In addition to the roads mentioned above, Denison has the Houston & Texas Central and the Texas & Pacific.

Commercially, the advantages of Denison are greater than any town in Texas. There are four great railroad systems centering here, with outlets in thirteen directions, with ten division points located here. These roads penetrate every portion of contiguous territory in North Texas and the Indian Territory, which is one of the richest sections of the United States. Denison now has a population of 18,000 people, and is growing very rapidly. The growth of the town has been retarded on account of the Indian Territory just north of the city being in an unsettled and uncultivated state. But the United States government is opening this rich country now, and wonderful opportunities for development and investments are presented. The country is rapidly filling up with settlers, and the rich farming lands are being put into cultivation, making the field much better for jobbing and retail houses in Denison, and opening a vast new field for industrial enterprises.

The public-school system in Denison is unexcelled in America. Denison was made a town in 1873, and that year built the first public free school-house ever built in Texas. There are eight fine brick school-houses of large capacity for white children and two for colored children, the latter forming a small part of the population of the city. The school property of the city is valued at $400,000. The educational course of the schools is graded very high, and graduates of our public schools may enter the State University without re-examination.

Besides the public schools there are three colleges and academies and two business colleges for the higher education of both sexes.

The churches of Denison represent every denomination, and have fine houses of worship.

Denison has a cultured and refined population. The XXI. Club, a handsome brick club building, is the home of a literary club of ladies, and is the only woman's literary club building in Texas.

The town has fine, broad streets and magnificent natural drainage. It is located 200 feet above Red River and 800 feet above sea-level.

Denison has a fine water-works system, electric lighting and gas-lighting system, and a splendid sewage system, with drainage in Red River.

There is a splendid electric street-car system, with suburban connections. The Denison Commercial Club disseminates information concerning the town.

ROBERT S. CARVER.

THE CITY OF DALLAS, TEXAS.

Referring to the description of "The Manufacturing, Jobbing, and Financial Center of Texas," which appears in your issue for August, I have been requested to write on the subject of the real estate interests of Dallas and its surroundings.

Having located here in January, 1874, I have ever since been engaged in the real estate business (now of the firm of Murphy & Bolanz), and have seen the town grow from 6000 at that time to its present population of over 70,000, embracing the immediate suburbs. It had grown rapidly, beginning several years after the Civil War, from a village of about 1000 population to about 6000 in 1874, the first railroad having reached the place in 1872. I was attracted particularly by the rich and inexhaustible black lands surrounding the town, and felt that it must rapidly forge ahead in growth and importance; and the results have more than realized my expectation, notwithstanding two severe and widespread panics that have swept the nation during that period. Railroads have continued to enter the city until we now have them radiating from this center in twelve directions, with the certainty of four new roads being added within the coming year.

On my arrival here it was a typical Western frontier town, with three variety theaters on the principal street, three brass-bands playing three different tunes at the same time before opening for the night, making a pandemonium of discord. Gambling was wide open at all times, the six-shooter much in evidence, and shooting a common occurrence. There was not a decent residence and scarcely a rose-bush in the town. Now we have magnificent homes, metropolitan business houses, and highly cultivated people.

The agricultural-implement business has grown from one house in 1874 to the greatest market in this line in the world, the numerous firms conducting their affairs in their own six and seven story buildings. Dallas also leads the world in the manufacturing of saddles, harness, etc., besides being the headquarters in the State for many other pursuits. The real estate men find difficulty in supplying the ever-increasing demand for residences, notwithstanding the large number of houses that are being constantly erected throughout the city. Still newcomers continue to pour in, and, notwithstanding our numerous hotels and boarding-houses, it is difficult to take care of them all. This is now a fine field for an enterprising up-to-date hotel man, to erect a commodious hostelry, say, on the European plan.

Several years ago a brick manufacturer sank an artesian well three miles west of Dallas, boring through a continuous bed of excellent shale until he reached a fine flow of water at about 600 feet. To-day he has large works there and is unable to supply the market. Adjoining this property is now a large cement plant, where are employed day and night a large force in the manufacture of the best quality of Portland cement. There are many such openings for capital and skilled labor in and around this city.

Much of the land surrounding Dallas is particularly adapted to the raising of the finest fruits and vegetables for the home and distant markets. Some of our black-land farms have been in cultivation for fifty years or more, and are as good now as when the plow was first stuck in the ground, and not a particle of manure is ever necessary to add to their productiveness. The yield of these lands under favorable conditions is something marvelous. Many years ago the wheat crop was heading, and promised a good yield, when suddenly it was bitten to the ground by a heavy frost. In the fields not disturbed the wheat took a second growth and produced a fine crop, showing the recuperative capacity of the soil under favorable circumstances.

Dallas is the center, par excellence, of the finest agricultural portion of this great State, embracing many surrounding counties.

This has always been considered the head of navigation on the Trinity River by the fathers of Texas; in evidence of which not a single survey along this river from Dallas to its mouth, patented by the State, was permitted to cross the stream. Congress has recently made a large appropriation for the canalization of our river for navigation, making accessible extensive virgin forests of hard-wood timber, rich alluvial lands, iron, lignite, etc., and assuring water rates from the numerous railroads centering here, thereby encouraging manufactories of every description.

For the past eight months the deed records show real estate transactions amounting to $5,118,997, or an average of $639,874 for each month.

JOHN P. MURPHY.

"The crimson moon, uprising from the sea,
With large delight, foretells the harvest near."

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Don't let your dealer decide which beer you shall drink, for he makes most on the common kinds.

Ask for Schlitz, for purity means healthfulness, yet that purity is free.

Not a beverage known to man is more healthful than beer, if it's pure.

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But don't drink a germ-laden beer, when Schlitz is sold everywhere.

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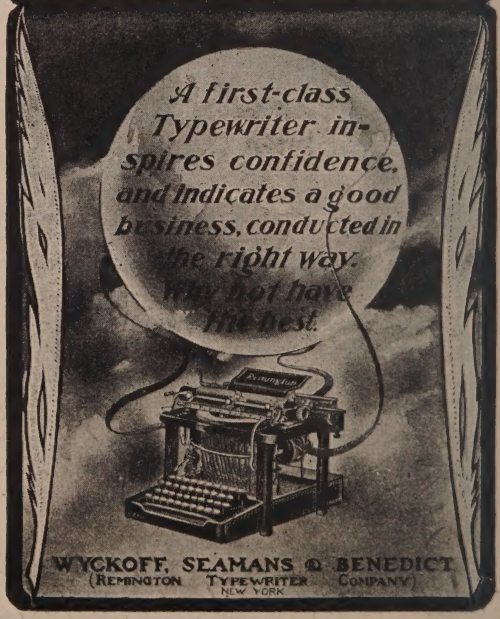
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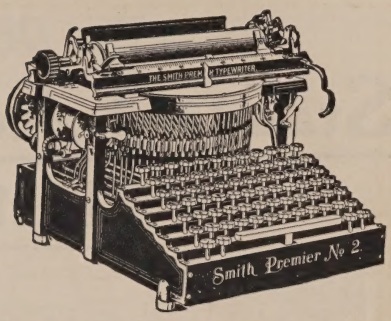

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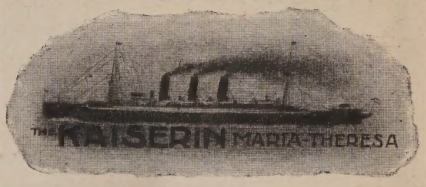

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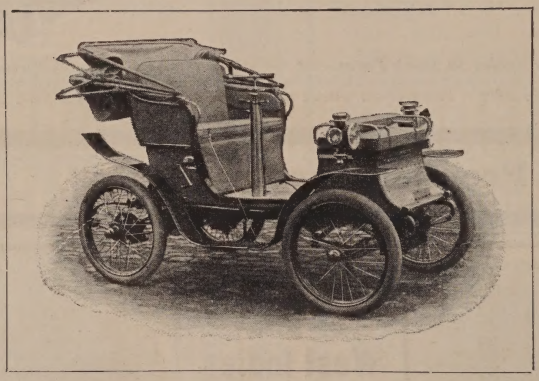

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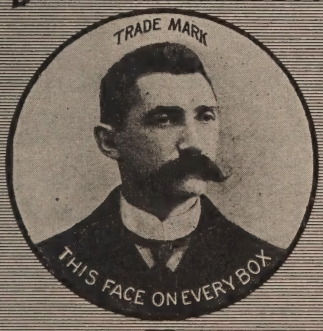

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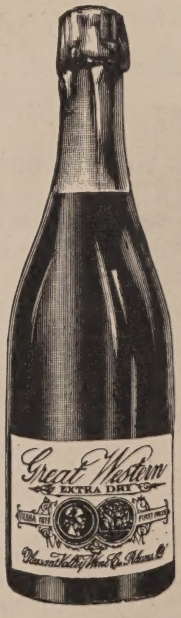

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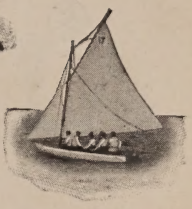

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CORSICANA,

ITS LOCATION, ADVANTAGES, AND RESOURCES, AS SEEN BY ONE SEEKING INVESTMENT.

A man visiting Corsicana, with a view to buying a home and investing in business enterprises, is reminded of the fact that the city has not obeyed the Biblical injunction, but has kept its light under a bushel.

Navarro County, of which Corsicana is the county seat, embraces seven hundred thousand acres, and is in the great black belt in Central Texas. It has a population of more than forty thousand, and more than one hundred miles of railroad, and this mileage will probably be doubled in the next two years.

The chief export products of the county are cotton and oil. The cotton production amounts to one hundred thousand bales per annum. Several thousand barrels of oil per day are produced by the oil-wells in the vicinity of the city.

Corsicana has a population of eleven thousand. Its chief pursuits are mercantile and manufacturing. The graded free-school system prevails, and it comprises the primary, grammar, and high-school departments. Mr. J. W. Cantwell, the superintendent, was graduated from Yale; he is a young man, well equipped, ambitious, and devoted to the interests of the school. More than one hundred thousand dollars are invested in school property and appliances, and the schools are maintained for nine months during the year. The high-school building, just completed, is one of the most handsome and commodious in the State, and will be well equipped with modern appliances.

The Protestant and Catholic churches have many communicants, and own handsome church buildings, and their priests and pastors are men of culture. The Hebrews have a handsome synagogue and a polished rabbi.

The city has a water system affording ample protection against fire, and the water is used for many domestic and steam purposes. The system is supplied by three artesian wells dug to an average depth of 2500 feet, and the water has many medicinal qualities. The sewer system protects the entire business portion of the city and a large portion of the residence part. In addition to the sewer system, a crematory is used, at which garbage which cannot go through the sewer is cremated. The two systems make the city clean, and give it one of the lowest death-rates in the United States.

The electric-light plant supplies the entire city. An electric street-car line is now being built, and will accommodate a large portion of the city.

The Houston & Texas Central Railroad, a part of the Southern Pacific system, and the St. Louis Southwestern Railway cross at right angles, and give the city five outlets. The Rock Island system will reach the city in the near future. The International will probably be built to Corsicana, and the Texas Short Line is looked upon as a certainty.

There are three wholesale grocery houses and one wholesale produce house. There are many firms engaged in the retail dry-goods, hardware, boot and shoe, and drug businesses, but no wholesale houses in these lines, and it is believed wholesale houses in any or all of these lines will pay. With the additional railroad facilities which have been secured, opportunities for investment in wholesale mercantile business in the lines indicated will be found superior here to those available in most localities.

There are no competitors within 200 miles south, and none nearer than fifty miles north and one hundred miles east.

The need for additional banking capital is shown by the fact that ten per cent. is the prevailing rate of interest for the best paper.

Manufacturing, so far, has been confined to cotton goods, ice, cotton-seed oil, petroleum-oil refining, candy, bottling-works, flour, planing-mills, and foundry. Additional ice-factories, or an enlargement of the existing plant, would pay well. Ice can be sold in paying quantities for nine months during the year. During the heated season just past the ice-wagons could not reach much of the resident portion of the city until twelve o'clock.

Woolen mills, wooden factories, and various other lines would do well. The cheap fuel in Corsicana furnished by the oil-wells offers superior inducements to factories. The crude article is sold at fifty cents per barrel, and it has been demonstrated that three barrels of oil will produce as much steam-power as one ton of coal.

The people are hospitable, and recognize literary merit and business capacity. A small free library has been established, and efforts are being made for its further extension.

The many inducements for investment cannot be told in a short space. They are apparent to any one visiting the city.

R. S. Neblett.

WACO, TEXAS.

ITS RESOURCES, PROSPECTS, AND FUTURE.

Waco, the central city of Texas, with a population of 30,000, is the capital of McLennan County. It is located practically in the geographical centre of the State, with the Brazos River dividing it into two parts, the river being spanned by a suspension bridge which is a monument of engineering skill. Another bridge of steel is under construction to cost $100,000.

A new court-house is now being built on Washington Street at a cost of $300,000.

The Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway has just completed a large, handsome brick and stone depot at a cost of $50,000.

Waco is already a large railroad centre, and she must, by virtue of her location, become the commercial emporium and industrial metropolis of Texas. No city, perhaps, on earth has a more commanding and attractive position, for no city has such a great country surrounding it.

The city of Waco is the central business emporium of Texas, and over its ever-widening tributary territory, a region of vast riches and resources, it has exclusive right and is absolute monarch. Shrewd investors need no further hint. The tide is coming this way, and each succeeding day its motion is accelerated. Now is the time — so far as acquiring of property, the establishing of manufacturing, etc., is concerned—for investment of capital.

No city in Texas can compare with Waco in material and permanent improvements accomplished within the present century. If a period of three years be taken, beginning in 1899, a table of betterments could be computed which would show disbursements of more than one and a half millions in public and private buildings, bridges, and street improvement. The wonderful growth of the city must be ascribed to the intelligence of its officials, the energy of its business men, its incomparable geographical position, the fertility of the region, and the many other natural advantages possessed, some of which will be set forth before the conclusion of this article is reached.

The Brazos River was spanned thirty years ago by a superb suspension bridge, and this bridge became inadequate to accommodate the movement across it, the population having vastly increased compared with the earlier period of the city. Therefore, the County Commissioners' Court and the Board of Aldermen, jointly, issued bonds to defray the expense of the construction of a new bridge of steel and stone masonry to cost, together with its approaches, $120,000.

The county of McLennan outgrew its court-house, and therefore a new structure was determined upon, and will soon be completed, of highly ornamental architecture and indestructible material. The new court-house, together with the jail and the residence of the sheriff, will cost more than $300,000.

The great steel bridge consists of one main channel span of 450 feet and two deck plate girder-spans, one forty and the other sixty-eight feet, making a total length of 558 feet. This is the longest single-span bridge in the Southwest. The channel-span rests on cylindrical piers eight feet in diameter. The floor of the bridge will be ten feet above the highest flood-point ever attained since the white people entered McLennan County. There is a main roadway twenty-four feet wide and two footway wings, one on each side, six feet wide each. The footways on the outside will be protected by steel railings four feet high, of ornamental design. The floor system of the entire bridge is modern in every particular, being composed of buckle plates of steel covered with four inches of concrete, the concrete being covered with asphaltum. The height of the centre panel is sixty feet. The amount of steel employed in the structure is over 2,000,000 pounds. The suspension bridge is still in excellent preservation. It will soon be converted into a rigid structure, and will be used for street-car purposes, in order to give the citizens on the east side trolley car service, and this will involve the building of two and a half miles of street-car track in the Fifth Ward, which improvement, including the proposed extension to Dripping Springs and the changes to be made in the suspension bridge, will cost nearly $200,000.

The United States government began thirty-five years ago making preparations to improve the Brazos River, with a view to navigation. Work was resumed two years ago, and the survey from Waco to the Gulf of Mexico was recently completed. Three-quarters of a mile above the new steel bridge the site for the dam for the storage lake has been selected, and this dam will create an immense reservoir capable of containing more than two billions of cubic feet of water, or rather two reservoirs, for it will impound water in both the Brazos and the Bosque.

leaving an island near the juncture of the two streams named, the extreme altitude of which will be nearly 200 feet above the water-level, and on the summit of this eminence a club-house has recently been constructed at a cost of $25,000. The government dam will cost $100,000, and condemnation proceedings will be instituted to secure the considerable acreage which will be submerged by the double lake. The government improvements named will greatly enhance values in Waco, and will vastly increase the area of irrigated land in this region, as well as giving a waterway in competition with the railroads for freighting to the port cities.

Waco is the greatest interior cotton market in the world. The figures taken from the five compresses and from the freight offices show that last year 90,000 bales of cotton were sold from first hands to shippers in this city. In addition to the actual wagon cotton mentioned above, more than 1,000,000 bales came here from elsewhere to be compressed into round and square bales for forwarding to the domestic and Old World spinners.

At the Paris Exposition in 1900 prizes were offered for the richest sample of soil, the competition open to the world. Packages of soil brought from the Ganges in India, the Nile in Egypt, the Danube, the Rhine, and the Seine in Europe, the Thames in England, the Mississippi, the Brazos, and the Amazon of the Western Hemisphere, were submitted, and after scientific analysis the judges gave the award to a package of soil dug up a few miles below Waco in the Brazos Valley. The Brazos soil without fertilizing, with irrigation, can be made to produce two and a half bales of cotton to the acre. Any seasonable year, average Brazos land can be made to produce two bales to the acre, and one bale to the acre is yielded under the primitive methods too often employed by Brazos Valley planters. The soil varies from rich black waxy to light loam.

The volume of business transacted annually in Waco is over $25,000,000.

In educational advantages Waco is easily ahead in the Lone Star State, leading with Baylor University, which was established in 1850, and has recently been improved by the building of a chapel and library, a dormitory, a mess hall, and a science hall at a cost of $200,000. The Texas Christian University, formerly known as the Add-Ran University, has doubled its capacity, and, together with its magnificent site, is now estimated to be worth $800,000. The two institutions named above are both co-educational, numbering male and female students, 2,500. The city has central and district schools capable of seating 4,000 pupils, which are now inadequate, and five new district schools will be built at a cost of $40,000. One of the best educational institutions is the Academy of the Sacred Heart, a Catholic college for girls only. Waco has an industrial school called Paul Quinn College, for colored boys and girls, the only such institution in Texas. It has two commercial colleges and a number of select schools.

Railway investments in this city came like pig tracks, one behind the other. The material for the suspension bridge was brought here from Calvert thirty-two years ago on wagons drawn by oxen and mules. That object-lesson in heavy freighting brought to the attention of the population the necessity of a railway, and a tap road from Bremond to this city was immediately begun. That road was followed in turn by the Missouri, Kansas & Texas, the St. Louis, Arkansas & Texas (now the Cotton Belt), the Texas Central, the San Antonio & Aransas Pass, and recently by the International and Great Northern. The Houston & Texas Central absorbed the Bremond tap, and now the Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe is getting ready to build into Waco. The Katy has recently built a beautiful passenger depot of fire-proof material; the Texas Central is building freight and passenger depots; the Cotton Belt has built a new freight depot and improved its terminal facilities generally, and the International and Great Northern is preparing to build. Under construction now, recently completed, and in prospect, the railway improvements in the aggregate will increase the taxable values of Waco $200,000. A New York capitalist invested $300,000 in Waco real estate, and Swift & Co of Chicago have recently acquired a block for a storage establishment.

Area.—Four miles square, but growing so rapidly the limits must soon be extended.

Artesian Water.—At this time, with the combination of tubular and artesian wells, the city daily consumes 2,550,000 gallons of artesian water and 3,000,000 from the tubular wells, and that quantity is needed to meet the demand.

Banks.—Waco has three national, one State, and two savings banks, with an aggregate capital and surplus of $1,500,000.

Business.—The volume of business done is enormous for a city of this size, the cotton business alone aggregating over 100,000 bales the last fiscal year. The legitimate commercial business, wholesale and retail, is estimated at $25,000,000 for the year 1900. The trade of Waco ex-

tends throughout Texas, into Mexico, Indian Territory, and many of the older States. Woolen textiles, of Waco manufacture, are sold in New England cities, in spite of stupendous competition of Northern capital and enterprise.

Business Clubs.—Waco has two active and efficient organizations for promoting commerce, manufactories, and all industrial enterprises, one being the Waco Business Men's Club and the other the Young Men's Business League. They have elegantly furnished club-rooms.

The fact that the cotton crop of Texas for the lint alone in 1900 yielded $45 for every man, woman, and child in the State is of itself calculated to arrest attention. A State which has one crop of such magnitude, and whose soil produces almost every other crop known to a temperate climate, and whose mineral and timber resources are sufficient to create even more wealth than its agriculture, is a State which must be reckoned with in forecasting the future of our country.

Capital.—The influx of capital into this city as an investment most profitable has been very evident. No less than fifteen or twenty concerns are operating here. Money can be had of the banks at six per cent. on good collateral. The real estate and loan associations are numerous, and represent a capital reckoned at not less than $3,000,000.

Climate.—The altitude of Waco above the sea-level is 750 feet. The winters have an average duration of three months, during which time the south wind prevails for about half of the time.

Distances.—Waco is distant by rail from Denison, on the north line of the State, 183 miles; from Texarkana, on the east, 254 miles; from Galveston, on the south, 238 miles; from El Paso, on the northwest, 651 miles. The above are all border cities.

Electricity.—It is here in all its functions and ramifications, propelling a splendid street-car system, moving the wheels of the factory, cooling the air, and giving light everywhere in the city. The Citizens' Railway Company owns and operates twenty trolley-cars on as many miles of track, covering almost the entire city. The transfer system enables the passenger on some of the belts to ride ten miles for five cents.

Among the improvements on hand is the Young Men's Christian Association building, which will cost when completed $50,000. That organization maintains a library and reading-room, and, aside from its moral and religious advantages, is regarded as one of the best investments in the city.

In competition with all the leading cities in the State, Waco secured the Grand Masonic Temple and donated to the order for a site for the temple a block on Franklin Street, between Fifth and Sixth streets. The next grand lodge will be held in this city, and two years hence the Grand Masonic Temple will be dedicated, the cost of which, when completed, will be $500,000.

In 1850 one stage-coach, twice a week, entered this city. At this time twenty trains come and go daily.

In 1850 two wooden taverns accommodated all the demands for hotel privileges. Now Waco has five magnificent hotels.

The fire department is one of the best in the South. It is a paid and volunteer department, and represents an investment of over $120,000.

Post-office.—The United States government has a custom-house and post-office building here which cost $120,000. The gross revenue, sale of stamps, for the year ending March 31, 1901, was $52,754.76. The money order business for the fourth quarter of 1899 amounted to $352,884.84, and for the same quarter of 1900, $549,723.55; increase of 1900 over 1899, $196,838.71.

Parks.—The city is preparing to improve three parks in as many wards, owning the ground for the purpose, all of them being advantageously located, well shaded and watered. There are a great many private pleasure-grounds within and very near the corporation line, and there is now being built at Proctor Springs the finest club building in the South.

Homes.—Owing to its topography, sloping hills, valleys, shade trees, easy drainage, rich soil for gardens, and excellent water, the advantages for delightful homes offered in Waco are unrivalled in Texas or any other State.

Hygiene.—It is here that life is prolonged into old age. There is something in the climate, an abiding influence that gives health and happiness. The death-rate is 9½ to the thousand.

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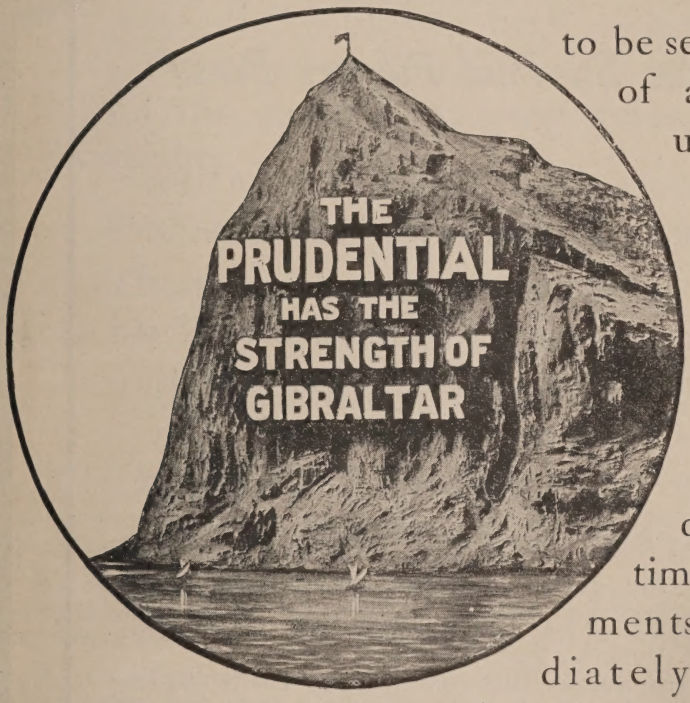

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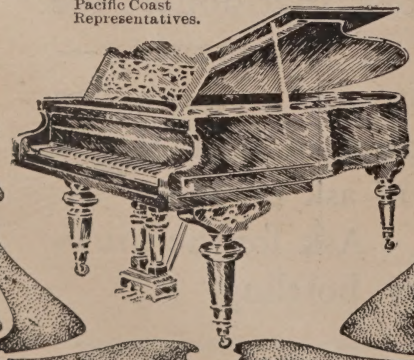

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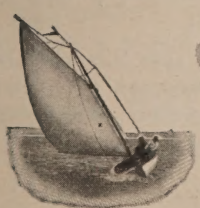

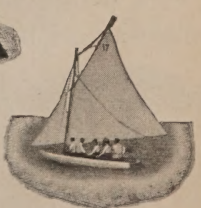

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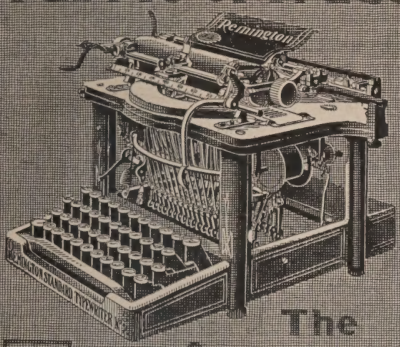

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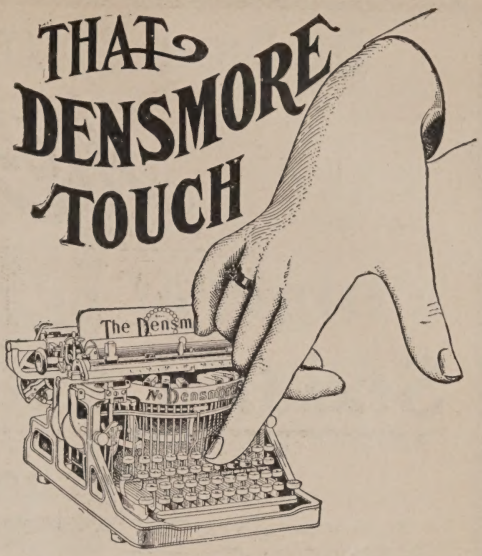

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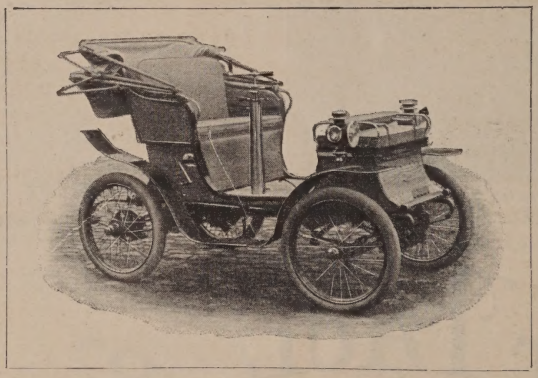

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